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Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

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# NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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ART. I. — *Titan: a Romance.* From the German of JEAN PAUL FRIEDRICH RICHTER. Translated by CHARLES T. BROOKS. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 2 vols. 1862.

SINCE Carlyle first introduced Jean Paul to English readers, now nearly forty years ago, this endeared author, so unique in richness of fancy, tenderness of feeling, and grotesqueness of style, has been steadily becoming better known and more worthily appreciated among us. Still this growing appreciation has been mostly limited to that small class of literary students who, combining insight with catholicity, are patient of difficulties and tolerant of faults when these are but the investiture and accompaniment of rare merits. Many persons of the best talent, and also of the utmost refinement and elevation of character, give Jean Paul the highest place in their affections; but popularity, in any large sense of the word, he cannot be said to have as yet achieved, although he is fast achieving it. His name and a multitude of choice sentences from his works are familiar as household words with scholars and thinkers. Carrying his fame, his thoughts and sentiments, along with them, they are diffusing them thence among the people at large, and will inevitably secure for him at last the permanent fief of a broad and pure renown. As an important aid in enhancing the rapidity of this process, we gratefully welcome the admirable translation, from the facile and practised pen of Mr. Brooks, of one of his amplest and ripest

works, now placed before us by the publishers in a most attractive form. To the task of transplanting the "Titan" out of the German language into the English, Mr. Brooks has brought shining qualifications of many sorts. He has overcome innumerable difficulties with consummate skill. His translation reads like an original composition. We congratulate him on the brilliant accomplishment of a great feat. We trust he will be rewarded for his long and loving labor by the concordant praises of the critics, and by the benefactions the work itself will bestow on the new students it will win in its new clime and presentment.

We are acquainted with no eminent literary artist who more sorely needs, or better deserves, or will more richly repay, every help to popular intelligibility and circulation than Jean Paul; for the human and the literary idiosyncrasies which his natural admirers find the most fascinating, are fatal barriers to his immediate reception into the regards of the average reader. His flooding sensibility, titanic imagination, resilient whimsicality, endless entanglement of remote allusions, bewildering superabundance of metaphor, unfailing supplies of humor and irony, require, as conditions of relishable reaction, greater resources of spirit, learning, and experience than most readers have at their command. His repulsiveness never arises from meagreness of matter, or sloth of faculty, or vulgarity of mind, or viciousness of temper, but from his extraordinary fertility, his half-chaotic exuberance, — the transcendent richness and energy of his genius presenting drafts upon the intellects and hearts of his readers which only a few have the spiritual funds to honor. Such obstacles as these to the appreciation and enjoyment of the works of an author are a measure of the value and charm he will have to those who overcome them. In grappling with them, their own powers are stimulated and developed, and the results enrich them with knowledge and feeling they did not possess before. But most readers do not think of this. They do not seek discipline and instruction. They simply seek to while away the time in the most agreeable manner; and the cheapest, tawdriest sensational tale will, in many cases, effect this better than the noblest philosophical or

æsthetic romance. The multiplicity of the claimants clamoring for public attention now-a-days begets impatience and a habit of flippant judgment. The authors who furnish the most pungent entertainment on the lowest terms have the best chance for success. Those who offer the profoundest instruction and the choicest culture with the highest delight, but demand a proportionate price in the form of patient heed and varied effort on the part of the reader, are the most likely to suffer injustice and to be neglected. Jean Paul is a distinguished example of this wrong. Many persons turn from his writings in despair, not to say disgust, because of certain *bizarre* qualities of their style, certain broad incongruities of their substance, a certain combination of colossal vastness and intricate subtilty that makes them not perfectly easy to be understood. We have known even cultivated scholars, offended by the extravagances and obscurities of Jean Paul, to cast him contemptuously aside, as unworthy of their notice. Nothing could be more unwise or more unbecoming. True, it is a weakness to be insensible to glaring faults; but, surely, it is a far greater weakness to be insensible to surpassing merits. The wise and catholic man will rank faults in their place, and there leave them; but he will cordially embrace merits, and endeavor to assimilate them. If an author has great essential and original value, glorious worth triumphant over all compromising faults, he should be studied and honored, despite his defects. Not difficulties, but comparative worthlessness behind the difficulties, can justify neglect. Tin may glitter ready on the surface, and gold be covered with earth; yet it is wise to dig for the gold. A quartz pebble is only a pebble, although it lie bare and clean; and a diamond is a diamond, although it be held in a rough matrix. A great and noble author deserves to be approached with faith and reverence, — with girded faculties, indeed, but with a modest spirit of receptivity, — and to be studied with unwearied care, that the features of his character may be reflected in his pupil, and his mode of looking at human life and the universe apprehended. To approach him with a scornful sense of superiority, with the dry indifference of a *dilettante*, or in the spirit of a hard, critical surveyor bent on taking his measure,

is an outrage. Nor can the frequency with which this is done lessen its intrinsic offensiveness. If he who stands beneath the dome of St. Peter's or before the fall of Niagara divests himself of egotistic feelings, and allows time for his mind to grow to the dimensions of the scene, much more should he be humble and expectant who goes through the visible works into the invisible temple of a holy and sublime soul.

Notwithstanding many seeming crudenesses and many real imperfections, the chief qualities which give power and attraction to works of literary genius coexist in Jean Paul in a high degree. He has *wealth*. He teems with treasures. For his materials of statement and illustration, he ransacks heaven and earth, every province of art and learning, every department of science and experience, all varieties of natural scenery and human history. He pours forth thought, feeling, imagery, without hinderance and almost without bound. The copiousness of his spiritual riches is somewhat astonishing. He has *wisdom* in a degree only inferior to his wealth. He is not a mere omnivorous collector of facts and opinions: he is also a comprehensive and patient student of them. He surveys the matter of his information and thoughts, arranges it, criticises it, knows its relative place and value, is master of its uses. His huge and ardent imagination melts down his mental treasure, and his massive and powerful understanding recasts it into appropriate shapes. He is an amply competent critic of all kinds of philosophical and literary works, a still more competent judge of human nature and experience and their manifold diversities. His strokes of discrimination are ever penetrative and shrewd, and his abundant aphorisms rank him with the soundest and most nutritious of ethical thinkers. He has likewise *health* in a striking degree. He invigorates his reader. To peruse one of his works is to feel a fresh breeze of victorious strength and sympathy. No one keener than he to see and feel the wickedness and the sorrow of men, and the discords and hurts of time and the world; but his reason, faith, and affection are so large, elastic, and healthy, that he finds more to revere than to despise, more to love than to hate, more to enjoy than to fret about. He neither mopes nor whines nor fumes. His bosom heaves with waves of joy; his

voice rings in jubilant shouts ; his eye is full of admiration and tenderness ; his words are words of gratulation, encouragement, and healing. The true test of a literary work is, Does it strengthen and cheer ? If so, clasp it to your breast. Does it sour, enervate, or confuse ? Then fling it into the fire. Jean Paul may court this criterion, for the total influence of his writing is surprisingly wholesome. Furthermore, he has *skill* to set his thoughts in grace and beauty, to present his material in forms that delight the reader. However frequently he appears to violate, or actually violates, the canons of good taste, shocking the proprieties of fine art, and repelling the fastidious, he is familiar with the principles of æsthetics, knows thoroughly the rules for producing the choicest effects, and neglects them, not from ignorance or incapacity, but from an overbearing inward fulness and impetuosity, or for the securing of some end which he considers of superior importance. He can on occasion give his thoughts and images with a delicacy and force, a simple perfectness of finish, a lucid precision, which might awaken the envy of the greatest masters of style, even of Goethe himself. His pages sparkle with separate sentences and paragraphis, which are gems of blended wisdom and beauty scarcely susceptible of improvement. "I use the acute mind of Fichte as a great knife, not to cut with it, but to sharpen my own on it." "Whither shall the sunflowers turn which stand upon the sun ? Towards the greater sun round which ours rolls." "Past and Future wrap themselves from us ; *that* in the widow's veil, *this* in the maiden's." "The sufferings of the sinner are like an eclipse of the moon, by which the dark night becomes still darker and wilder ; the sufferings of the saint are like an eclipse of the sun, which cools the hot day, and casts a romantic shade wherein the nightingales begin to warble." The artistic accuracy of insight and taste which he shows in the parts of his works often fail him in the wholes, so that their outlines are blurred, and their filling-up confusedly crowded. This is because the misleading excess of his sympathy, or an overfondness for the teeming products of his own mind, obscures his critical perceptions, and causes him, rather than reject anything that occurs to him, to indulge in a gorgeous accumula-

tion of ornament, — to associate with the straightforward matter an involved medley of allusion, inference, and suggestion, a swift interaction of seriousness and wit, which cannot but confound and baffle an unprepared reader. This vitiating deficiency of clearness and simplicity in the plot and conduct of his works — a formidable obstacle to popularity it must be acknowledged — has produced in many quarters an unfortunate blindness to his extraordinary merits. That blindness, we trust, Mr. Brooks's full and happy translation of the *Titan* will do much to remove from American and English readers.

In addition to the four attributes of spiritual wealth, wisdom, health, and skill, which Jean Paul shares in common with all truly great authors, the endeared and enduring benefactors of mankind, he has many original traits well worthy of notice. His character is one of the most unaffected, vigorous, and beautiful of modern times. His life — excellently narrated by Mrs. Lee — is a romance of powerful interest, surcharged with costly instruction, with inspiring influence, and with touching pathos. He passed through many bitter struggles, but came out of every one undefiled and victorious. Temptations met him only to yield him new conquests of wisdom and virtue. Afflictions smote him but to deepen the springs of his life, purify his faith, and widen his sympathies. The deliberate writings of such a man, — writings to whose production he devoted his whole existence with the most absorbing and heroic fidelity, — his summed experience and estimate of human life, — constitute a legacy not to be slightly tossed aside, nor to be handled by any criticism into which gratitude and respect do not largely enter.

Among the characteristic traits of Jean Paul, no one can overlook his sincere and constant love of nature. It is speaking too coldly to say that his enjoyment of natural scenery and phenomena was fervid and pervasive; it amounted to an intense passion. He walked hand in hand with the seasons, communed with forest and mountain, sky and river, as his breathing kindred, lay down on the hillside or in the meadow as a child nestling in the bosom of his mother. A sublime landscape or a lovely sunset would thrill him with rapture, melt him to tears, make him turn pale and tremble. A rose-



leaf was as inebriating to him as the grape to others. His sensibility was world-embracing, world-dissolving. He had withal an Oriental vastness of imagination, which could suffuse the universe with its own color and feeling, animate the very spaces of infinitude, and set the wildernesses of astronomic orbs in motion. Nor did his powers of description halt a whit behind. Hardly a page of the Titan that does not afford some amazing instance. "Thus did I see the sun go down under the waves, — the reddening coasts fled away under their misty veils, — the world went out, land after land, from one island to another, — the last gold-dust was wafted away from the heights, — and the prayer-bells of the convents led up the heart above the stars. O how happy and how wistful was my heart, at once a wish and a flame, and in my innermost being a prayer of gratitude went forth for this, that I was and am upon this earth." "Is it not as if all the gods stood, with thousands of cornucopias, on the mountains around Lago Maggiore, and poured down wine and cascades, till the lake, like a goblet of joy, foams over and gushes down with the brimming juice?" "Overhead the whole second world, like a veiled nun, looked with a holy eye through the silver-grating of the constellations." "How firmly stood the world-rotunda, built with its fixed rows of stars high and far away over the flying tent-streets of the city! How was the heated eye of Albano refreshed by the giant masses of the glimmering spring, and the sight of day slumbering under the transparent mantle of night! Over the dark meadows and bushes the dew had already been sprinkled, whose jewel-sea was to burn before the sun; and in the north floated the purple pennons of Aurora as she sailed toward morning." "On the hill, before the cascades that leap down with their lightnings upon the flowers, before the green of the flashing vale, the stream, like a wounded eagle, beats its wings all about on the earth." "The moon, the benumbing lily which the earth wears on her breast; and the whole dazzling Pantheon of the starry heavens; and the city, with its pierced-work of night-lights; and the high, majestic, dark avenues; and on meadows and brooks the milk-white lunar-silver, where-with the earth spun itself into an evening-star; and the night-

ingales singing out of distant gardens ; — did not all this stir omnipotently every heart, till it would fain with tears confess its longing ? ” It is a pathetic fact, that his toilsome poverty kept him from ever visiting the seaside, or Switzerland, or Italy. In his last hours he said, “ I, who have described so many scenes, have never seen the ocean : I shall not fail to see the ocean of eternity.”

But among the traits of Jean Paul a still higher place must be assigned to his boundless, yearning love of humanity. He had mind to reproduce and heart to cherish everything that concerns human nature. Whatever came within reach of his senses or his imagination took instant hold of his sympathy. Nothing was too low for his loving humor to embrace, nothing too high for his awe-breathing veneration to soar to. His pitying, wondering, adoring thought seems to have included equally the caterpillar journeying across its leaf and the sun journeying about the ecliptic, the moth shrivelling in the torch and the seraph worshipping in the blaze of Deity. Indeed, the mighty exuberance of pure and generous emotion, the ocean of tenderness, exposed in the writings of Jean Paul, we know of no author in all the circuits of literature who can rival. He sorrowed in all the griefs, rejoiced in all the gladnesses, of mankind. Every weakness or vice drew forth his pity ; every virtue or power commanded his exultation and honor. For the humane feelings, — inexhaustible wealth of compassion, sadness, longing, ecstasy, in all their forms, — he stands in solitary pre-eminence. Such a constitution was equally liable to wretchedness and to rapture. Persons incapable of one extreme are also incapacitated for the other. Without a heart there can be neither tears nor wounds. Jean Paul conquered in the battle of life, and was prevaillingly a man of abounding cheerfulness, although his tendency to sentiment always remained somewhat excessive. Often, when in company and listening to music, his description of Albano might well have been applied to himself : “ His eye lost itself in the depths of heaven and of human life, and he withdrew himself to still his loud heart.” He said he could kill himself fantasizing on the piano, as the nightingale trills itself to death. Weeping, he also said, was his strongest but most

weakening intoxication. Even to his latest years he was accustomed to seat himself at the piano and translate his feelings into tones, until, bursting into tears, he was compelled to cease. His cerebral centres were overstocked with nerve-force, which found its readiest vent in tender emotion, as in some persons it finds its readiest vent in fretting, in wrath, or in muscular exertion. This trait of Jean Paul, as a man and as a teacher, makes contact with him an admirable tonic and counteractive for the cold, meagre, and sluggish sensibility of ordinary men. The establishment through his works of an electric communication with his great flame-heart is a good. He puts in the mouth of one of his characters the question : "Do you know the medicine of example, the healing power of admiration, and of that soul-strengthenener, reverence?" He knew it himself, and in his writings imparts it in its full virtue. He loves liberty, as a prime condition of human welfare, and eloquently vindicates it on all occasions. He nobly dared and bore personal risk and calamity by the publication of his bold and fiery *Freiheitsbuchlein*, or "Freedom's Pamphlet," protesting against any princely or state censorship of the press. He has courage to speak out what is tenderest and most sacred in him ; not sensitively hiding it for fear he shall compromise himself before the frigid and satirical. He has too much energy and daring to tolerate a timid reserve. He says, "Only weak, caterpillar-and-hedgehog-like souls curl and crumple up into themselves at every touch ; under the free brain beats gladly a free heart." His own keen and ebullient experience, combined with a comprehensive and sympathizing observation of human life, gives him copious resources and rare qualifications as a teacher. Few provinces, nay, few nooks in any province of thought and feeling, are strange to him. His pages are thickly interspersed with wise hints and helps to the best solutions of the problems that actually beset us in the conduct of our lives. While the sharp discernment and wit of his aphorisms give them entrance to the intellect, the profusion of kind feeling accompanying them carries them to the heart. "Mildness on a countenance, in union with energy, is as enchanting as moonlight on a mountain." The wise man "assumes a different average temperature for every

individual, age, and people, and finds in holy human nature no string to be cut off, but only at most to be tuned." He is divinely equipped for his journey who has "a dreaming heart, wings for the ice-chasms of life, and wide-open arms for every human breast." "The selfish passions cut off the wings instead of the beak of their Promethean vulture, — and so he digs forever into the heart."

But while Jean Paul's unlimited affection flows around all mankind like a summer atmosphere, he is too sharp-sighted and just not to discriminate vigorously. He has a special fellow-feeling and a soothing pity for the poor, oppressed, broken-hearted, — for all sufferers; and he has also special hyperborean, biting frosts and stings for the haughty and luxurious, for all pompous pretenders, all cruel tyrants. He pours a celestial balm, distilled from wisdom, humor, and love, on the hurts of those; he mercilessly excoriates the pride and folly of these. Describing Thiennette, a poor orphan girl, he says, "In her breast lay a sugared marchpane heart, which, for very love, you could have devoured; her fate was hard, but her soul was soft; cheerfully and coldly she received the most cutting humiliations, and felt no pain, and not till some days after did she see it all clearly, and then these cuts began sharply to bleed, and she wept in her loneliness over her lot." Of the pious and proud Frau von Aufhammer he says, "Her heart was a flowing cornucopia to all men, yet this not from philanthropy, but from rigid devotion: she assisted, cherished, and despised the lower classes, regarding nothing in them, except their piety." "Must not princes," he asks, "themselves learn to lie, being eternally lied to, — themselves flatter, being forever flattered?" Such shams as that of sending empty state-coaches to a funeral make him indignant. He burningly denounces all hypocrisies, and demands simple dealing and truth between men. He expresses "a deadly disgust towards that narcotic waste of high life through whose poppy-garden of pleasure men stagger about, sleepy and drunken, till they fall down in a twofold lameness." He delights to caricature the feebleness, affectation, and ceremony of fashionable circles, and many a telling blow does he deal under the disguise of a ludicrous exaggeration, as in the following

example: "The inhabitant of an imperial city binds on in front a napkin when he wishes to weep, in order that he may not stain his satin vest." He hardly ever indulges in satire without a mixture of sanative wisdom and kindness, or administers a rebuke without at the same time imparting a genial moral lesson. "And now" — he is speaking in the person of his Quintus Fixlein — "must I part from my gossip, with whom I had talked so gayly every morning, and from the still circuit of modest hope where he dwelt, and return once more to the rioting, fermenting sphere of the court, where men in bull-beggar tone demand from Fate a root of life-licorice thick as the arm, like the botanical one on the Wolga, not so much that they may chew the sweet beam themselves, as fell others to earth with it." He has too judicial a vision, and too extensive acquaintance with man and life, to be the victim of any raw prejudice against nobles and princes, or their associates and dependents, however numerous and sharp his hits at them. It is one of his own aphorisms that "young men and hermits have too severe notions of courtiers and men of the world."

A prominent trait of Jean Paul is his exceeding love of childhood and children. All his writings are sprinkled with references to them, — their sufferings, their privileges, their charming ways, their promise, their faults, the true methods of treating and training them. Whenever he alludes to them, his best thoughts come uppermost and his heart flows through his pen. We have in his biography a long and exquisite letter from his eldest daughter, describing the constant simple intimacy and overflowing fondness of his intercourse with his own three children. When his idolized Max died, the wretched father wept until his eyes became so impaired that they never recovered, and he became at last totally blind. One of his most elaborate works, "Levana," is a treatise on the education of children. One of the most penetrative and beautiful of his lesser pieces is entitled, "Why no Recollections are so Charming as those out of the Youth-time." Both his incidental and his premeditated handlings of this theme are marked by a diversified appreciation profoundly just and instructive, and a plaintive sweetness that is most touching.

He says, in his *Flegeljahre*, "Ah, were I only for a little time almighty, I would create a world especially for myself, and suspend it under the mildest sun; a little world where I would have nothing but lovely little children: and these little creatures I would never suffer to grow up, but only to play eternally. If a seraph were weary of heaven, or his golden pinions drooped, I would send him to dwell a month on my happy infant world; and no angel, as long as he saw their innocence, could lose his own." On seeing several little orphans who supported themselves by their labor, he said, in his own unrivalled way, "Behold blossoms which already bear fruit!"

His unparalleled sensibility, combined with a broad and piercing perception little inferior, make him also the earnest friend and student of woman, the sympathizing master and expositor of all that is finest in her spirit and saddest in her lot. Woman has never had among literary men a more stanch or a more judicious defender, counsellor, and eulogist than Jean Paul. And this in his life as well as in his books. Though thrown much into personal relations with gifted and lovely women, possessing a singular fascination over them, and often strongly and subtly tempted, he was throughout his life invariably true and pure. Few, very few men have a greater claim on the gratitude and honor of women, nay, on their love and reverence, than Jean Paul. They cannot read him without throbbing hearts in many passages, streaming tears in many others, valuable instruction and elevating impulse in nearly all. We must quote a few imperfect specimens of his expression in this relation. "Perhaps thou wouldst deserve the name of the Fair, even because thou art the Suffering sex. And if Professor Hunczogsky in Vienna modelled all the wounds of the human frame in wax, to teach his pupils how to cure them, I also, thou good sex, am representing in little figures the cuts and scars of thy spirit, though only to keep away rude hands from inflicting new ones." "A continual smile is often, on men's faces, but not on maidens', the title-vignette of falsehood." "In the old *judicial* trials between man and wife, the man stood commonly up to his stomach in a pit, in order to bring his strength down to a level with

the woman's, and she struck at him with a stone tied up in a veil; but in the *matrimonial* duels the man seems to stand in the free air and the woman in the earth, and she often has only the veil without the stone." "He did not yet sufficiently know those polished women, who have refinement without wit, sensibility without fire, clearness without coldness: who borrow of the snail his feelers, his softness, his coolness, and his dumb gait, and who demand and deserve more confidence than they obtain." "Has, then, no man ever yet experienced the pain of lost love, that he may know what a thousand times harder desolation it inflicts on a woman? Who of them has the genuine fidelity, which is neither a virtue nor a sensation, but the very fire which eternally animates and sustains the kernel of existence?" Jean Paul's Extra-leaf, in the Titan, on "The Green-Market of Daughters," is a terrible satire on mercenary marriages negotiated by parents, whose caustic irony is only less than its tragic pathos and truth of thought and fact. Also in his "Hesperus" he has an "Extra-leaf on Daughter-full Houses," treating of spinsters in a strain in which all that is wisest and most tender in such recent works as the admirable "Afternoon of Unmarried Life" finds a full anticipation. Women can conceal nothing from Jean Paul; a more argus-eyed scrutinizer of their foibles and weaknesses exists not. He abounds in satirical observations on them. But these observations are humorous, not sarcastic; meant to probe and rectify, not to wound. They are the remarks of one who esteems, not of one who despises. They do not convey gall, but a good deal of honey, with just a little vinegar. "The friends of a woman, that is to say, her enemies," is one of these sly hits of his which make the reader, however sensitive, smile rather than wince. Jean Paul was the special favorite of noble women in his living person, and he will continue to be so in his immortal works. Madame von Kalb said to him, "The tones that your spirit yields are sweeter without words than the sounds of the harmonica."

The most distinctive trait, however, of Jean Paul, — that in which he stands supreme among authors, — is his unrivalled combination of serious earnestness and overpowering pathos

with imaginative humor and comicality. He is at the same time a grave student and a satirist; a jocose philosopher and a devout humorist. He is as much at home in the sublime as in the ridiculous. He laughs and weeps, loves and adores, with the same rhapsodic sincerity. He is a three-headed, three-hearted giant, equipped with an equal perception of the droll and the dread, an equal feeling of the tender and the absurd, vibrating swiftly through all that lies between the extremes. This association of contradictory endowments and defects is what astonishes and repels the uninitiated as they attempt his works. Intelligent readers of Jean Paul have always recognized this double nature in him. He was fully aware of it himself, and of its value, and freely played it forth with genial consciousness in what he wrote. It is singular to notice how it expresses itself in the twin characters which are associated and repeated in all his principal works. In "The Invisible Lodge" we have Ottoman and Fenk; in the "Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces," Siebenkäs and Leibgeber; in "Hesperus," Victor and Emanuel; in "Flegeljahre," Walt and Vult; in "Titan," Albano and Schoppe. The unequalled union in the soul of Jean Paul of emotional vastness and mobility exposed him to wide alternations of thought and feeling, which demanded relief in some way. This relief he found by fastening on the intermediate series of contrasts stretching from the verge of the awful in one direction to that of the ludicrous in the other. His profound sensibility made for itself an instinctive vent on one side in tender emotion, on the other side in wit breaking through the two escapes of bitter satire and comic humor. Hardly one of his works is there which does not evoke frequent tears over humble tragedies. Often, too, he writes in the rollicking spirit of an extravaganza. He sometimes describes the hardships of the poor with lacerating vividness, as if bathed in the blood of bruises he had himself received. Again, he writes as if the sun were always shining on a golden world, in which no one need sigh. In his "Army Chaplain Schmelzle's Journey to Flätz," he makes the chaplain, who is a most arrant coward, possessed by the illusion that he is a hero, heap up demonstrations of his own inconceivable cowardice, under the conviction, all the



while, that he is proving his courage. This is done with a perfect *abandon*, and a pungency of sly ridicule accompanied with genuine affection, which compel the reader to roar with laughter, yet which leave his soul enveloped in an atmosphere of complacent good-will towards everything. In single qualities of genius, with the exception of human sensibility, others have surpassed Jean Paul; in the blended operation of the apparently incongruous powers now under notice, no one has equalled him. In every chapter of his "Nicholaus Margraf," composed in the very midst of his anguish and growing blindness, after the death of his darling boy, we have a Brobdignagian cachinnation; and through his prose monody on the death of Herder, at the close of his "Introduction to *Æsthetics*," breathes a tone as plaintive as the sound of a thousand *Æolian*-harps, wailing at night in the solitary hall. A piety tender and lofty as that of Fénelon, but independent of any historic theology; a fundamental mirthfulness as free as that of Rabelais, but without his liking for filth; a sympathy soft and lambent as that of Lamb, but without his limiting shyness and *petite* modes; an irony as caustic sometimes as that of Swift, but without his hate; a joyous humor sunny and world-embracing as that of Cervantes;—these attributes form a conjunction which sets the name of this writer above all parallels in his kind.

When we consider Jean Paul as an artist, we find a singular limitation in his genius. He has a gigantic creative power combined with a diminutive shaping power. He can grasp and associate truth, feeling, facts, phenomena, more copiously than any except the very greatest minds; but in grouping his material into coherent relations to a general design, fashioning it into symmetrical forms, giving it proper location, perspective, and movement, many rank much above him who are incomparably inferior to him in everything else. He suffers in popularity greatly in consequence of this defect. Most persons read chiefly for the story; with him the story is the least important thing, and is buried in gorgeous masses of incidental matter. His sporadic mind and style bewilder and weary the reader who has not agile faculties and wealthy resources to follow his clews of swift and complex allusion,

and to fill his swarming symbols with responsive meaning. One feels, after reading a work of Jean Paul, as if the treasury of some god had exploded, and his book had caught the scattering contents. Yet it is unjust to overlook or to depreciate the value of the substance because it fails of simple and lucid arrangement. That his plastic faculty is so far below his productive power, does not make the latter any the less wonderful. A dish of pearls may be costly and beautiful, though neither strung nor arranged.

In striking contrast to the disproportion and discord existing in this particular in Richter, a want of selective affinity and synthetic survey, Goethe displays a happy congruity or balance of the creative and the shaping faculties, a teeming fertility and a commensurate manipulative taste, a comprehensive associating grasp and a crystalline severity of delineation. It were an interesting inquiry, deserving a fuller treatment than is possible here, to seek the cause and meaning this. What is the relation or law regulating the connection of the creative and the shaping action of the mind? What determines the forms of mental productions, and makes one man in his works a vicegerent of beauty, another a bungling conglomerator? Mental production, the generation and emergence of ideas, is, in its essence, involuntary and unconscious. It cannot be directly effected by volition, only indirectly solicited. All primary conceptions are created, and set in movement, in the ignorant darkness of our being, and are first recognized when, as if given us by inspiration, or mysteriously wafted within us from some foreign realm, they rise into the light of associative feeling and mutual relations. We believe that pure intellection in every form, disconnected with all sensation, emotion, or aim, is always the spontaneous working of forces in the organic basis of the mind,—the process unconscious, but depositing its results in consciousness. Yet we are well aware that we possess a power of influencing this procedure. What is this power? What do we *do* when we wish to produce something from the mind? We hold the wish itself up in consciousness, as a spiritual magnet or polarized centre, to draw accreting and complementary thoughts around itself. A vague ideal or plan of the desired end is thus

formed. This ideal, automatically furnished without our interference, we then set up in the mind as a conscious lure to draw out the requisite intellectual materials for the fulfilment and execution of itself; we place ourselves in a moving and attentive attitude, and hold it before the pre-conscious regions of the mind where the creative processes go on; we let it play its incantation into that dark instinctive hive to bring the trooping products forth. Now the first condition of a true artist is, that this incantation shall work with precision, evoking just the products needed, and no others, they adjusting themselves by a spontaneous polarity. Such a one is a born poet or creator. He is loaded with a spell, that music of Amphion to which the stones trip forward and fall into their ordered places, while the fabric rises in perfect symmetry, a thing of beauty, the delight of the contemplative mind, a supplementary part or continuation of nature. But in most instances the lure of a preconceived end thus exposed before the originating intellect, the spell played into the dark workshop of the soul, works very imperfectly, bringing out either insufficient or superfluous products, incongruous and burlesque matter which cannot be adapted to the plan in view. Then appears the second condition of a true artist, namely, that he is armed with an instinctive apprehension of what is fit and of what is unfit, compelling him to select and assimilate to his ideal all the former, but unhesitatingly to reject the latter, however beguiling it is. Now Goethe, in the first place, brings forth everything naturally in clean organic shapes, with neither too little nor too much. His creative faculty projects its products as arborescent mental crystallizations. When the proper stimuli are applied, they grow into beautiful form to a native automatic melody; as the incantation performed by the dynamic germ of a seed forces transmuted earth and air into a tree. And, secondly, in other cases, he has a despotic apperception of what is ancillary and harmonious. He remorselessly banishes every impertinent intrusion, no matter how suggestive. He instantly throws aside everything deformed as superfluous, melts and blows away all the slough and slag, and *looks* the pure mass into perfect shapes. But with Jean Paul it is otherwise in both

these respects. The spell works powerfully, but not with accuracy. In answer to its invocation prodigious quantities of matter appear which are unadapted to the plan, irrelevant to the purpose. And his sympathy with his production is so great that it biases his judgment, supersedes taste, and nullifies the rightful canon of acceptance and rejection. Whatever comes must be embraced. He cannot bear to turn his back on any pleading child of his brain. Thus his sympathy often overrules his critical sense, and aggregates his material into overwhelming, amorphous masses. The imagination of Richter is as gigantic in mould and as sensitive in substance almost as that of Shakespeare; but it wants its sound firmness and its unerring co-ordination.

On the whole, then, the relation of the creative working of the mind to forms of art is this. Spiritual products, ideas, and emotions are elaborated in an obscure dynamic realm of necessity,—the ontologic darkness of the brain; and they arise thence into the complicated relations and free movements of consciousness, there to be fashioned and directed. This process, in the most perfect artistic natures, as that of Mozart in music, goes on in unprompted spontaneity, automatically, or under the influence of primordial stimulants administered by Nature herself in the organic deeps of the mind. But we can partially initiate or enhance and guide it by a conscious stimulant voluntarily applied. This stimulant is a preconceived aim detained in attention, acting as an incantation to allure appropriate materials, and bring them into the significant groups desired. Then the critical judgment, or the faculty of taste, acts as a beacon, one pole of whose light guides the freighted ships into the port, while the other repels all the monsters and drift. The degree of artistic genius is marked by the conjoined power and precision with which these two functions are performed.

But if the art of Jean Paul seems lame and weak in the conduct and total form of his work, we should not forget, or fail to see, that it is often exact and faultless in details. This is shown almost invariably in his maxims and incidental reflections, very frequently also in detached images, and in special passages of description. The *story* of the "Titan" is

highly dramatic and intense, yet it is wellnigh lost sight of in the tropical wilderness of riches by the way. So involved is it with mysteries and whimsicalities, wheels within wheels, that it is an arduous task to master its outline, and thread and carry along its incidents in any sort of collective unity. But there is hardly a paragraph of it in which there is not something rich and strange to stimulate the thoughtful, to gratify and instruct the curious, to touch or console the tender, to inspire the noble, to develop the sense of beauty, to cherish the love of virtue and humanity, and to clothe the ideas of nature and God with new attractiveness and majesty. To neglect or condemn this vast array of appetizing spiritual riches for its comparative disorder, is as foolish as it would be to despise a chamberful of gold because the ingots were not piled in regular rows. It is also a weakness of which some are guilty, to see only the excessive garnish and adornment of Jean Paul's board, and so to conclude that he sets forth no solid feast. But it does not always follow that there is little nutriment where there is much condiment. Cannot a sword with a jewelled hilt be wielded as effectively as if it had a plain hilt? The plume does not injure the helmet; nor will a shopful of trinkets make a cabinet of gems worthless. The imagination, digested knowledge and experience, wit, pathos, wisdom, humor, and devotion of Jean Paul outweigh those of hundreds of favorite authors who have none of his harmless foibles. If any are inclined to question this statement, let them examine that portion of his works in which he most especially excels,—in which, indeed, he appears to scarcely less advantage as an artist than as a thinker,—namely, his critical studies of character and life. It is true that most of his personages are not wholly dramatized, but partly described. He ekes out his deficiency in the perfect interior possession and enactment of his characters, by means of outward paintings and expositions of them. He makes skilful use of the artifice of a chorus of explanatory and critical remarks accompanying the action and dialogue,—an artifice of which the greatest masters have no need. In a degree, he imposes the diverse features and elements of men and experience on persons, instead of thoroughly conceiving

original moulds of character, and running life and nature into them. Yet, in despite of this comparative limitation, by his wonderful psychological tact and his familiarity with the workings of human nature, especially on the side of the affections, added to his vast and acute knowledge and sympathy, he gives a surpassing interest and reality to the chief personages in his works. They are living beings to us. We can never forget them, nor the powerful lessons they insinuate into our souls. They are acquaintances whom we have actually known; and, warning, amusing, inspiring, with their wickedness, their grotesque drollery, their grand and tender nobility, they stay with us, and we are glad to have them stay. We cling to the personalities of Schmelzle, Fixelin, Fibel, Katzenberger, Margraf, Gustavus, Victor, and a score of others, with the same tenacity with which we cleave to those of Shakespeare's Shallow, Bottom, Touchstone, Falstaff, Bassanio, Jacques, and the rest. This is genius of a high order, no matter what abatements are made. Nor, we may be sure, was the result accomplished without agencies of the utmost note and worth, calculated to reward a studious investigation.

The weaknesses and errors of ordinary authors are never so glaringly revealed, the genius and equipment of great authors never so impressively apparent, as when they deal immediately with the characters and lives of specialized men and women, — give us the criticisms and estimates which are the results of their own personal consciousness and varied examinations of human nature and experience. No other province of literature can have the importance, for readers of advanced development and culture, which belongs to this. Jean Paul courts this test. Here is where his best strength and skill, his subtlest insight and maturest wisdom, lie. In the "Titan," we are introduced to a world of sharply defined and well-supported characters, — characters of many qualities, grades, and positions, whose contrasts of spirit and conduct are strikingly brought out by a happy management of lights and shades in the incidents of the narrative and the conversation of the actors. There is the cold, able, imposing Gaspard, who neither hates nor loves, but with icy power moves to his mark;

the odious ventriloquist Uncle, the execrable Baldhead, with his double-distilled hatefulness of universal indifference and universal deceit; the vain and trivial Falterle, who is complaisance itself, also untruth itself, and who is always laboring before the looking-glass, like a copper-plate engraver, on his dear self; the lustful, treacherous, detestable mock-artist, Bouverot; the sincerely pious, though professional, old priest, Spener; the mean, irascible, hard-hearted father, Froulay, who hates from his very soul every lie he does not himself utter; the grotesque individualities and collocation of good Doctor Sphex and his fat drummer, poor Malt; brave and vigorous Dian, the Italian sculptor, healthy to the core, generous, affectionate, full of his art, running over with joy; true-hearted, unhappy Schoppe, in whom a vision too keen has grafted on a sensibility too tender a remedial satire, — incarnation of wisdom and ridicule, of sky-kicking mirth and deadly sadness; the powerful, gifted, selfish, ruined Roquairol, a terrible being, at once fascinating and loathsome, with fiery eye, glazed face, and rotten heart, in whom, from sensuality and want of conscience, “life has run down into a jelly of corruption”; and numerous others, who, though subordinate in their parts, are carefully drawn, and possess no small amount of interest. The female characters in this romance also form a memorable group, all most distinctly defined, depicted, and sustained throughout with singular felicity. Not one of them, however often or rarely she comes upon the scene, ever loses her distinctive personality, though, with the verisimilitude of nature, it is constantly varying in its manifestations. We have the passive, victimized wife of Von Froulay; the frigid, hateful Princess, who plays the coquette simply to feed her pride with falsehood, and to scatter pain and vengeance from “her womanishly inhuman heart”; the impulsive, much-knowing Julianne, nobly scorning conventionalities in her self-poised superiority; the joyous, guileless, unsophisticated Rabette, betrayed and withering under the breath of Roquairol, like a fresh wild rose plucked and held in a blast of scalding vapor; Chariton, the model of a wife and mother, a household goddess, full of love and grace, dutiful cares and energetic peace; the aerial, pathetic Liana, an

angel of love and sweetness, gentle to timidity, yet loftily strong, the uncomplaining sufferer, the beautiful fragility of her fading form seeming the transparent investiture of a spirit too delicate and too pure to stay on earth; the volcanic heart, haughty intellect, royal nature and bearing, of Linda de Romeiro, the burning descriptions of whose superb beauty rival Shakespeare's picture of Cleopatra in her barge, and literally intoxicate the reader; and, lastly, Idoine, the ideal woman, intermediate between Liana and Linda, with all of the one except her sickliness, and all of the other except her extravagance, on the altar of whose being stand the pure images of Wisdom, Love, Moderation, Holiness, and Faith. "Idoine, easily inclined by her tense temperament to fits of vexation, that little skirmish of wrath, had, by long, sharp exercise, freed herself from this finest, but strongest, poison of the soul's happiness, till she at last stood in her heaven as a pure, light moon, without a rainy and cloudy atmosphere of earth."

We have reserved Albano, the grand central character and hero of the romance, to whom its name of the Titan refers, for separate mention. We say that Albano is the Titan, the word being used in a good sense, denoting, not the heaven-stormer, but the strong one, who contrasts with common men as an Olympian with earthlings, as Hyperion with Satyrs. We entirely agree with Dr. Hedge in rejecting that specious interpretation which gives the title a bad sense by making it refer exclusively to the rebellious and vanquished Roquairol. "The Titan here is not the heaven-storming, but the heaven-traversing, the sun-god, son of Cœlus and of Terra, deriving his ideal and mission from the one, the topics and conditions of his action from the other,—his life the resultant of the two." This felicitous statement finds a powerful confirmation in a passage which we have discovered in an earlier work of Jean Paul, the *Flegeljahre*. The passage reads thus: "Men, with all their faults, are, in their loving youth, like the Titans: Heaven is their father, Earth only their mother; but later, the father dies for them, and the mother finds it difficult to nourish the orphans." The view of the French critic, whose fanciful and turgid exposition we are surprised that Mr.



Brooks should apparently indorse, will not stand the test of scrutiny. The author himself in the work speaks of Linda as Albano's Titaness. Besides, every propriety requires the work to be named from its all-absorbing and triumphant hero, rather than from his mere foil. On Albano the author lavishes all his powers, and our interest is concentrated in him from first to last. Albano "opens his eyes upon life as in a triumphal chariot, the fresh steeds stamping before it"; he is born with a soul of flaming tenderness and impetuosity, transparently truthful, the unappeasable foe of "the everlasting, dead sham-life of men." He arrives at manhood with a majestic form, symmetrical and handsome as a Greek statue. He has an ineffable scorn for everything mean or false, a powerful understanding, a boundless enthusiasm capable of all noble extravagances. He is "a soft constellation of near suns, a beautiful war-god with the lyre, a storm-cloud full of Aurora." He indulges in no vice. His conscience remains uncorrupted. At every step he derives new discipline and culture from examples and warnings, from temptations and privileges. So, as he is tried in the furnace, he goes on learning to curb and deny, to spur and guide his nature, until he becomes virtually a complete character. His passionate friendship with Roquairol, and its bitter catastrophe, are painted with matchless tenderness and energy. He loves Liana, but a fraud first inveigles her from him, and then death forever snatches her away. He is next captivated by the magnificent and stormy Linda; but a fatal barrier is suddenly raised between them by a horrible side-tragedy in which he has no guilt. Finally, his wounds are healed, he finds his true counterpart in the pure, deep-souled Idoine, whom he marries; and the romance closes, as all who really understand it in its integrity will see, with as rounded a poetic justice as is consistent with the known conditions of human life in its earthly limits. The purpose of the author in his Titan, therefore, is to depict the ideal man and woman; by means of descriptions, critical analyses, dramatic incidents, contrasts, and foils, to portray the true types of perfect manhood and womanhood. Such are Albano and Idoine. This aim runs through the whole gorgeous mass of the work, like a silver thread through a

mountain of jewels. It is the highest task of the human mind, and has been a favorite subject with many great authors. But it is wrought out in the Titan with a power and wealth of moral earnestness and wisdom not equalled by any similar attempt in literature.

The last topic to be treated in this account of the traits of Jean Paul is his quality as a moral teacher, — the ethical rank and influence of his works. In this particular he belongs with the best who have ever written. His pages are surcharged with the most wholesome and powerful persuasions to virtue and true religion. In regard to the ethical influence of a writer, we have to distinguish two modes in which he acts on others: first, the teaching which he unconsciously imparts, the silent but potent effluence of his character, of his secret spirit and aims; and, secondly, the morals which he deliberately sets himself to inculcate. The purposed and direct ethical instruction of Jean Paul is invariably sound and telling. It is always pure and generous in its intention, hardly even fantastic or overstrained in the conditions it prescribes. It is lofty enough to bear the immediate signet of duty and God, measured and simple enough to be applicable to practice. He was incapable of taking a low view of man or of his duty; nor could he ever raise a base motive above a noble one. He had thoroughly studied all the philosophical systems of ethics, as his writings show, and his soul abhorred the vulgar code which reduces all human motives to self-love. He is always the public defender and exponent of an unalloyed Christian morality in its most exalted form and in its most exacting applications, even as he privately strove, with a patient valor that commands our deepest homage, to live it himself.

The moral influence which, without his will, exhales from the character of Jean Paul, and consequently from the pages which that character stamps, is also an influence of unadulterated good, with this one exception, that his extraordinary overfulness of tender feeling occasionally betrays him into the mawkish and the sickly. His excessive sentiment, not adequately drawn off by objects and events and duties, stagnates into sentimentality. It reacts into itself, and then injects its morbid states into whatever it afterward vents itself upon.

Thus his descriptions are frequently diseased, phosphoric, ghastly. He affects ghosts, graveyards, ghouls, horrible dreams, masks, corpses, imagery drawn from ulcers and vermin. He seems striving to frighten and to nauseate. The page is covered with creatures that creep forth from his fancy, trailing mould and slime. Here are two of the least offensive instances: "Above them lay the still, wounded heavens in the bandage of a long white mass of clouds." "The warm tones of the nightingales, trilling in response to each other, sucked his heart till it was sore with soft vampyre-tongues." There are passages of this gangrenous and charnel-house rhetoric in his "Vision of Annihilation" which are absolutely sickening, inexcusable, bad enough to breed a pestilence in the precincts of literature. His morbid excess of feeling seeks expression in these morbid images. This is his one besetting sin, but too well known by the readers of his smaller compositions as belonging to large numbers of them, from the terrible "Speech of the Dead Christ" down to the notes from his commonplace book. The fair-minded student noting this weakness will condemn and deplore it, then pass by it to fasten on the preponderant merits which it can only slightly qualify.

Jean Paul was himself profoundly conscious of this fault, which drew its life from roots deep in his character, and he steadily endeavored to remedy it. He has in his works repeatedly exposed the evil it is, and the evils it leads to, probed it to the very bottom, and given the wisest directions for its cure. From his earliest boyhood he vividly recognized this perilous dower in himself, and set himself with stoic resolution to the task of reducing it to a sober government. His *Andachtsbuchlein*, or little manual of devotion, which he composed in the solitary nights of his youth, is filled with maxims which he wrought out as helps in subduing all sentimental excess, and in bringing his heart under the authority of reason and conscience. "Vanity, insensibility, custom, make one steadfast: wherefore not virtue still more?" "Every painful emotion is a proof that I have been faithless to my resolutions." "No one would praise you in a beggar's frock: be not proud of an esteem that is given to your coat." "Never act in the heat of

emotion : let judgment answer first." " Evil is like the nightmare : the moment you bestir yourself, it has ended." Similar personal confessions, affecting proofs of the earnestness and wisdom with which he labored for self-amendment, frequently recur in his journal down to a much later period. He says to himself, " Far too soft, Jean Paul, whose chalk still sketches the models of nature on a ground of melancholy : harden thy heart like thy frame, and waste not thyself and others by such thoughts." His noble exertions were rewarded. In his own life he was no puling sentimentalist, but an earnest warrior, and at last a conqueror, king of himself ; a fervent friend, a faithful husband and father, a truly pure, wise, and magnanimous man. The fruits of his own painful experience remained with him for the instruction of others, and he employed them with power and skill.

Jean Paul drawing himself, or at least large elements and features of himself, as he was, as he felt he might have been, as he knew he ought to be, in nearly all the most important and interesting personages of his works, takes good care to warn and guide his readers by the lessons he had so bitterly but so successfully learned. The trial of character and life, as he exhibits it in the madcap satirico-humorist, Leibgeber, or Schoppe as he is named in his later appearance, tragically closes with a failure, in insanity, and death. This character is one of extreme interest, at once world-wise and child-honest, joining the most tearful humor with the most scorching irony. The moral of his defeat is the indispensableness, for the salvation of such a soul, of high and serious presiding purposes, and the regulating power of domestic relations. In the absence of these steadying guides, the purposeless play of wit in a vigorous mind, above a soft and deep heart, like the cross-play of electricities, produces fermentation, and then the whole nature is undone, falling into confusion and madness, tossed to and fro between hysteric mirth and despair. In Victor he delineates a person outwardly and inwardly great, with a poetic temperament balanced by exuberant wit, but possessed by the irretrievable weakness of ever seeking either opportunities for soft and generous emotions or opportunities for jesting, instead of seeking to find or create opportunities for

useful and lofty actions. Accordingly, with all his strong and engaging qualities, he is the creature of accidents, his life and himself failures. In Emanuel the author depicts a mystical enthusiast, who lets luxurious meditation and longing absorb the energies that should be dedicated to healthy work and enterprise ; a person of a rich and elevated spiritual nature, but enervated by an excess of tender feeling given to unreal objects, dreams, and wishes, pining in vague desires, exhausted by tears, unfit for the shock and jar of this world, and incapable of discharging the every-day duties of life. He fails of victory in consequence of sentimental enervation, as Victor fails from fickleness. The same high endowment and fearful peril recur in the character of Roquairol ; and again the trial closes in defeat, but this time a terrific and loathsome defeat, resulting not from irresoluteness in the struggle, nor from weakness in the combatant, but from his voluntary submission, by the logical ultimation of vice, — a perverse preference of sin and destruction to virtue and blessedness. Roquairol has ample mind, feeling, energy, ambition ; but an insane love of pleasure possesses him. “ Now enthusiast, now libertine, he ran through the alternation between ether and slime more and more rapidly, till he mixed them both.” With no self-denial or rational ordering of his passions, devoured by the ulcer of vanity, guzzling his own feelings while playing with those of others, he becomes a hideous and execrable perversion of humanity. By the sapping and dissolving influence of reckless indulgence, his conscience undergoes deliquescence, and as the hollow fabric of his being collapses in suicide, we see the *infernal* Titan blasted and overwhelmed. In Albano we once more recognize the same powers and weaknesses of nature coexisting, and set amidst even severer temptations, but with an opposite result. “ In the sea of the world,” he says, “ I will rise like a living man by *swimming*, not like a drowned man by corruption.” Controlled by steadfast principles of morality, he reins in the fiery steeds with a master hand. Under the purifying and consolidating influence of exalted sentiments, surveyed by reason, the texture of his character grows finer and firmer, and conscience asserts its monarchic supremacy. At last, he becomes comprehensive

and calm in thought and faith, an inspiring exemplar of joyous serenity and grand achievement; the conquest is complete; and as, by the side of the lovely Idoine, he assumes his inheritance amidst an admiring people, we see the *supernal* Titan crowned and enthroned. Moral teaching more timely, vital, searching, sanative than this, it will certainly be hard to find. Let us leave it with Jean Paul's own words. For when Albano had ascended to this victorious height, regretfully remembering the other Titans whom he had known, who had been defeated, he felt devoutly grateful for his own escape. "He thought of the beings who lay sunk in graves around him, hard and barren indeed as rocks, but high as rocks too,—of the beings whom Fate had sacrificed, who would fain have used the milky-way of infinity and the rainbow of fancy as a bow in the hand, without ever being able to draw a string across it. 'Why, then, did not I, too, go down like those whom I esteemed? Did not in me also that scum of excess boil up and overspread the clearness?' "

The functions of an author in literature are a reduced and enlarged reproduction of the moral functions of human nature in life. Jean Paul experienced these in his own person with such breadth and intensity, that it was natural that they should reflect themselves with unwonted vividness in his writings. His literary productions follow along in the years of his life in a parallel series with the epochs of his experience, mirroring his sorrows and struggles, his perceptions and studies, his defeats and victories, his memories and aspirations. From their very nature, therefore, they possess an intense ethical instructiveness. They fall into three chief classes: the Satirical, beginning with "Greenland Lawsuits"; the Humorous, as the "Life of Quintus Fixlein"; and the Comic, ending with "Nicholaus Margraf." His largest and most serious works, "Hesperus" and "Titan," as well as many of his small pieces, show these three styles in intermixture and alternation. But the special qualities of his genius always display themselves in their fullest dimensions and their most unhampered vigor in the satirical, humorous, or comic form. What, then, is the essential ethical spirit and aim of these respective modes of expression?

If we analyze the nature of satire, to discover its moral import and function, we shall find it to be, in essence, a contrast between something thought and something seen ; a contrast, one side of which kindles reverence, the other side anger. It is a comparison, explicit or implied, made in presence of a conceived right and a perceived wrong ; a comparison which quickens admiration for the ideal good, indignation for the actual violation of it. Humor, in like manner, rests on or consists in contrast and comparison ; but in spirit and purport it differs from satire. Humor is imagination, moved by tenderness, elevating into our sympathy things in themselves too poor and humble for our regard. It is the adornment of the simple and homely by means of imaginative associations. Love, copiously engendered and set free by grand and charming objects, by divine principles and sentiments, diffuses itself over and transfuses itself into trifling matters, mean and ludicrous things, naturally situated far beneath its range, and so lifts them into our embrace, — and this is humor. It shines upon the sadness spread over human life, and transmutes it into joy ; as sunshine sifting through a chill mist turns it into powdery gold. In satire the comparison goes *upward* from a deformed or haggard and bitter actual to an ideal grandeur and good far above, and the emotional result or deposit is scorn for what is seen lying in grim contradiction below. In humor the comparison goes *downward* from the embrace of truth and love, carrying with it in its descent the light and perfume of all winsome and beautiful relations, and shedding their ennobling associations and delightful influences over humble and imperfect things spread out far beneath. Humor recommends the ugly and insignificant to our esteem and affection by transfiguring and dignifying them with associated beauty and greatness. In the comic, we see the nature and functions of both satire and humor combined and heightened into caricature. The same latent or expressed series of contrasts between what is and what ought to be the actual and the ideal is carried on, but carried on in burlesque exaggeration impelled by an enjoying sense of the ludicrous ; and its final moral intent is to exalt the lowly into sympathy by the association of pleasure, and to sink the ignoble into contempt

by the weight of ridicule. Satire, by showing *evil* contradicting good, engenders an opposing scorn for it. Humor, by associating the universal with the *particular*, awakens an elevating sympathy with it. Comic wit unites these two in fantastic exaltation, and, neutralizing, by the attachment of an associative pleasure, the hatred which a *low incongruity* naturally provokes, is a valuable lubricant for the soreness and weariness of human life.

These offices of a moral teacher and censor Jean Paul fulfils with unequalled sincerity and energy. With bitter and bleeding fidelity he exposes and assails the injustice, harshness, cruel coldness, petty jealousies, so common among the poor and ignorant; and with remorseless truth he reveals and denounces the pitiless pride and luxurious sloth, the unmeaning ceremonial glitter and languishing indifference, the frozen or poisoned hearts and perverted heads, the insipid hypocrisy and glistening polish, to be found in the rich and aristocratic circles of his time. To whatever threatens most to degrade man or to corrupt society he devotes his most stinging ridicule. Thus he has no patience with that vile inversion of religion which makes it a mere guard to keep men from perdition. He says of that vulgar morality which deduces all obligation from self-interest: "I compare this cursed exaltation of souls, merely from low motives, with the English horse-tails, which always point to heaven only because their sinews have been cut." He entirely outgrew that spirit of dissatisfaction and querulousness which likes to tease others because it is itself unhappy. He writes in his private journal: "And you, my brothers, I will love more, I will create for you more joy. I will limit my endeavors to making you cheerful, and turn my powers no longer, as hitherto, to torment you." And from that time he began to infuse into whatever he wrote that loving, sunny humor which, bringing the loftiest and widest into connection with the lowliest and narrowest, is adapted to make every man draw all humanity to his breast. Why not expect to find inexhaustible interest and wonder in the parson of a little hamlet, in his house and grounds an idyl-kingdom and pastoral world? Does not every man move in the centre of the horizon, every breath coalesce with the general atmosphere, every



window open on the universe, and every truth vibrate in the infinite organism of truth?

The soul of Jean Paul is so full of poetic sensibility, fiery and gentle humanity, and natural piety, that whatever he produces comes forth spontaneously saturated with moral and spiritual meaning and beauty. Whatever his pen touches instantly becomes charged with ethical power and clothed with religious symbolism. A stroll in the open air was to him as walking down the aisle of a sublimer church, and he asked himself: "Dost thou enter pure into this vast, guiltless temple? Dost thou bring no venomous passion into this place, where flowers bloom and birds sing? Dost thou bear no hatred where Nature loves? Art thou calm as the stream where Nature reflects herself as in a mirror?" His overflowing sympathy does not allow him to look on anything with indifference, and his sharp sight will not permit him to confound good and evil. He must, therefore, dissect motives and characters, and give them praise or blame according to their deserts. He cannot help stripping and stigmatizing deceit and cruelty, and eulogizing sincerity and love. He sets the hypocritical tyrant in the stocks for a deterring example, as in the following instance. "Froulay seriously regarded himself as moral, disinterested, and gentle, merely because he inexorably insisted on all this in the case of others. He retained the habit, when an open-hearted soul showed him its breaches, of marching in upon it through those breaches, as if he had himself made them. The penitent who knelt before him for forgiveness he would crush still lower, and instead of the key of absolution draw forth the hammer of the law." In his inimitable softness of pity, his angelic sweetness of sympathy with the unhappy innocents of the earth, abused children of affliction, victims of unkindness smitten and bleeding invisibly, he has no rival. He says of a sensitive dying maiden with a harsh father, "She had accustomed herself, before him, to dry away with her eye, so to speak, the tear, before it grew big enough to fall." And at another time he says, "O thou who hast still a mother, thank God for her in the day when thy soul is full of joyful tears, and needs a bosom wherein to shed them!" Such is his feeling of the pa-

thetic exposures and evanescence of humanity, that it breathes in almost articulate tones through his pages, "To-morrow thy poor brother dies, then thou, more unhappy, followest after: ah! wilt thou vex and injure him to-day?" This makes him in a rare degree a natural teacher of Christian morality.

Jean Paul is especially famous for his treatment of two ethical topics, Friendship and the Immortality of the Soul. No author whatever has written on friendship with such affecting fervor and fulness, insight and beauty, as he. His works are an inexhaustible treasury of searching thoughts, delicious sentiments, and matchless poetic images on this great subject, which must forever be so close and dear to the heart of man. And it is a fact of great interest, that there is nothing in his writings on this topic, romantic as they are, which he did not himself *live* with his Otto, Herman, Oerthel, Vogel, Emanuel, Herder, Jacobi.

The doctrine of immortality Jean Paul made the central principle in his system of practical philosophy. All the roots of his being struck into it, all the tendrils and vines of his heart and fancy clung to it and clustered about it. He meditated on it early and late, studied its evidences, explored its relations and implications, and, in addition to numberless detached references and remarks, devoted two distinct treatises to it. In his "Campaner-Thal" and his "Selina," he discusses the mighty question with a learning, an acute sagacity, a cogency of argument, an appreciation of the data, an eloquence of feeling, and a variety of illustration, unequalled by any single author among the endless number who have made elaborate expositions of the subject. He writes: "When, in your last hour, all faculty in the broken spirit shall fade away and die into inanity, — imagination, thought, effort, enjoyment, — then at last will the night-flower of Belief alone continue blooming, and refresh you with its perfumes in the last darkness."

One ethical point in the works of Jean Paul — and it occurs in the "Titan," the most deliberate and matured of all his writings — has often been called in question. It was earnestly condemned by all his friends, and is generally so condemned by those who read the work now. We refer to the fearful

fall and ruin of the Countess Linda de Romeiro. Few representations in literature inflict a more dreadful shock than that in the "Titan" where this superb and queenly being, despoiled, crushed, lost, by a foul tragedy to which, through a deception as to the person with whom she is, she is a voluntary party, disappears forever from the scene. She has so many fascinating and commanding qualities, she is so glowingly described, her sentiments are so noble and her conversation so eloquent, she moves before the imagination in such distinctness, the warm, incomparable sultana, that when by a gross treachery she is caused, through a single plunge, to sink from her imperial height to the bottom of perdition, the ideal spectator, stunned and torn with pain, recovers himself only to denounce the harrowing catastrophe with injured indignation. This is instinctive, but it is none the less mistaken and wrong. The same vehement but superficial protest has frequently been made against great authors whose plots have had a tragic termination. The outcry against the lamentable fate of Clarissa Harlowe was almost overwhelming; but Richardson remained firm in his refusal to alter it, asserting that his purpose was to instruct and warn, not to pamper, his readers. The same unreasoning clamor was raised over the dismal end of the queenly Zenobia in Hawthorne's "Blithedale Romance," although that dark conclusion was necessitated by the whole structure of the character, by every law of moral psychology and every demand of artistic congruity. So in the present instance; it is not the aim of Jean Paul as a moral writer to give pleasure by his art, but to give instruction by his insight and power. It is not his duty to gratify an æsthetic interest which his readers may feel in one of the personages of his romance; it may, on the contrary, be his duty to disappoint that interest, and to teach them a grave lesson through pain. This passage in the Titan is condemned simply because it turns on an abhorrent crime, and is intensely painful. These objections are obviated when the purpose of the writer is understood, and the careful preparations, the linked sequences of thought and temper and incident, introductory to the dread crisis, are appreciated. But to discern the significance of these prophetic preliminaries, ob-

scurely strewn through the voluminous pages, and clearly to master the author's design, are difficult. The work is so crowded with riches, that it needs to be slowly studied rather than hastily perused. The reader who errs in his moral judgment on some given particular is therefore excusable; since it cannot be expected that the reader of a romance will take the pains to do his author justice by indefatigably tracing out his purpose at the end of all the subtle clews intended to guide to it. The original from whom, with various modifications, the portrait of Linda was drawn, was Charlotte von Kalb, a married lady of noble station, and of great gifts and charms, who at one period of his life was deeply attached to Jean Paul, and exerted a lasting influence on him. She held very lax notions as to the sanctity of the marriage covenant, and indeed as to the need of the ceremony. With her generous, passionate heart and lofty mind she held that artistic completeness, æsthetic gratification, an ideal life of spontaneous freedom, were the highest aims. Jean Paul means in Linda to give his contemporaries, among whom such views were very prevalent, an impressive illustration of their dangerousness. The intelligent critic who will go carefully through the Titan with sole reference to this point will be amazed at the nicety and the thoroughness with which everything is so arranged, as to make the actual development of the tragedy a foregone and necessary conclusion. He will then justify it on every ground, alike of ethics, and of art as related to ethics. It is the inevitable sequel from the convictions and sentiments of Linda, the qualities of the persons with whom she stands in relation, and the combination of circumstances into which they bring themselves; and it enforces, with even shocking effect, a momentous moral of which there is always but too much need. There is not a single feature or element of the painful story which can leave any demoralizing impression on the reader: he can never efface from his mind the recollection of the insidious weakness, the loathsome crime, and the awful penalty; and that recollection will always be a warning to him and a restraint upon him if he is himself tempted. This is true medicinal morality, in which the description of evil, instead of enervating and re-

ducing by a voluptuous atmosphere of pleasure and delusion, cleanses and braces every virtuous energy by repulsive reaction. Then the contemplation of crime and woe purifies the soul by the action of the two motives of classic tragedy, pity and terror. Jean Paul was therefore right in withstanding all the protests and persuasions of his friends and critics, and retaining the substantial development of his plot for the unhappy Linda as he originally wrote it. He had a more solemn aim than to impart a shallow and momentary pleasure. He took a straight path, and with dire power scored into the very brains of his readers the stern lesson with which he felt himself intrusted. The only subject of regret is that he did not live to rewrite this part of the work, as he wished to do, for the sake of making his purpose clearer, elucidating the preparatory indications, and lifting into stronger relief the profound truth and moral, that character is destiny. For it is his enduring glory as a moralist, that he is one of that small class of free, penetrative, great minds, who in different ages have distinctly seen and proclaimed this deepest truth in moral science, namely, that the nature and law of retribution consist in the recoil of conduct on character, and the return of character into itself. The proper rewards and punishments of all souls and deeds are contained in their own reactions. To those who appreciate it, this principle discloses the ultimate grounds at the same time of personal content, general tolerance, and invincible faith.

And now, from the entire survey of his life, his character, and his books, we feel warranted in expressing the assurance that the name of Jean Paul Friedrich Richter, and the works he has written, will be increasingly held in affectionate esteem as long as the sorrows of humanity elicit pity, the joys of friendship yield satisfaction, the moral virtues command reverence, or the love of God and the hope of heaven have disciples.

- ART. II.—1. *Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire.* By SIR BERNARD BURKE, LL. D., Ulster King of Arms. Twenty-third edition. London. 1863. Royal 8vo.
2. *The Historic Peerage of England, exhibiting under Alphabetical Arrangement the Origin, Descent, and Present State of every Title of Peerage which has existed in this Country since the Conquest. Being a new Edition of the Synopsis of the Peerage of England.* By the late SIR HARRIS NICOLAS, G. C. M. G. Revised, corrected, and continued to the Present Time, by WILLIAM COURTHOPE, Esq., Barrister at Law. London. 1857. 8vo.
3. *The Vicissitudes of Families.* By SIR BERNARD BURKE, LL. D., Ulster King of Arms. Three series. London. 1859–63. 3 vols. Post 8vo.
4. *The Noble and Gentle Men of England; or, Notes touching the Arms and Descents of the Ancient, Knightly, and Gentle Houses of England, arranged in their respective Counties.* Attempted by EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, Esq., M. A. Westminster. 1859. Small 4to.
5. *Memorials of Samuel Appleton, of Ipswich, Massachusetts; with Genealogical Notices of some of his Descendants.* Compiled by ISAAC APPLETON JEWETT. Boston. 1850. 8vo.
6. *Genealogy of Warren, with some Historical Sketches.* By JOHN C. WARREN, M. D. Boston: Privately printed. 1854. 4to.
7. *An Account of the Temple Family, with Notes and Pedigree of the Family of Bowdoin.* By W. H. WHITMORE. Boston: Privately printed. 1856. 8vo. pp. 16.
8. *Pictures of the Olden Time.* By EDMUND H. SEARS. Boston. 1857. 12mo.
9. *Memorials of the Chauncys, including President Chauncy, his Ancestors and Descendants.* By WILLIAM CHAUNCEY FOWLER. Boston. 1858. 8vo.
10. *A Genealogical Dictionary of the first Settlers of New England, showing Three Generations of those who came before May, 1692.* By JAMES SAVAGE. Boston. 1860–62. 4 vols. 8vo.
11. *A Handbook of American Genealogy; being a Catalogue*

*of Family Histories, and Publications containing Genealogical Information, chronologically arranged.* By WILLIAM H. WHITMORE. Albany. 1862. Small 4to.

"FOR ten or twelve years," says Sir Bernard Burke, "before the civil conflict broke out, the most intelligent and zealous of my genealogical clients were from the other side of the Atlantic, all yearning to carry back their ancestry to the fatherland, and to connect themselves in some way with its historic associations. Massachusetts was more genealogical than Yorkshire, and Boston sustained what London never did, — a magazine devoted exclusively to genealogy. My friend Mr. Somerby, a very accomplished American antiquary, employed himself for several years in researches through the parish registers of England for the parochial entries of the founders of the chief American families, and especially of the Pilgrim Fathers; and I have been told that a very large sum was given at New York or Washington — I forget which — for the purchase of a perfect series of our English county histories, as the best sources of American genealogy."\* — *Vicissitudes of Families*, 3d Series, pp. 288, 289.

This statement is a sufficient justification to us for devoting a few pages to subjects so important in studying European history, and so interesting to antiquaries and men of leisure.

The English nobility is of Norman origin. Few of the Saxon families survived the Conquest, and those which did were subjected to the rules of the feudal system, introduced by the Conqueror. The earliest honors were territorial, the counts or earls being governors of counties, with high authority, and the barons feudal tenants. All the tenants *in capite*, whether by knight's service or grand sergeanty, were required to give their attendance upon the sovereign at stated times, and at times to give advice. The transfer of the tenure to another person transferred the honors and duties to him. Thus were created baronies *by tenure*, and such were all the

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\* The writer has been informed by Charles C. Jewett, Esq., the Superintendent of the Public Library of Boston, that the Library of Congress, at Washington, contains a valuable collection of county histories, and that the Astor Library in New York, and Public Library in Boston, possess collections as complete as it has been possible to make them, the orders in London for them having been unlimited. That in the Boston Library has already cost more than \$4,000. Mr. Jewett also bears testimony to the great demand for them, and the numbers of those who consult them.

great baronies of the earlier Norman kings. It has for a long period been in dispute whether the possession of one of these ancient baronies entitled the owner to a writ of summons to the House of Lords. The question was frequently raised, but never decided until two years ago, when Sir Maurice Berkeley claimed a summons as proprietor of Berkeley Castle, and it was then declared that baronies by tenure had long ceased to exist in England.

Baronies by writ of summons followed the tenure baronies. These were created by a writ of summons issued under the great seal to certain individuals to attend Parliament. Some persons were summoned regularly, others only occasionally, or even only once. The custom varied, also, as to the heirs of a first baron. But if a person summoned actually sat in Parliament, he acquired a barony in fee, which descended like real estate at common law, the males taking in succession, and the females together. In the latter case the barony falls into *abeyance*, and so continues until all the heirs but one are extinct, or until called out of abeyance, in favor of one of the co-heirs, by the sovereign. Most of the older baronies now giving seats in the House of Lords have been derived in this manner, as those of De Ros, De Clifford, Clinton, Hastings, Camoys, Willoughby d'Eresby, and Willoughby de Broke, the peers of these names being descendants in the female line of the original grantees.

But for a long time baronies, as well as all peerages, have been created by patent, and the honor descends according to the limitation contained in the patent, which in England commonly restricts the succession to the male descendants of the first peer, though occasionally it is extended to collateral and female heirs. In Scotland peerages were generally granted to the heirs general, so that it is morally impossible for some of them ever to become extinct.

The foreign title of Viscount, which ranks next above that of Baron, was introduced in the fourteenth century. It has never been very popular, and was very little conferred until the reign of George III. The Viscounty of Hereford, conferred in 1550 upon the Devereux family, is the oldest one giving a seat in the House of Lords. Next, at a long interval,



comes that of Bolingbroke, conferred by Queen Anne on the celebrated statesman.

The title of Earl is the oldest in the peerage, and was, as we have stated, an official name for the governor of a county or province, though not since the Conquest. It has long been the favorite title in England, and in Scotland the earls outnumber all the other peers together. The oldest earldom is that of Shrewsbury, conferred on the Talbots in 1442.

The title of Marquess, next above that of Earl, was seldom conferred until the reign of George III. The oldest marquessate is that of Winchester, enjoyed by the Paulets, upon whom it was conferred in 1551. Next in the English peerage is Lansdowne, created in 1784. In the Scotch peerage there are four marquessates; in Ireland, they are more numerous.

The title of Duke was introduced into England by Edward III., who created his son, the Black Prince, Duke of Cornwall, — a title which descends to all his successors, and gives the Princes of Wales a seat in the House of Lords. The dukedom of Norfolk, created in 1483, is the oldest after Cornwall. That of Somerset dates from 1546. This great title was rarely conferred, except upon princes of the blood, until the reign of Charles II. He and some of his immediate successors were very liberal in bestowing it. Of late, again, it has been bestowed charily, and the number of peers bearing it has actually decreased. The last created were those of Sutherland and Cleveland in 1833. It is understood that it was offered to the late Marquess of Lansdowne and the Earl Fitz-William, but declined by those eminent men.

The House of Lords did not contain more than fifty or sixty persons in the time of the Tudors, and was comparatively small until the accession of Mr. Pitt as Prime Minister in 1783. That statesman recommended a great number for the honors of the peerage, — his peers included the wealthy county families of Lowther, Vernon, Bagot, and Lascelles, and many Scotch and Irish lords; and his successors in office have also generally been liberal in titles. The House of Lords, however, has not kept pace in increase with the population and wealth of the country. The country gentlemen have furnished most of the new creations. Next in numbers probably

comes the bar, and then those distinguished in political and military life. Many families have owed their foundation to trade and commerce; but the number of persons actually engaged in commercial pursuits who have been raised to the peerage has been small. It includes Lords Carrington, Ashburton, Overstone, and Belper. Literature has one very great name,—the late Lord Macaulay. The House of Lords now contains three royal princes,—the Prince of Wales, as Duke of Cornwall, the King of Hanover, as Duke of Cumberland, and the Duke of Cambridge,—twenty other dukes, nineteen marquesses, one hundred and ten earls, twenty-two viscounts, and two hundred and ten barons. This list includes all the hereditary members. There are also sixteen representatives of the peers of Scotland, twenty-eight representative peers from Ireland, and thirty-two bishops,—in all, four hundred and sixty members. The Irish representative peers are chosen for life; those of Scotland, for a single Parliament. While the Scotch and Irish peers are entitled only to select a certain number of their order to represent them, many, and, indeed, all the more influential among them, sit in the House of Lords by virtue of English titles conferred upon them. Thus, the Duke of Hamilton in Scotland sits and votes as Duke of Brandon; the Duke of Buccleuch, as Earl of Doncaster; the Duke of Leinster in Ireland, as Viscount Leinster; and the Marquess of Ormond, as Baron Ormond. The peerages of the three kingdoms number about six hundred and fifty persons, including twenty-seven dukes. While a large number of peers are peers of two out of three kingdoms, only three persons are peers of all,—the Marquesses of Abercorn and Hastings and the Earl of Verulam. An Irish peer, when not entitled to a seat in the House of Lords, may sit in the House of Commons for any constituency out of Ireland. The second Marquess of Londonderry (better known as Lord Castlereagh) and the present Viscount Palmerston are distinguished instances. It has been supposed that this privilege does not extend to Scotch peers; but the question has never been tested.

It is seldom that a commoner is raised at once to a higher rank than Viscount, or even than Baron. George III. did

this but twice, — in 1766, when William Pitt was created Earl of Chatham, and in 1784, when Sir James Lowther was made Earl of Lonsdale ; and her present Majesty has done it but three times, — in the cases of Mr. Thomas William Coke of Holkham Hall, the Nestor of the Whig party, created Earl of Leicester in 1837, of Lord Francis Egerton, made Earl of Ellesmere in 1846, and of Lord John Russell, made Earl Russell in 1861.

Certain classes of peers deserve notice. One of these embraces the descendants of illegitimate children of the sovereign. This has never been numerous, but was considerably increased by Charles II. That king, to the great dissatisfaction of the old nobility, created six of his natural sons Dukes of Monmouth, Northumberland, Richmond, Southampton, Grafton, and St. Albans. The Duke of Monmouth forfeited his honors in 1685, and the dukedom has never been restored to his descendant, the Duke of Buccleuch. The dukedoms of Northumberland\* and Southampton have become extinct ; but the other three still exist, and the families of Lennox, Fitz-Roy, and Beauclerk are among the most influential in England. Charles James Fox, through his mother, Lady Caroline Lennox, was great-great-grandson of Charles II. It was to this pedigree that Burke alluded when he spoke of him as a descendant of Henry IV. of France. James II. created his son by Arabella Churchill, who took the name of Fitz-James, Duke of Berwick. He followed the fortunes of his father, and his honors were therefore forfeited. Entering the service of France, however, he became one of the most skilful captains of the age, and was created Duke of Fitz-James by Louis XIV., — an honor still enjoyed by his descendants. Another branch is settled in Spain. We remember no other peerage conferred upon the acknowledged natural son of a sovereign till 1831, when the late King William IV. made his son, Colonel Fitz-Clarence, Earl of Munster. This brave and skilful officer's promotion was cordially approved in England.

William III. was very liberal in peerages. Among others, he

\* This title, which became extinct in 1716, must not be confounded with those conferred on the Percys.

conferred five English and two Irish peerages upon his Dutch retainers, which, with accompanying grants, were among the causes of his unpopularity. He made Marshal Schomberg Duke of Schomberg, and his son, Meinhardt Schomberg, Duke of Leinster in Ireland. Both these titles, however, soon became extinct. He also raised Bentinck, Zuleistein, D'Overquerque, and Van Keppel to the earldoms of Portland, Rochford, Grantham, and Albemarle, and General Ginkel to the Irish earldom of Athlone. All these titles are now extinct, except those of Bentinck, Duke of Portland, and Keppel, Earl of Albemarle.

The courtesy titles borne by the children of the nobility often greatly confuse foreigners, and are the subjects of egregious blunders on the part of English writers who should know better. The eldest son of every peer of the rank of an Earl is known, during his father's lifetime, by the second title of the latter. The eldest son of the Duke of Devonshire is called Marquess of Hartington, and the eldest son of the Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley. But these gentlemen are merely commoners, and in official papers are called Spencer Cavendish, Esq., and the Right Hon. Edward Stanley, the latter being a Privy Councillor. The younger sons of dukes and marquesses, and the daughters of dukes, marquesses, and earls, have, in the same manner, the prefix of "Lord" and "Lady" to their names; and the younger sons of earls, and the sons and daughters of viscounts and barons, are styled "Honorable." These latter titles are, of course, not transmissible by descent. The title of Lord is now used almost universally for the fifth order of the peerage, instead of Baron. Marquesses and earls are frequently called simply Lords; and sometimes, but now very rarely, dukes also are thus designated.

The civil wars in England, and the changes in property constantly taking place in a country so densely populated, and where mercantile interests are so influential, have made great havoc with the old families. Of those not peers, we shall speak hereafter. Few peerages, except baronies descended through females, date back earlier than the reign of Elizabeth. "All the English dukedoms," says Sir Bernard Burke, "created from the institution of the order down to the reign of

Charles II. are gone, except only Norfolk and Somerset. Winchester and Worcester (the latter now merged in the dukedom of Beaufort) are the only existing marquessates older than the reign of George III. The earl's coronet was very frequently bestowed under the Henrys and Edwards; it was the favorite distinction, besides being the oldest; and yet of all the earldoms created by the Normans, the Plantagenets, and the Tudors, eleven only remain, and of these, six (Arundel, Wiltshire, Worcester, Bedford, Rutland, and Lincoln) are merged in higher honors, the only ones giving independent designations being Shrewsbury, Derby, Huntingdon, Pembroke, and Devon. The present House of Lords cannot claim among its members a single male descendant of any one of the barons who were chosen to enforce Magna Charta, or of any one of the peers who are known to have fought at Agincourt; and the noble house of Wrotesley is the solitary existing family among the lords which can boast of a male descent from a founder of the Order of the Garter." Among them, however, are members of the families of Courtenay and Grey.

In deciding the antiquity of families, we are of opinion, with most genealogists, that the direct male line must always be the best. This is the feudal rule, which excluded all females, and in genealogy it is certainly the correct rule, although we do not base our opinion upon the reason given by some one, that it was part of the vassal's duty to keep the secrets of his lord, which a woman could not do. This rule greatly reduces the number of ancient families in the House of Lords. Taking the time when they were first ennobled as the standard, the two oldest there are the Berkeleys, Earls of Berkeley, who were barons by tenure immediately after the Conquest, and the Courtenays, Earls of Devon, who occupied that rank in the twelfth century. The heads of these families were made barons by writ of summons in 1295 and 1299 respectively. The Norman-Irish family of Fitz-Maurice, Marquess of Lansdowne, may probably be ranked next. Under the title of Baron Kerry, it dates from 1181. The Clintons, Dukes of Newcastle, date from 1299, and are the oldest of the ducal houses. Then come the Nevilles, now represented by the Earls of Abergar-

venny, the Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury, the Howards, Dukes of Norfolk, the Stanleys, Earls of Derby, and the families of Manners, Duke of Rutland, Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, Devereux, Viscount Hereford, Grey, Earl of Stamford, St. John, Lord St. John and Viscount Bolingbroke, and Wiltoughby, Lord Middleton. All these were peers during the Wars of the Roses. With them also rank the great Scotch houses of Douglas, Hamilton, Gordon, Erskine, Hay, Campbell, Bruce, Lindsey, and Graham, and the Irish families of Fitz-Gerald, Butler, De Courcy, De Burgh, and a few others. The families of the great barons of the first century and a half after the Norman Conquest have almost all died out, but they can hardly be regarded as English. The reign of Henry VIII. saw the rise of many great houses, most of whom were enriched by the spoils of the monasteries. Those of Somerset, Herbert, Russell, Seymour, and Paulet then first appeared in the House of Lords. Queen Elizabeth seldom granted peerages, and was parsimonious of all honors. Lord Burghley, however, her Majesty always made an exception. From him descends the powerful house of Cecil, represented by the Marquesses of Salisbury and Exeter. The Cavendishes were not ennobled until 1605, but two branches attained dukedoms before the end of the century. The Gowers, now Dukes of Sutherland, date from 1712, and the Grosvenors, Marquesses of Westminster, reputed to be the richest family in England, were first made peers in 1761. The Byrons appear in Domesday Book, but Charles I. gave them their barony. He also raised the Feildings to the earldom of Denbigh, and the Quarterly Review remarks, that the first Earl is worthy of notice for two facts, — that he was a lineal male descendant of the Imperial Hapsburgs, and that he was the ancestor of “Tom Jones,” — “two holds upon fame, which like anchors at bow and stern will keep his house’s name stable forever.”\* Sir Henry Vane’s son was made Lord Barnard in 1699, and from him descends the Duke of Cleveland.

The Howards are the noblest family in Great Britain, but

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\* The article from which this and one or two other extracts have been made is one by Mr. James Hannay, upon “The Historic Peerage” of Sir Harris Nicolas, in the number for January, 1858. It has also been republished among the other contributions of Mr. Hannay to the Quarterly Review.

not the most ancient. Two things are remarkable about their origin. First, in a period of Norman ascendancy, they sprang either from the Danes or the Saxons. It is certain that they are not Norman or French. Secondly, in an eminently martial age, the premier house of England owed its origin to the law. Sir William Howard, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas from 1297 to 1308, is its first known ancestor. His grandson married the heiress of the Mowbrays, Bigods, and Fitz-Alans, and this match made the fortune of his race. The Howards were firm Yorkists, and followed unswervingly the fortunes of the white rose. John Lord Howard was created Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal by Richard III. in 1483, and was killed at Bosworth two years later. His son Thomas, who eventually was restored to the dukedom, as Lord Surrey, was the English commander at Flodden Field. The third Duke of Norfolk, and his son Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, the poet,—around whose name such a halo of romance has been thrown,—at first were great favorites with Henry VIII., and were both Knights of the Garter at the same time,—a most unusual honor; but they subsequently fell under the displeasure of the jealous monarch, and were attainted and condemned. Surrey was executed, but the death of Henry saved the life of the unhappy father. In the reign of Elizabeth, the fourth Duke aspired to the hand of the imprisoned Queen of Scots, and entered into a conspiracy to release her. For this he was attainted and beheaded. The dukedom and the office of hereditary Earl Marshal were restored to his descendant in 1660, and have been regularly transmitted to Henry, the eighteenth and present Duke. But it is not alone in the Duke of Norfolk that the Howards flourish. Besides him the Earls of Suffolk, Carlisle, and Effingham, and the untitled Howards of Greystock and Corby, are direct male descendants of Thomas Howard, the second Duke. The Earl of Carlisle and Mr. Howard of Corby descend from “Belted Will Howard,” and owe their fortunes to a marriage with the great heiress of the Dacres, in the seventeenth century. Lord Effingham is the representative of the distinguished Admiral of the time of the Armada. It is somewhat singular that these six branches are equally divided between the Roman Catholic and the English

Churches: the Duke of Norfolk and the Greystocks and Corbys being of the former communion, and the three Earls of the latter. It must not be supposed that all who bear the name of Howard are descended from this house. There are other families in Great Britain and Ireland named Howard, one represented by the Earl of Wicklow, and some descended from a French refugee family of Ouard, who bear no relationship to the Duke of Norfolk.

The Seymours — now in rank the second family in the realm — were a knightly family, of secondary importance, until the marriage of Jane Seymour with Henry VIII., who raised her brother to the Dukedom of Somerset, in 1546. He was subsequently attainted and beheaded, and the title was not restored until 1660. Pride has always marked this distinguished house. Charles, the sixth Duke, commonly called “the proud Duke of Somerset,” needs only a passing reference. “He was in truth,” says Macaulay, “a man in whom the pride of birth and rank amounted almost to a disease.” In the patent of the title, precedence was given to the children of the first Duke by his second wife, so that until the issue of these became extinct on the death of Algernon, the seventh Duke, in 1750, the honors did not fall to the elder line. Sir Edward Seymour, of Berry Pomeroy, the representative of this, and the famous politician of the Revolution, showed the family weakness in a manner that greatly astonished William III., when to the remark of the latter, on their first introduction, “I think, Sir Edward, that you are of the family of the Duke of Somerset,” he haughtily replied, “Pardon me, sir, the Duke of Somerset is of my family.” The Seymours, like the Howards, are Whigs, and the present and twelfth Duke of Somerset is First Lord of the Admiralty in the Palmerston Ministry, and has the reputation of being a man of high administrative ability. The rich Marquess of Hertford represents a younger branch of this family, and, nearly related to him, we may mention Sir Hamilton Seymour, the distinguished diplomatist, formerly Ambassador at St. Petersburg and Vienna.

The Duke of Hamilton, “the head of a house,” says Lord Macaulay, “of almost regal dignity,” is Premier Peer of



Scotland, and chief of the famous Lowland family of Douglas. This dukedom descended to them in the female line from the Hamiltons in the seventeenth century. In addition to his Scottish honors, the Duke of Hamilton is Duke of Brandon in England, Duke of Chatelherault in France, and a Prince of the old German Empire. On the death of the last Duke of Douglas in 1761, the Hamiltons succeeded to the Marquessate of Douglas and the ancient earldom of Angus, and have since resumed the Douglas name. The estates, however, after the celebrated litigation known as the "great Douglas case," went to the female heirs. Few families in Europe are more renowned than this, and few have a nobler residence than theirs in Hamilton Palace. The present and eleventh Duke, by his marriage with the Princess Stephanie, daughter of the Grand Duke of Baden, is closely allied to the present imperial family of France, and to several reigning sovereigns of Germany.

No families in poetry and romance — if even in history — equal the great border houses of Percy of Alnwick and Nevill of Raby. They were near neighbors, closely related, and generally friends, and their influence in the North was supreme. The Percys of history were descended from Josceline of Louvaine, son of Godfrey, Duke of Brabant, who married Agnes De Percy, the daughter and heiress of the last of the Norman barons of Alnwick, and assumed her name. The barony of Percy was conferred upon their descendants in 1299, and the earldom of Northumberland by Richard II. in 1377. Henry, the first Earl, deserted Richard and aided Henry IV. to obtain the throne. Rebelling, in turn, against him, he was slain at Bramham Moor. His son, the gallant Hotspur, had already fallen at Shrewsbury, and his brother, Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, the early companion in arms of the Black Prince, had been beheaded immediately after that battle. Henry, Hotspur's son, and second Earl of Northumberland, was restored to the family titles and estates by Henry V., and was killed at St. Albans. His sons, Thomas and Ralph, perished, the one at Northampton and the other at Hedgeley Moor. Henry, third Earl of Northumberland, was slain at Towton in 1461, and the fourth Earl was killed by a mob at Thirsk in 1483. The fifth Earl was the first who died a natu-

ral death, but his second son, Sir Thomas Percy, was attainted and beheaded in 1537. Henry, the sixth Earl, the first lover of Anne Boleyn, compelled by his father to marry, against his own wish, Lady Mary Talbot, lived most unhappily, childless and separate. "At last," says Sir Bernard Burke, "sinking under a broken constitution, he could not bear up against the sorrow brought on by his brother's execution and his house's attainder, but died the very same month in which Sir Thomas had been consigned to the block." Mary restored the earldom in 1557 to Thomas, seventh Earl, son of the preceding Sir Thomas, but he joined in the celebrated rebellion against Elizabeth, known as "the Rising in the North." Defeated in the field, he fled to Scotland, and threw himself upon the protection of one of his hereditary enemies of the border, James Douglas, Earl of Morton, by whom he was basely betrayed to the English government, and executed in 1572. Henry, the eighth Earl, died a violent death in the Tower, while imprisoned there, but whether by his own hand or otherwise is still a mystery. The ninth Earl was convicted of complicity with the Gunpowder Plot, and sentenced to a heavy fine and imprisonment. Algernon, the tenth Earl, espoused the cause of the Parliament in the Civil War, for there was never a time when a Percy was not ripe for rebellion; but by his selfish, vacillating, and even cowardly course, he proved himself hardly worthy of his gallant race. Josceline, the eleventh and last Earl of Northumberland, and the last of the legitimate male line of the Percys, died in 1670, and the title became extinct. His vast estates devolved upon his only daughter, Lady Elizabeth Percy, regarded as the greatest heiress in Europe, whose fortunes were as romantic as those of any of her ancestors. She was married, in name only, when thirteen years of age, to Henry Cavendish, Earl of Ogle, son of the Duke of Newcastle, who died soon afterward. Applicants for the hand of the young widow came from all parts of the kingdom and the Continent. Among these were Thomas Thynne of Longleat, the richest commoner in England, and Count Königsmark, a Swedish adventurer. The family, to prevent the success of the dashing foreigner, hurried up a marriage with Mr. Thynne, and immediately sent the

bride to the Continent. But Königsmark would not give up the great prize so easily. On the night of Sunday, February 12, 1682, Thynne was assassinated by some foreign ruffians, whom it is supposed the Count employed for the purpose. They were subsequently tried and executed, but Königsmark escaped in consequence of lack of evidence to bring the murder home to him. Shortly afterward, the lady married the proud Duke of Somerset. On the death of their son, the seventh Duke, the estates and barony again fell to an heiress, who married Sir Hugh Smithson. His father-in-law had, in 1746, been created Earl of Northumberland with remainder to him, and he now assumed the name of Percy, and was, twenty years later, advanced to the dukedom.\* Thus commenced a third family of Percy, descended in the female line from both the others, and to this have descended the ancient barony and most of the estates, including Alnwick. The munificence of the last and of the present Duke will add new lustre to the illustrious name. The former greatly enriched the University of Cambridge, and built the Observatory. The latter has already erected and endowed three churches at his sole expense, and has signified to the Bishop of Durham his readiness to build five more, involving an expenditure of more than £200,000.

“The illustrious names,” says Sir Bernard Burke, “that adorn the family tree of the Nevilles are numerous beyond all precedent. A Neville was Queen of England, and a Neville mother of two of our English monarchs. Twice was a Neville consecrated Archbishop of York, and twice did a Neville fill the dignified office of Lord High Chancellor: seven Nevilles were duchesses, nine Nevilles were Knights of the Garter; a Neville presided over the Commons as Speaker, and Nevilles without end pervade our national records.” The Nevilles, like

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\* James Smithson, the founder of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, was a natural son of this Duke of Northumberland. He bequeathed his fortune to an illegitimate son of his illegitimate brother, with remainder to the children of the latter, legitimate or illegitimate, and then remainder over to the government of the United States. This last person died, leaving no legitimate issue, and the bequest to his illegitimate issue — they not having been specified by name — was held invalid by the English courts, so that the United States succeeded to Mr. Smithson's splendid gift.

the Howards, were Saxon, and descended from the marriage of Robert Fitz-Maldred, Lord of Raby, and grandson of Cospatric, the Saxon Earl of Northumberland, with Isabel Neville, the heiress of Raby, whose name her husband assumed. Subsequently an heiress brought them the famous Castle of Middleham. Ralph Lord Neville was created Earl of Westmoreland by Richard II. in 1397, and was one of the most powerful subjects England ever saw. From his first marriage descended the Earls of Westmoreland, seated at Raby and Brancepeth. By his second marriage with Joan, daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, he had Richard Lord of Middleham. The latter joined Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, — who had married his sister, — in rebellion, and was beheaded after the battle of Wakefield in 1460. Edward IV. the next year restored the estates to the son, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, “the greatest,” says Hume, “as well as the last of those mighty barons who formerly overawed the crown,” and the hero of one of the best romances in the language. The King-maker, however, found a bloody grave at Barnet. “In 1469,” says Sir Bernard Burke, “the house of Neville attained the acme of its glory. Within exactly one hundred years its ruin was accomplished.” The Earls of Westmoreland had generally been Lancastrians, and, with the Percys, after the Reformation had adhered to the old religion. In 1569 Charles, sixth Earl of Westmoreland, and the Earl of Northumberland, concocted at Brancepeth Castle the Rising in the North. “The Dun Bull” of the Nevilles was again “raised on high,” and joined with the Crescent of the Percys in the last of the many rebellions of the feudal nobility. The effort ignominiously failed, and the honors and great estates of the unfortunate nobleman were forever lost. By the heroic aid of his wife, Lady Jane Howard, daughter of the poet Earl of Surrey, Westmoreland escaped first to Scotland and finally to Flanders, where he lived in poverty and seclusion, supported by a small pension from the king of Spain, until his death in 1601. He left three daughters, who with their mother underwent terrible privations. In 1596, the Bishop of Durham touchingly relates the hardships of one, in a letter to Lord Burghley in her behalf, in which he says, “It were very hon-

ourable for your good lordship to take the case of a most distressed mayden, descended as your lordship knoweth of great nobility, the House of Norfolk, the House of Westmoreland, and the House of Rutland, in memory of man, and was but a child of five years old when her unfortunate father did enter into rebellion." Brancepeth and Raby are now the residences of strangers. Charles I. granted the earldom of Westmoreland to the Fanes. But a branch of the Nevilles still survives. Edward Neville, fourth son of Ralph, first Earl of Westmoreland, married the heiress of Beauchamp, and brought the ancient barony of Abergavenny into the family. This title was raised to an earldom in 1784, and from them have sprung also the Nevilles of Audley End, Lords Braybrooke.

The De Veres, Earls of Oxford, as we learn from Macaulay,

"derived their title through an uninterrupted male descent from a time when the families of Howard and Seymour were still obscure, when the Nevilles and Percys enjoyed only a provincial celebrity, and when even the great name of Plantagenet had not yet been heard in England. One chief of the house of De Vere had held high command at Hastings; another had marched, with Godfrey and Tancred, over heaps of slaughtered Moslems, to the sepulchre of Christ. The first Earl of Oxford had been minister of Henry Beauclerc. The third Earl had been conspicuous among the lords who extorted the Great Charter from John. The seventh Earl had fought bravely at Cressy and Poitiers. The thirteenth Earl had, through many vicissitudes of fortune, been the chief of the party of the Red Rose, and had led the van on the decisive day of Bosworth. The seventeenth Earl had shone at the court of Elizabeth, and had won for himself an honorable place among the early masters of English poetry. The nineteenth Earl had fallen in arms for the Protestant religion and for the liberties of Europe, under the walls of Maestricht."

The fortunes of this family have been the theme of another eloquent passage. It was in the Oxford Peerage Case, which arose in 1626, on the death of the eighteenth Earl, that Lord Chief Justice Crewe delivered his famous judgment.

"This great honor," said he, "this high and noble dignity hath continued ever since [its first creation] in the remarkable name of De Vere, by so many ages, descents, and generations, as no other kingdom can produce such a peer in one and the self-same name and title. I find

in all this time but two attainders of this noble family, and those in stormy and tempestuous times, when the government was unsettled, and the kingdom in competition.

"I have labored to make a covenant with myself, that affection may not press upon judgment; for I suppose there is no man that hath any apprehension of gentry or nobleness, but his affection stands to the continuance of so noble a name and house; and would take hold of a twig or a twine thread to uphold it. And yet Time hath his revolutions; there must be a period and end to all things temporal, — *finis rerum*, — an end of names and dignities and whatsoever is terrene; and why not of De Vere? — for where is Bohun? Where is Mowbray? Where is Mortimer? Nay, which is more and most of all, where is Plantagenet? They are entombed in the urns and sepulchres of mortality."

And De Vere has joined them. Aubrey, twentieth Earl, died in 1702, and with him expired, after an existence of five hundred and forty-seven years, the oldest title in Europe. His daughter and heiress married Charles Beauclerk, Duke of St. Albans. In 1711 Queen Anne conferred the title of Earl of Oxford upon Robert Harley, the celebrated statesman. This peerage, too, expired in 1853.

"Inferior," says Macaulay, "in antiquity and splendor to the house of De Vere, but to the house of De Vere alone, was the house of Talbot. Ever since the reign of Edward III., the Talbots had sat among the peers of the realm. The earldom of Shrewsbury had been bestowed in the fifteenth century on John Talbot, the antagonist of the Maid of Orleans. He had been long remembered by his countrymen as one of the most illustrious of those warriors who had striven to erect a great English empire on the Continent of Europe. The stubborn courage which he had shown in the midst of disasters had made him an object of interest greater than more fortunate captains had inspired, and his death had furnished a singularly touching scene to our early stage. His posterity had, during two centuries, flourished in great honor. The head of the family at the time of the Restoration was Francis, the eleventh Earl, a Roman Catholic. His death had been attended by circumstances such as, even in those licentious times which immediately followed the downfall of the Puritan tyranny, had moved men to horror and pity. The Duke of Buckingham, in the course of his vagrant amours, was for a moment attracted by the Countess of Shrewsbury. She was easily won. Her lord challenged the gallant, and fell. Some said the abandoned woman witnessed the combat in man's attire, and others that she clasped her victorious lover to her bosom while his shirt was still dripping with the blood of her husband."

Charles, the twelfth Earl, and afterward Duke of Shrewsbury, the son of the above, the celebrated statesman of the reigns of William III. and Anne, is perhaps the most distinguished member of this house. His abilities and accomplishments were of the highest order, but rendered, except on two great occasions, almost useless to his country, by his hesitating and uncertain temper. From the sweetness of his disposition and the fascination of his manners, he early obtained the title of "King of Hearts," which he retained to the last. Since his death the family has been almost uninterruptedly Roman Catholic, and consequently has seldom taken part in public life. From a Protestant branch sprang Lord Chancellor Talbot, whose descendant, Earl Talbot, was declared in 1858, after a long hearing, to be entitled to the earldom of Shrewsbury, dormant since the death of the seventeenth Earl, two years previously. There is one circumstance of singular and melancholy interest connected with the Talbots. From the tragical death of the eleventh Earl, in 1667, to the present time, the Shrewsbury peerage has never once descended lineally, either to son or grandson, and Earl Talbot traced his connection with it no later than the time of the Wars of the Roses.

Very different has been the fortune of the Scotch Grahams, Marquesses and Dukes of Montrose.

"For seven hundred years," Sir Bernard Burke tells us, "there has never been a collateral succession, since the Grahams first branched off from the family of Dalkeith and Abercorn. On two occasions the grandson succeeded his grandfather, but there is no instance of the direct line being broken. The intermarriages which continued this long line have invariably been with noble families. As far as they can be ascertained for four hundred years, the wives have always been daughters of actual peers. Not one of the successive heads of the house of Montrose has married an heiress, except on one occasion, when a Marquess of Montrose married the younger daughter of the only Duke of Rothes; but as that lady did not share her father's inheritance, she did not, according to the rule in Scotland, bring arms. Thus the Montrose family, one of the noblest in the three kingdoms, has no quarterings, while other families of much shorter duration have quarterings by the hundred." \*

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\* We may here mention a rule of heraldry, about which there would seem to be an enormous amount of ignorance; namely, that a person has no right to quarter or

A branch of the Grahams, then called Græmes, early left Scotland and settled at Esk and Netherby in Cumberland, where, and in Yorkshire and Northumberland, many families of them are still found. They soon distinguished themselves in the constant warfare carried on along the Border, and spread terror far into the interior of Scotland. Nor were they by any means docile subjects to their new sovereigns, but frequently were perfectly impartial between English and Scotch in their depredations. So troublesome indeed were these restless borderers, that upon one occasion intelligence was sent to Westminster, as of great importance, that "*the Græmes are quiet*"! From them came some brave Cavaliers in the civil war; also Richard Graham, Viscount Preston, a minister of James II., and the late Sir James Graham of Netherby Hall, one of the ablest men of the day.

We have already mentioned "the ancient and illustrious house of Courtenay," — as Lord Macaulay terms it, — as one of the two oldest in the House of Lords. The earldom of Devon was conferred upon the Courtenays in 1335 by Edward III., but it was forfeited in two or three generations. Henry VIII. created the chief of the house in his day Earl of Devon and Marquess of Exeter; but he too was subsequently attainted and beheaded, and his son, Edward Courtenay, was shut up in the Tower from boyhood to manhood. He was liberated by Mary, who conferred upon him a third earldom of Devon, and subsequently made him Marquess of Exeter. It is also said that her Majesty designed to bestow her hand upon him, but he unfortunately showed a preference for her sister, the Princess Elizabeth, and was accordingly sent back to prison. He afterwards died unmarried, and his titles, having, as it was supposed, become extinct, lay dormant for more than two hundred and fifty years. The late Sir Harris Nicolas, in the course of other investigations, discovered that in the patent of this earldom of Devon the limiting words "heirs male of his body" had been omitted, so that the honor was granted to the

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use in any way the arms of a female ancestor, unless she was an heiress; that is, had no brother, or no brother leaving issue. In Scotland, the rule is even more restricted. A man has the right to impale his wife's arms, and, if she be an heiress, to wear them on an *escutcheon of pretence*.



heirs male generally of the first peer. This omission was doubtless accidental, as so unusual a grant in the English peerage would otherwise have been remembered. Sir Harris Nicolas advised the Courtenays of Powderham Castle, descended from a cousin of the first Earl, to lay claim to the peerage, and the House of Lords adjudged it to them in 1831. The Earl of Devon now ranks third among the earls, and were it not for his ancestor's attainder, he would take precedence of all. The Courtenays claim a direct male descent from Charlemagne.

The most romantic recovery of a peerage was that of the ancient earldom of Huntingdon, by the world-renowned family of Hastings. The title, it was supposed, became extinct in 1789, on the death of the seventh Earl, and the estates went to that nobleman's nephew, the celebrated Earl of Moira, who assumed his name, and was created Marquess of Hastings in 1816. In 1817 a Captain Hans Hastings was residing at a little town in Ireland, as ordnance storekeeper, where he became very intimate with an attorney named Bell. This gentleman was convinced, from some family reminiscences that fell from his friend's mouth, that he was the rightful male heir of his house. With some difficulty he persuaded Captain Hastings to allow him to investigate the matter, the latter writing on the back of the letter in which he gave his consent, "By all that is good, you are mad." Accident threw Mr. Bell, while travelling in England, into the company of an old servant of the Hastingses, and from things wormed out of her he discovered the right clew, and was enabled in a few months to lay a case before Sir Samuel Romilly. That distinguished lawyer took great interest in the matter, gratuitously gave it his close attention, and, after the production of some new evidence suggested by him, declared the claim complete. An application was then made for a writ of summons, and referred by the Prince Regent to the Attorney-General, who unhesitatingly recommended that it be issued, and in less than two years from his first acquaintance with Mr. Bell, Captain Hastings took his seat in the House of Lords as Earl of Huntingdon.

We have spoken of the unlimited manner in which Scotch peerages were granted. Two remarkable instances are those

of Argyll and Breadalbane, enjoyed by the Campbells of Lochow and the Campbells of Glenorchy. As long as Campbells exist who can trace the remotest connection with these, so long will the peerages exist. John Campbell, second Marquess of Breadalbane, died last autumn, without issue; the marquessate became extinct, and the earldom and estates, worth £ 40,000 a year, fell to Mr. Campbell of Glenfalloch, a very distant relative, and a young barrister in London, we believe. About this family, Sir Bernard Burke, in the third series of "The Vicissitudes of Families," tells a story so singular, and yet so authentic, that we think it well worth repeating.

John, third Earl of Breadalbane, in the last century, was childless. The next heirs were Mr. Campbell of Carwhin, a writer to the signet and a bachelor, and Campbell of Glenfalloch, an old Highland laird. With the latter lived his grandson, of whom he was very fond, and whom he regarded with much pride as the future head of the house, presuming upon the extinction of the lives of the Earl and of Carwhin. In 1758 an English visitor at Taymouth Castle met a fine-looking lad in the Highland garb, and, asking who he was, was told, "The young Breadalbane." He subsequently after dinner told the story to his host, and asked who the boy could be. "O," replied Lord Breadalbane, I know who that would be, — that was the young Glenfalloch"; adding, "So he called him the young Breadalbane, did he?" — which remark he constantly repeated to himself during the evening.

"Next morning at break of day," as Sir Bernard tells the story, "a messenger was sent express to summon Campbell of Carwhin, the retired man of business from Edinburgh, who, as an old bachelor, had lately settled in his own little place to end his days in peace. When he arrived, and was welcomed, Lord B. said to him, 'Now, Carwhin, you can't guess why I sent for you.' 'Oo! onything to pleasure your lordship.' 'Well, I'll tell you what it is. I want you to marry.' 'Me marry! Breadalbane, I hae naething to marry on.' 'O, I'll make that easy for you, Carwhin.' 'Weel, but if I ever so weel inclined, I dinna ken ony body that wud tak me.' 'Well, Carwhin, I've a remedy for that too. You'll go to Inverary, where the Circuit Court meets soon; get introduced to Miss ———, the daughter of Lord ———, one of the judges who is to be there. I'll warrant she'll take you.' 'Weel,

Breadalbane, onything to pleasure your lordship.' Off he set in his best, got introduced to the young beauty, danced with her, took her to supper, and proposed. He was, however, refused, and, much disconcerted, he applied to a bosom friend, and explained the case. His friend said, 'If all you want is to pleasure Breadalbane, try Betty Stonefield, I 'se warrant she 'll no' refuse you.' This was a maiden sister of Lord Stonefield, the other judge on the Circuit, who was a Campbell, but neither young nor handsome. Carwhin took the advice, went through the same form, and was accepted; and the son and heir of this curiously planned marriage was no other than John Campbell of Carwhin, who succeeded eventually, to the exclusion of young Glenfalloch, as fourth Earl of Breadalbane. But events are not to be controlled: this fourth Earl's only son, John, fifth Earl and second Marquess of Breadalbane, has just died childless, and young Glenfalloch's great-grandson is, after all, despite the jealousy of the old Earl and the cannie courtship of Carwhin, now Earl of Breadalbane."

The house of Stanley is Saxon. It is descended from a younger branch of the Audeleys, and derived the name of Stanley from the manor of Stanley in Staffordshire. Sir John Stanley, K. G., Lord Deputy of Ireland, in 1381 married the heiress of Latham, and thus became possessed of Knowesley, near Liverpool, the seat of his descendants ever since. He also received from the king of England the kingdom of the Isle of Man as a fief, which remained for three centuries in the family. The first Earl of Derby, who received that honor from Richard III. in 1483, was brought up a Lancastrian, but, marrying a Neville, became connected with the Yorkists. He conducted himself with great circumspection, however, so much so that he came out of the civil wars richer than before, and saved his estates and honors. At one time he appeared at the court of Edward IV. with both Roses entwined in his helmet. His successors showed equal caution, and this ancient earldom, with the accompanying estates, has never been forfeited. The second Earl was the Stanley of Flodden Field, and the seventh a brave Cavalier, who ended his life upon the scaffold. His Countess, a Huguenot lady, distinguished herself by her gallant defence of Latham House, against the Puritan forces. She figures as one of the leading characters of "Peveril of the Peak," where Sir Walter Scott sees fit to make her a Roman Catholic. Edward Geoffry

Stanley, the fourteenth and present Earl, and the chivalrous leader of the Conservative party, very early showed such aptitude for Parliamentary life as to cause Macaulay to pay him the remarkable compliment of saying, that, "with the exception of Mr. Stanley, whose knowledge of the science of Parliamentary defence resembles an instinct, it would be difficult to name a single eminent debater who has not made himself master of his art at the expense of his audience." When Lord Derby was Prime Minister in 1858, his son, Lord Stanley, a young man of high ability, was one of the Secretaries of State, a thing that has no parallel since the time of Lord Burghley and his son Robert Cecil in the reign of Elizabeth. Lord Derby, and Lord Palmerston, the leader of the Liberal party, are both descended from Saxon families not wanting in historic names; both are beyond all question the most distinguished ornaments of those families; and both represent younger lines,—the heads of the families being baronets, Sir William Stanley and Sir Grenville Temple.

The two great historical families of Ireland are the Fitz-Geralds, or "Geraldines," Dukes of Leinster, and the Butlers, Marquesses of Ormond. The Fitz-Geralds went to Ireland with Strongbow, and divided into two branches, represented by the Earls of Kildare and Desmond. The latter title has long remained dormant, although genealogists think there are heirs still existing. The Earls of Kildare received that title in 1316. For a long time they were the most powerful barons in Ireland, and the office of Lord Deputy seemed almost hereditary with them. Then they were rivalled, and at length eclipsed, by their enemies, the Butlers. Since the Revolution, the Fitz-Geralds have recovered the first place among the Irish nobility, and the twentieth Earl of Kildare was made Duke of Leinster. The Marquess of Kildare, son of the present Duke, has recently published the History of the Earls of Kildare and their Family from 1157 to 1772, in which much light is thrown upon the condition and the society of Ireland during that long, dark, and turbulent period. The apes which constitute the crest and supporters of the Leinster arms originated, according to the family legend, in the infant heir of the house having been taken out of his

cradle and carried to the topmost battlements of the castle by an ape, that held him there for some time, to the great consternation and horror of the family and friends, but at length brought him down in safety. The Marquess of Kildare tells us that Dean Swift, when he wrote *Gulliver's Travels*, had quarrelled with the Earl of Kildare of that day, and in order to vex him introduced the account of Gulliver's being carried off by the Brobdingnagian ape.

The Butlers descend from Robert Fitz-Walter, a scion of one of the most powerful Norman families, who was made Hereditary Chief Butler of Ireland in 1177. His descendants were created Earls of Ormond in 1328. This family attained its highest power in the person of the great James Butler, twelfth Earl and first Duke of Ormond, the most illustrious of the Cavaliers of the civil war, and for a quarter of a century Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He and his son, the Earl of Ossory, wore the Garter at the same time. He was also Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and the party which in his days obtained the name of Tory regarded him as its head and leader; for his sure judgment, intrepid courage, high integrity, pure character, and checkered fortunes elicited for him the respect and admiration of the bitterest Roundheads. The Duke died in 1688, and was succeeded by his grandson, a prominent actor in the Revolution, but who on the death of Anne joined the Jacobites and fled the country. The dukedom subsequently became extinct, but the other honors passed to a cousin, whose descendant still resides in the old feudal mansion of Kilkenny Castle. From the Restoration to the death of Anne, the Dukes of Ormond were probably the most powerful noblemen in the United Kingdom.

The family of Gorges — a name forever identified with the early history of New England — was for many generations of no small importance in the West. The name of Ralph de Gorges, the founder, appears on the Roll of Battel Abbey, and he received grants of many a fine manor in Dorset, Wilts, and Somerset. In the fourteenth century, two of his descendants were successively summoned to Parliament, and took their seats as Baron Gorges, — an honor now in abeyance. The heiress of the last Lord, Agnes de Gorges, married Sir

Theobald Russell of Kingston-Russell. Their eldest son assumed the name and arms of Gorges; the younger retained his paternal name, succeeded to the estate of Kingston-Russell, and was the ancestor of the powerful Bedford family. In the reign of Edward IV., Sir Edmund Gorges of Wraxall in Somersetshire was the ward of John Howard, first Duke of Norfolk, and married that nobleman's eldest daughter. Their oldest son continued the Wraxall line. The younger, Sir Edward, was ancestor of the family settled at Langford in Wiltshire, which received a baronetcy from James I., and, in 1620, the Irish barony of Gorges of Dundalk, — honors that became extinct in 1712. Of this branch was Sir Arthur Gorges, the translator of Bacon's "Wisdom of the Ancients," and himself an author. It was on the death of his wife, a Howard, that the poet Spenser wrote "Daphnaida"; and in the dedication to the Marchioness of Northampton he says: "The occasion why I wrote the same was as well the great good fame which I heard of her deceased, as the particular good will which I bear unto her husband Master Arthur Gorges, a lover of learning and vertue, whose house as your ladship by marriage hath honoured,\* so doe I find the name of them, by many notable records, to be of great antiquitie in this realme, and such as have ever borne themselves with honourable reputation to the world, and unspotted loyaltie to their prince and countrey: besides, so lineally are they descended from the Howards as that the Lady Anne Howard, eldest daughter to John Duke of Norfolke, was wife to Sir Edmund, mother to Sir Edward, and grandmother to Sir William and Sir Thomas Gorges." Two great-grandsons, in the elder line, of Sir Edmund and Lady Anne Gorges, were Sir Edward Gorges of Wraxall, and his younger brother, the celebrated Sir Ferdinando Gorges. The latter was a captain in the navy, and Governor of Plymouth. In early life he was implicated in the conspiracies of the Earl of Essex, and seems to have betrayed them to Sir Walter Raleigh in a manner which, as related by Hume, was not very honorable; but it is not too much to suppose, from the subsequent high character of Sir

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\* Lady Northampton married, for her second husband, Sir Thomas Gorges, uncle of Sir Arthur.

Ferdinando, that, if all were known, his conduct upon this occasion would appear in a better light. He afterwards appears in English history as refusing to fight, and even sailing back to England, when commanding a ship in the fleet ostensibly sent out to aid the Huguenots of France, but which it was intended should fight against them. But Sir Ferdinando is chiefly distinguished in connection with the settlement of New England, and his efforts to colonize Maine, of which he had a grant. Sir Edward Gorges had a large family, of whom the eldest, Sir Robert, married a daughter of Sir Marmaduke Dayrell, but died early, leaving no male issue, and the next son, Samuel, succeeded to the estates. During the civil wars, the family vindicated Spenser's praise of their "unspotted loyaltie." Sir Ferdinando Gorges, although then quite aged, distinguished himself on more than one occasion; and we suspect, had he been less devoted to his Church and his sovereign, he would have stood higher in the favor of the Puritans of New England. Samuel Gorges was nominated as one of the Knights of the projected Order of the Royal Oak, and his estate is in that list valued at six hundred pounds a year. He had probably been greatly impoverished during the preceding troubles. In his son the male line of Wraxall ended, and that estate has, we believe, descended to Lord Poltimore. Dr. Palfrey intimates an opinion that there was a relationship between Raleigh and Gorges, through the Champernownes; but, after a close examination of the pedigrees of these families, we have failed to discover any. Hamilton Gorges, Esq., of Kilbrew, county of Meath, in Ireland, is believed to represent the only male line remaining of this honorable house. We have met with persons of the name of George in New England who claimed descent from Sir Ferdinando Gorges; but there is pretty decisive evidence that none of the Gorges family ever settled in New England, while several of the name of George did, as will be seen by reference to Savage's "Genealogical Dictionary." The name of Gorges seems to have been derived from *gurgēs*; and the arms of the family are *Or, a whirlpool azure.*

It is impossible for us to trace the connection with history of many other families rivalling in antiquity and achievements

those which he have noticed. The Bohuns, Earls of Hereford ; the Mortimers, Earls of March ; the powerful Staffords, Dukes of Buckingham, immortalized by Shakespeare, and who fell victims to Wolsey's anger and jealousy ; and the Poles, Dukes of Suffolk, from whom sprang "the last and best of the Roman Catholic Archbishops of Canterbury, the gentle Reginald Pole," — would be particularly worthy of more attention than we can now give them. The latter family was founded by commerce, being descended from William De-la-Pole, whom Edward III., in a public document, termed "my beloved merchant." "He was," says the Quarterly Review, "a grand merchant of Kingston-upon-Hull, who on one occasion had sent the king a thousand pounds in gold, and on another provided 'sixty tuns of wine for the king's army,' 'to be conveyed to Berwick-on-Tweed.' Nor did the king repay him with mere empty honors ; he paid him in hard cash, and gave him a good manor. He summoned his son, Michael De-la-Pole, to Parliament in 1366. Michael became Admiral of the king's fleet in the North, and in 1385 Earl of Suffolk. Henceforth their history is that of a family of the highest aristocracy. They fought at Agincourt ; they suffered attainders, and rose again ; they became Dukes of Suffolk, K. G.'s, Lord Chancellors ; married with Edward IV.'s sister ; and finally perished of too much greatness in the reign of Henry VIII. And all this greatness arose out of trade in a country town, and in an age when, according to popular notions, we might have expected trade to be obscure and despised." The Sackvilles, Earls and Dukes of Dorset, — a race which has become extinct in our own time, — and the families of Russell, Cavendish, Herbert, Devereux, Cecil, Spencer, Villiers, and many others, have all been connected with the history of England in a way that will prevent their memory from dying, whatever may become of honors and estates.

A word may be added with regard to the connection of America with the peerage. The three most distinguished law peerages conferred in recent times are undoubtedly those borne by Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Brougham, and Lord Abinger. It is well known that Lord Lyndhurst is a native of Boston, but perhaps not so well known that Lord Abinger, formerly



Sir James Scarlett, probably the most brilliant man of the three, was a native of Jamaica. American peeresses are more numerous. We remember five from the United States. Three of these were daughters of Richard Caton, Esq., of Maryland, and married the Duke of Leeds, the Marquess Wellesley, and Lord Stafford. The wife of the first and mother of the present Lord Ashburton was the daughter of the Hon. William Bingham of Philadelphia; and the daughter of General John Cadwalader of that city married the second Lord Erskine, and was the mother of the present peer of that name.

The same family frequently branches off into several peerages, and often different families bearing the same name are found on the roll of the House of Lords. There are eight peers who bear the family name of Stewart or Stuart; five each bearing those of Erskine and Howard; four each for those of Browne, Butler, Campbell, Douglas, Egerton, Hamilton, Plunket, and Scott; and three each for the names of Boyle, Cavendish, Hay, Herbert, Hill, Montagu, Russell, Stanhope, and Wellesley. Double names, very rarely, if ever, met with in the United States, have been growing more and more common among the upper classes in England, where they were introduced from the Continent less than two centuries ago, and are generally borne as surnames by all the members of the family. Familiar instances are Ashley-Cooper, Seymour-Conway, Pelham-Clinton, Wentworth-Fitz-William, Hamilton-Douglas, Petty-Fitz-Maurice, and, last but not least, Bulwer-Lytton, — a name so distinguished as to prove its bearer's own adage, that

“Beneath the rule of men entirely great,  
The pen is mightier than the sword.”

Recent times have introduced Montagu-Douglas-Scott, Haggerston-Constable-Maxwell, Sutherland-Leveson-Gower, and the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos delights in the compound of Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville.

Burke's Peerage and Baronetage is certainly the best for Americans to buy, as it gives in the smallest space the fullest account of the histories and pedigrees of all families now enjoying hereditary honors, while Lodge's takes two volumes, and more expensive ones, for much less information respecting

the peers alone. "The Historic Peerage," by the late Sir Harris Nicolas, confines itself to the history of the titles; families, marriages, and issue being entirely omitted. It gives the most succinct account of all the peerages that have existed in England since the Conquest, so that the reader, by reference, can find out in a few moments who bore any title at any specific period. Take, for example, the Duke of Buckingham. In the last four centuries this favorite title has been borne by four historic families, — Stafford, Villiers, Sheffield, and Grenville. A person reads of a Duke of Buckingham in the reign of Charles II., and, within twenty years, of a Duke of Buckingham in the time of Anne. A moment's reference will show him that the first title was in the Villiers family, and became extinct in 1687, and that it was very shortly after granted to John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, the poetaster. The value of a moderately sized and priced volume giving such information will at once be seen by all who have ever made the history of England a study, and indeed the Quarterly Review does not "hesitate to pronounce it as necessary a companion to the student of English history, as Johnson's Dictionary to the student of the English language."

"The Vicissitudes of Families," by Sir Bernard Burke, of which we have made no sparing use, is the title of three small volumes of essays by that accomplished genealogist and antiquary, written in leisure moments, — which cannot be very numerous with him, — and consisting mostly of facts and anecdotes coming to his knowledge in the course of his professional investigations. All of these are interesting, and some of them intensely so, rivalling the strangest tales of romance. Had we room, we could extract many heart-rending accounts of the decline and fall of honored names, and of peers and baronets in poverty and beggary. We cannot forego making the following quotation, as it concerns descendants of perhaps the ablest race of princes that has ever existed.

"What race in Europe surpassed in royal position, personal achievement, and romantic adventure our own Plantagenets, — equally wise as valiant, and no less renowned in the cabinet than in the field? But let us look back only so far as the year 1637, and we shall find the great-great-grandson of Margaret Plantagenet, herself the daughter

and heiress of George, Duke of Clarence, following the cobbler's craft at Newport, a little town in Shropshire! Nor is this the only branch from the tree of royalty that has dwarfed and withered. If we were to closely investigate the fortunes of the many inheritors of the royal arms, it would soon be shown that, in sober truth,

‘The aspiring blood of Lancaster  
Had sunk into the ground,’

ay, and deeply too. The princely stream flows through very humble veins. Among the lineal descendants of Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, sixth son of Edward I., king of England, entitled to quarter the royal arms, occur a butcher and a toll-gatherer, — the first, a Mr. Joseph Smart of Hales Owen; the latter, a Mr. George Wilmot, keeper of the turnpike gate at Cooper's Bank near Dudley. Then, again, among the descendants of Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, fifth son of Edward III., we discover Mr. Stephen Jones Penny, the late sexton of St. George's, Hanover Square.”

The literary merit of these essays is unequal, and most of them bear evidences of haste. The best are in the first series, and those on the Percys, Nevilles, and Cromwells are superior to almost any other compositions of the kind we have ever read. Notwithstanding the vast amount of detail which Sir Bernard has to condense into brief, set phrases in his “Peerage” and “Landed Gentry,” his style is singularly easy and agreeable, and well suited to this kind of writing, although occasionally approaching a little too near to that of the “Court Journal” and “Morning Post.” We earnestly advise all to read these agreeable volumes, being certain that the pleasure and instruction to be derived from them will fully repay for the necessary time and trouble. Sir Bernard Burke deserves well from all Americans, both because of the interest and partiality with which he regards this country, — which is evidenced in part by his chapter on the Pilgrim Fathers in this work, — and because of the courtesy and willingness with which he responds to all applications for genealogical information.

“The Noble and Gentle Men of England,” by Mr. Evelyn Philip Shirley, M. P., consists of brief notes made by a gentleman of leisure upon the ancient families of England, titled and

untitled, which fall within the rules laid down by him, and best stated in his own language.

“The following imperfect attempt to bring together a few notes relating to the ancient aristocracy of England is confined, in the first place, to families *now existing*, and regularly established either as *knightly* or *gentle* houses before the commencement of the sixteenth century; secondly, no notice is taken of those families who may have assumed the names and arms of their ancestors in the *female line*, for the truth is, as it has been well observed, ‘that, unless we take the *male line* as the general standard of genealogical rank, we shall find ourselves in a hopeless state of confusion’; thirdly, illegitimate descent is of course excluded. . . . . In those cases where the whole landed estate of the family has been dissipated, although the male line still remains, all notice is omitted, such families having no longer any claim to be classed in any county. . . . . This list also, it must be remembered, does not profess to give an account of all those families whose descent may possibly be traced beyond the year 1500, but merely of those who were in the position of what we now call *county families* before that period.”

The enforcement of these rules, and a most severe and jealous sifting of all pedigrees, and rejection of “those modern accounts of family history which, by ascribing the most absurd pretensions of ancient lineage to families who bore no real claim to that distinction, have done much to bring genealogy itself into contempt,” of course greatly reduce the number honored with a place in Mr. Shirley’s little work. But we cannot agree with those reviewers who are astonished at the smallness of this select circle. It is quite as large as we should have expected, and Mr. Shirley gives only one head to every family, no matter how many may be its ramifications. All the branches of the Howards, for example, appear under “Howard of East Winch.” The senior line is, as a rule, set down, although younger ones may have far outgrown it. The Marquess of Winchester appears under “Powlett of Hinton St. George”; Viscount Falkland, under “Cary of Torr Abbey.” Where, however, the younger line is seated on the old ancestral estate, it is preferred, so that the Duke of Marlborough figures as an offshoot of “Spencer of Althorp,” and Earl Ferrers under “Shirley of Eatington.”

On the Continent, where titles are less regarded than in England, and the term *noble* applies to all entitled to bear arms, all the families in this book would be considered as of very high nobility, and many of those not ennobled do hold chief places in history and genealogy. Such a one is the great Cornish house of Trelawney of Trelawney. Indeed, Cornwall is a famous county for old families, and the nature of their names is exemplified in the couplet,

“By Tre, Pol, and Pen  
You shall know the Cornish men,” —

the truth of which is proved by Trelawney, Trevelian, and Tremayne, Polwhale and Pollexfen, Pendarvis and Pendennis. Sir John Trelawney, Bishop of Bristol, and one of the famous seven sent to the Tower by the worst of English kings, was of this family; and the following passage from Macaulay exhibits his influence in his native county.

“The people of Cornwall, a fierce, bold, and athletic race, among whom there was a stronger provincial feeling than in any other part of the realm, were greatly moved by the danger of Trelawney, whom they honored less as a ruler of the Church than as the head of an honorable house, and the heir through twenty descents of ancestors who had been of great note before the Normans had set foot on English ground. All over the county was sung a song, of which the burden is still remembered :

‘And shall Trelawney die, and shall Trelawney die?  
Then thirty thousand Cornish boys will know the reason why.’”

The miners, from their caverns, re-echoed the song with a variation :

“Then twenty thousand under ground will know the reason why.”

Mr. Marmion Ferrers, of Baddesley Clinton, in Warwickshire, represents the only remaining line “of what was perhaps,” says Mr. Shirley, “during the Middle Ages the most powerful Norman family in England,” descended from Henry De Feriers, of the time of the Conquest, “who held in chief two hundred and ten lordships in fourteen counties, besides the castle and borough of Tutbury in Staffordshire.” Were it not that an attainder in the time of Henry III. blocks the way, Mr. Ferrers would be Earl of Derby, with a coronet

dating from 1138, older even than the renowned one of Oxford. Sir Alexander Malet, now in the diplomatic service, is the sole survivor of the families of those renowned twenty-five barons selected to enforce Magna Charta. But we cannot enter into farther details. Besides those we have mentioned, the families of Acland, Bacon (Premier Baronets, but far more celebrated for giving England Lord Keeper Bacon and his illustrious son), Burdet, Carew, Dymoke (the hereditary champion), Fairfax, Fitzherbert, Harcourt, Harley, Howard of Corby and Howard of Greystock, Kingscote, Mordaunt, Musgrave, Popham, Rokeby ("a knightly race immortalized by Scott"), Scrope, Shirley of Easington, Throckmorton, Vernon-Wentworth, and Wyndham, — all commoners, — can vie with the greatest in the land in antiquity, in historical associations, and in many cases in wealth. Wales is omitted from Mr. Shirley's book, we know not why, except it be that he was appalled at the thought of the far-famed Welsh genealogies, and this excludes Devereux and Hastings, not now landed proprietors in England. We do not know why Somerset and Herbert are excluded by Mr. Shirley, and were a little surprised not to find in his collection some other families, such as Bertie and Cecil. There must of course be some accidental omissions. With each family is an engraving and description of its ancient arms; and the simplicity of almost all of these cannot fail to strike the reader. The hideous coats allowed in later times, and which crowd modern books of arms, are proof of the recent origin as well as of the bad taste of the grantees.

In the civil wars of the seventeenth century, the "Gentlemen of England" bore by far the most prominent part. Hyde, Hopton, Langdale, Acland, Cromwell, Hampden, Vane, Eliot, Pym, St. John, and many others of the leaders on the royal and on the Parliamentary side came from the country squires. Cromwell was no brewer, as some have called him, but the cadet of a good Huntingdonshire family. His uncle and godfather, Sir Oliver Cromwell, was an active Cavalier, and to the last refused to acknowledge the government of the Protector. It is a singular circumstance, that the mothers of Hampden, and of Whalley the regicide were of the Cromwell family.

The extraordinary passion for genealogy which has raged during the last twenty years in the United States will be fully comprehended by one who turns over the pages of Mr. Whitmore's valuable bibliographical work, entitled "Hand-book of American Genealogy,"\* containing a catalogue, with critical notices, of the very numerous books which have been published on the subject in America. The larger portion of these are filled with a wilderness of closely printed names, through which it is tiresome to thread one's way, and which are of little interest outside of the family recorded. The United States has also produced the most stupendous work on genealogy ever compiled; for when we consider the obscurity of most of those whose names are included in it, their number, and the difficulty of obtaining information respecting them, we do not hesitate so to designate Mr. Savage's "Genealogical Dictionary of the Early Settlers of New England." Even Collins's great Peerage and Burke's Landed Gentry must have been far less laborious undertakings. We have placed at the head of this article three or four of the most interesting New England family histories, and to these we can but briefly allude.

The "Memorials of Samuel Appleton," by the late Mr. Appleton Jewett, contains a full genealogical account of a family which has attained wealth and distinction in Massachusetts. Samuel Appleton emigrated from Great Waldingfield in Suffolk to Ipswich in this Commonwealth, in 1635. A Herald's Visitation contains the pedigree of the Appletons of Waldingfield back to John Appulton, living there in 1412, and that the family was early of consequence is proved by some of their monuments as contained in Weever. This is direct and satisfactory; it is only necessary to supply one link to complete it to the present time, and that is to identify Samuel Appleton who emigrated to America with the Samuel Appleton mentioned in the pedigree. This is done with all reasonable certainty, and the family, though respectable, was not of so much importance as to make it strange that a younger son should leave his native country in those

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\* This beautiful book was published by subscription, and the impression limited to one hundred copies.

times. We do not see, therefore, were the Appletons still landed proprietors in England, but that they would be entitled to a page in Mr. Shirley's book.

The "Genealogy of Warren," by the late Dr. John C. Warren, is more ambitious, and in typography and general preparation the most splendid work of the kind ever prepared in this country. Dr. Warren gives an account of the way in which he was first led to investigate his pedigree, and the means he employed; and says, at the end of the Preface, that, "after three or four years of inquiry and discussion on both sides of the Atlantic, a very fair and satisfactory genealogical table has been formed." The pedigree is traced from no less a person than the first Earl of Warren and Surrey, son-in-law of the Conqueror, through the Warrens of Poynton in Cheshire and the Warrens of Headboro' in Devonshire, to John Warren, who came to this country very early.

Newly compiled pedigrees should always be submitted to pretty strict tests, and for ourselves we are very sceptical with regard to all genealogies going back beyond Elizabeth, except when coupled with uninterrupted possession of estates or titles. The former Visitations of counties furnish good evidence where an unquestioned connection can be made with them, but here lie the chief difficulties; and of course, the more ancient the genealogy, the more numerous they are. If in early times a cadet of a gentle family removed from one county, and founded a family in another, some evidence can generally be discovered to prove the fact; and where there is none save the name, the identity of a man in Devonshire with the son of a Cheshire squire is open to grave question. When a person comes from the same county with a noble family of his name, it is insufficient to connect him with it. Independently of illegitimate descents, in former times, when surnames were scarce, the servants of a great house often became known by that of their master. A person named John Percy, therefore, if he comes from the neighborhood of Alnwick or Petworth, may have been descended from an Earl of Northumberland, or may have been descended from his footman. Long pedigrees are no modern invention. The Saxon pedigree of her present Majesty is lost in the maze of fable and mythology, and Leland traced the De Veres back to Noah!



We must be allowed to say, that the genealogy of Warren has not appeared to us by any means so "fair and satisfactory" as it did to its distinguished compiler. We should express our views with much greater diffidence, had we not discovered that they agreed with those of so experienced a genealogist as Mr. Whitmore.\* The book contains some valuable sketches of the Earls of Warren and Surrey, General Joseph Warren, and others bearing the name.

The "Account of the Temple Family," by Mr. Whitmore, is little more than a pedigree; but it is one of a house "which," says Macaulay in his essay upon Sir William Temple, "long after his death produced so many eminent men, and formed such distinguished alliances, that it exercised, in a regular and constitutional manner, an influence in the state scarcely inferior to that which, in widely different times, and by widely different arts, the house of Neville attained in England, and that of Douglas in Scotland. . . . Within the space of fifty years, three First Lords of the Treasury, three Secretaries of State, two Keepers of the Privy Seal, and four First Lords of the Admiralty were appointed from among the sons and grandsons of the Countess Temple." The resignation of Lord Grenville in 1807, with which the long rule of his branch of this family may be said to have terminated, brought into office and upon the stage another Temple, in the person of the great Minister who still rules England, — who in vigor and capacity has rivalled Richelieu, and in the length of his official services has surpassed Metternich, while he has made his influence to be felt and his name respected far beyond the confines of Europe, in countries where the most celebrated Continental ministers are entirely unknown. From the marriage of the heiress of Temple with Richard Grenville sprang the Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos, and among the descendants of this now famous family in the last two centuries have been Sir William Temple, Lord Cobham, and Lord Palmerston, and in the female line, Earl Temple, George and William Wyndham, Thomas Grenville, the second William Pitt, the late Lord Nugent, the present accomplished Earl Stan-

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\* Handbook of American Genealogy, pp. 102, 103.

hope, and we may add, upon this side of the Atlantic, Mr. Robert Charles Winthrop.

Mr. Whitmore gives the celebrated pedigree from Leofric, Earl of Mercia, the husband of the Lady Godiva of Coventry, which is generally considered apocryphal, although Collins seems to place some confidence in it. Mr. Shirley evidently disbelieves it, as he does not include the family in his book. Mr. Whitmore says that Leofric "was chiefly instrumental in raising Edward the Confessor to the throne, as well as his successor, King Harold II.;" and adds, "He died 31 August, 1027." Now Edward the Confessor did not ascend the throne until 1041, nor did Harold until 1066, — a date not easily forgotten. This may be a fault of the printer, but we think the grim Earl will live longer in Mr. Tennyson's poetry than he will in sober history.

The very interesting work by Rev. Edmund H. Sears, entitled "Pictures of the Olden Time," is composed of a series of sketches illustrating times and scenes in the history of the numerous Massachusetts family of Sears. We should probably differ widely from Mr. Sears in opinion respecting some of the events he records, but there can be but one voice regarding the graceful manner in which he has executed his very happily conceived plan for commemorating his ancestors. The Searses descend from John Sayer, an alderman of the borough of Colchester, in the early part of the sixteenth century, and by a more shadowy pedigree are traced to a Kentish family in the fourteenth century. This part of the line is broken, and indeed closely resembles the pedigree given by Dr. Holmes, of the Saymores, in "Elsie Venner." No connection save that of the name is shown. After Alderman Sayer's time, the family formed alliances with the noble house of Bouchier, through a daughter of Sir Edmund Knyvett, and during a residence in Holland with the Van Egmonds. These are evidently their pride. Mr. Sears makes a not uncommon mistake in speaking of the daughter of Sir Edmund Knyvett as the Lady Anne. Richard Sayer came from Amsterdam to New England, and settled in Chatham. The greater part of the chapter on the Pilgrim Fathers, in "The Vicissitudes of Families," is filled with the adventures of the Sayers, and Sir Bernard Burke thus describes the house of Richard Sayer: —

“On Quivet Neck he built himself a house, one-story high, roofed with thatch, and fronting south with such precision as to serve as a sundial, and indicate the hour of noon. The fireplace was made of rough stone; the chimney, of boards plastered inside with clay. Both the fireplace and the chimney-flue were of immense capacity; so that, after a rousing fire had been kindled of a winter's evening, the family would occupy the spaces on each side of it, and look up through the chimney opening, and gaze at the stars. What visions of other days must have come over the old Pilgrim, as he sat there and heard the whistling winds and the roaring on the sea-beach, and saw through the chimney-flue the same planets that twinkled upon him on the Princen Graat of old Amsterdam!”

The “Memorial of the Chauncys,” by Mr. William Chauncey Fowler, gives an account of a family famous in New England religious history, and also distinguished in secular pursuits. President Chauncy of Harvard College was the first settler of the name in New England, — a man of honorable family, liberal education, and superior ability. His descendants in the male line are not very numerous. The pedigree in Mr. Fowler's book commences with Chauncy de Chauncy, who came from France with the Conqueror. How far back this is really authentic we have not examined, but the Chauncys were a very ancient house in Hertfordshire, and we doubt whether any other of the founders of Massachusetts could boast so high a lineage as could President Chauncy. A family descended in the female line from the first ancestor, and bearing the name, is still found among the Hertfordshire gentry.

We have far exceeded our intended limits, and must omit further examination of the very numerous publications on genealogy. Our desire has been to give our readers such information as will aid them in historical investigations, and to avoid any opinion as to the wisdom or justice of hereditary rank, or the utility of genealogical studies. We shall only say, that the subject of Peerages and Genealogies is too closely allied to history to be ignored, and that some knowledge of English noble families, and of the origin and nature of the English aristocracy, is essential to any thorough knowledge of English history.

- ART. III. — 1. *Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ, being the Hulsean Lectures for the Year 1859.* By C. J. ELLICOTT, B. D. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1862. pp. 382.
2. *The Life of our Lord upon the Earth; considered in its Historical, Chronological, and Geographical Relations.* By SAMUEL J. ANDREWS. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863. pp. 624.

"THE life of Jesus on earth was in the highest sense a human one, and it is this fact that gives us the key to the Gospels as real historic records."

"O, let us not forget, in all our investigations, that the history of the life of Christ is a history of *redemption*, — that all the records which the Eternal Spirit of truth has vouchsafed to us bear this indelible impress, and are only properly to be seen and understood from this point of contemplation. It is the history of the *Redeemer* of our race that the Gospels present to us; the history, not of Jesus of Nazareth, but of the Saviour of the world; the record, not of merely idealized perfections, but of redemptive workings, — 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I work'; and he who would presume to trace out that blessed history, without being influenced by this remembrance in all his thoughts and words, must be prepared to find himself adding one more unhonored name to the melancholy list of those who have presumed to treat of these mysteries, with the eclectic and critical spirit of the so-called biographer, — the biographer (O strangely inappropriate and unbecoming word!) of Him in whom dwelt the whole fulness of the Godhead."

These brief citations — the first from Andrews, the second from Ellicott — indicate the widely different stand-points of their respective works, so nearly identical in title. The one, passing by all questions respecting the authorship and the inspiration of the Gospels, assumes that they are genuine historical documents, and statements of facts; and deals with them as such, with a view to portray in their just geographical and chronological relations the external aspects of the earthly life of Christ. The other, assuming not only the credibility of the Gospels as a history, but their plenary inspiration as well, and regarding "the usual tone of mere historical writing" upon the closing scenes of our Lord's ministry as "little short of

profanity," attempts to set forth "the outward connection of those incidents that inspired pens have been moved to record of the life of God's Eternal Son."

But while the stand-point of the one is the external history of the life of the Son of Man, and that of the other is the inspired record of the incarnate Son of God, both authors agree in this,—the attempted reproduction of the life of Christ in its historical unity of time, place, manner, and relations. Mr. Andrews, while "recognizing the supernatural elements in the evangelic narratives wherever they exist," and believing as devoutly as does Bishop Ellicott that Jesus was "very God," has written his book with this simple purpose in view:—"to arrange the events of the Lord's life, as given us by the Evangelists, so far as possible, in a chronological order, and to state the grounds of this order; and to consider the difficulties as to matters of fact which the several narratives, when compared together, present; or are supposed by modern criticism to present." Bishop Ellicott, while rejecting with pious indignation all naturalistic criticisms as "discreditable and unreasonable attempts to throw doubt on the credibility of the sacred narrative," nevertheless in his notes—which alone give value to his book for the scholar—is at much pains to refute such "idle and mischievous doubts," upon critical and historical grounds; and to exhibit the connection of events in the life of Christ, in "a regular continuity of narrative," as if he himself were writing a biography of the man Christ Jesus, from the materials furnished by the four Evangelists.

Using these authors mainly for illustration and confirmation upon minor details, we propose to invert their method with regard to the life of Christ, and to inquire what evidences of the reality of that life are to be found in the historical and geographical allusions of the Evangelists, and in the archæology of Palestine as illustrated by traditions and remains, and by hereditary and immutable customs.

A list of geographical names, or a genealogical register such as opens the Gospel of Matthew and the First Book of the Chronicles, has no attractions for the plain reader of the Bible. But these very minutiae of names, places, and dates, in a book of such antiquity, form a local and historical foundation for

its facts, help us to verify its statements, and serve to certify its authenticity ; and thus the religion of the Bible is definitely and permanently attached to the soil and the history of our world.

It has been common of late to criticise the Bible upon the score of accuracy in its details ; to admit in the main the truth of its principles and the beauty of its moral sentiments, but to impeach its statements of fact, whether scientific or historical, and thus to impair confidence in the book as an authority. Bishop Colenso, while professing to believe that the Pentateuch "imparts to us revelations of the Divine will and character," yet maintains upon arithmetical grounds that "the so-called Mosaic narrative cannot be regarded as *historically true*." Similar criticism has been applied to the life of Christ. But the minute references of the Bible to places, names, and the events of contemporaneous history, serve to fasten its narratives in space and in time ; and thus are a means of establishing its truth as a history, and the reality of the persons and the events of which it speaks. Hence the study of Biblical geography and history bears a just relation to the supernatural events and the moral truths of the Bible ; for while this book in its miracles and doctrines is the most supernatural work in human language, it is at the same time the most matter-of-fact book of all antiquity, and the most capable of being tested, illustrated, and confirmed by geography, history, and monuments.

To show this, we have only to suppose that, instead of the Bible as it is, we had the general statement, that, at a time far back in the history of the world, there had appeared to men a remarkable Being, with a halo about his head, who said and did many wondrous things ; that he had once made a sea stand still in the midst of a storm ; that he had created bread for a hungry multitude in the desert ; that he had gone up to the top of a mountain, and had there been transfigured into a divinity ; and that he had finally ascended from a mountain into the clouds ; — and yet in all this story there was no hint of the place or the time of these occurrences, — what sea, what mountain, what desert, what country, among what people, in what age ; — we should have a feeling of the unreality of the whole story, however we might prize its moral lessons. It

would be shifted from the region of history to that of poetry. How differently would the truths of the Bible impress us, did they come in the garb of Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*! Those two poems work up into the form of an epic the great events and sequences of the fall and the redemption of man; they aim to reproduce the supernatural features of the Bible; they embody its precepts, prophecies, and doctrines; — in a word, they are Biblical throughout. But though composed in a narrative form, and teaching the very facts of the Bible, they are so imaginative in their cast, that, if they constituted our Bible, we should be puzzled to know how much of reality, and especially of Divine authority, to attach to them. Though Milton's poems abound in geographical and historical allusions, which localize the scenes of their principal events, yet their fictitious incidents and imaginary conversations, and the drapery of fancy in which they are clothed, give an air of unreality even to scenes borrowed from Biblical narratives. But if we go further, and suppose all local and historical groundwork to be removed from the Bible, its personages, its events, its teachings, would float before us in the dream-light of poetic fiction. We might accept it as teaching truth, or as founded upon truth, but we should not feel it to be the real, personal, living book it is. As to the effect of reality upon the mind, it would be more like Homer's *Odyssey* than like Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The *Odyssey* abounds in beautiful and noble sentiments, and ends in the triumph of fidelity and virtue. It gives play to supernatural and divine agency in human affairs. It pictures the human race as it stood midway "between Paradise and the vices of later heathenism." Many of its scenes are so far reproductions of real life, that it serves as a text-book of the manners and customs of its age. Even its legends may have had some original basis of fact. Yet, when we come to questions of time and place, we find that "the geographical particulars of the wanderings are dislocated and distorted. Distances are misstated, or cease to be stated at all. The names of countries are massed together in such a way as to show that the poet had no idea of a particular mode of juxtaposition for them. Topographical or local features, of a character such as to identify a description with some partic-

ular place or region as its prototype in nature, are erroneously transposed to some situation which, from general indications, we can see must be upon a different and perhaps distant part of the surface of the globe. At certain distances, the mode of geographical handling becomes faint, mistrustful, and indistinct";\* — and thus the poem itself is thrown back from the world of reality into the shadowy ideal world. We can never assure ourselves whether there really was a Ulysses; — or, if there was such a person, where he travelled, and where he found his home. His story does not impress us with the sense of reality which we have in reading the story of Abraham, of Joseph, or of Moses, though these date from a more remote antiquity. In respect to their demonstrable reality as historic representations, "the Homeric poems are like a broad lake outstretched in the distance, which provides us with a mirror of one particular age and people, alike full and marvellous, but which is entirely dissociated by an interval of many generations from any other records, except such as are of the most partial and fragmentary kind. The Holy Scriptures are like a thin stream, beginning from the very fountain-head of our race, and gradually but continuously finding their way through an extended solitude, into times otherwise known, and into the general current of the fortunes of mankind."†

This identification of Biblical narratives with geographical localities and with historical events — with known places in the world and known actualities in history — makes the Bible for every age a real and living book, belonging to mankind, capable of being verified by unimpeachable testimony, — its matters of fact written upon the physical features of Egypt, of the desert, of Palestine, and corroborated by the records and monuments of the Jews, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, and the Romans. Its story of Shishak is illustrated by the hieroglyphics on the southwest wall of the main temple of Karnak; the stories of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, by the cuneiform inscriptions of Bir and Behistun. The historical allusions of the New Testament tally with the contem-

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\* Gladstone, *Homer and the Homeric Age*, Vol. III. p. 253.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 521.



poraneous fragments of classic history, with the names and titles of Roman officials and the very coins of Roman colonies. Thus minutely is the Bible linked with matters of fact in the world to which it brings, professedly, a revelation from heaven. In this view, the study of Biblical history and geography has been introduced into some of our colleges, as a necessary part of a liberal education.

In pursuing this line of inquiry, chiefly with respect to the geographical attestations of the life of Christ, we shall adhere for the most part to the narrative of Luke, whose references to the contemporaneous political history and geography of Syria are more full and more specific than those of the other Evangelists. Indeed, the preface to Luke's Gospel seems to invite this scrutiny, — "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, . . . . it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee, in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed." But at the very outset we are met with the vexed question of Cyrenius (*Quirinus*), whom Luke mentions as governor of Syria at the date of the taxing that summoned Joseph from Nazareth to Bethlehem. Neander almost concedes that Luke has fallen into an anachronism, perhaps by mistaking the assessment under Herod for the census which occurred twelve years later. "Nevertheless," he adds, "Quirinus may have been actually present at this assessment, not, indeed, as governor of the province, but as imperial commissioner; for Josephus expressly says that he held many other offices before he was governor of Syria, at the time of the second census." \* According to Hase, "Luke carries the mother to Bethlehem by means of a Roman census, which is not in accordance with the Roman method of taking the census, and which only by means of forced explanations can be freed from the suspicion of being a mistake for the census of Quirinus, ten years later." † But the researches of Zumpt have created a strong

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\* *Leben Jesu*, Cap. III. § 16, note.† *Life of Jesus*, Clarke's transl., p. 42.

presumption in favor of the literal accuracy of Luke's statement; and the artless combination of the Jewish mode of registration with the Roman decree of taxation is one of those nice correspondences which compel us to accept the fact as stated.

Mr. Andrews meets the difficulties connected with this taxing fairly and thoroughly. He makes no attempt to explain away the obvious meaning of Luke, nor to provide conjectural emendations of authentic history, but shows, from a candid comparison of all known data, that "in various ways the difficulties connected with the taxing may be met, (though it cannot be said that they are all yet removed,) if we assume that Cyrenius was but once governor of Syria. But we have strong historical evidence that he twice filled this office." \* We give this evidence in Mr. Andrews's own words, from his preliminary "Chronological Essays": —

"It is at this point that the researches of Zumpt have for us special importance. In his list of Syrian governors (ii. 149), extending from B. C. 30 to A. D. 66, we find the interval from 748–758 thus filled: P. Q. Varus, 748–750, or 6–4 B. C. P. S. Qurinius (Cyrenius), 750–753, or 4–1 B. C. M. Lollius, 753–757, or 1 B. C. to 3 A. D. C. M. Censorinus, 757–758, or 3–4 A. D. After Censorinus follows L. V. Saturninus, already mentioned, from 758–760, or 4–6 A. D., who is succeeded by P. S. Qurinius for the second time. This second administration extends from 760–765, or 6–11 A. D. If Zumpt be right in this order, Cyrenius was twice governor of Syria; but we are now concerned only with his first administration, or that from 750–753. Upon what ground does this statement rest? \*

"Our chief knowledge of Cyrenius is derived from Tacitus. He was of low origin, a bold soldier, and attained a consulship under Augustus in 742, and was afterward proconsul in the province of Africa. After this he conquered the Homonadenses, a rude people living in Cilicia, and obtained a triumph. He was subsequently made rector to Caius Cæsar when the latter was appointed governor of Armenia. At what time and in what capacity did he carry on the war against the Homonadenses? The time is thus determined. He was consul in 742. As it was a rule with Augustus to send no one sooner than five years after his consulship as legate to a province, he could not have been in Africa earlier than 747. But he was made rector to C. Cæsar in 753, after

the war against the Homonadenses, so that this war was between 747 and 753. In what capacity did he carry it on? Probably as governor of Syria. It is important to bear in mind that at this time there were two classes of provinces, the one under the immediate control of the Emperor, the other under the control of the Senate. The governors of the imperial provinces were called Legates, or Proprætors, and continued in office during the pleasure of the Emperor; those of the Senatorial provinces, Proconsuls, whose authority lasted only for one year. Syria and Cilicia were both provinces of the former kind, and administered by proprætors. The Homonadenses were a people living in Cilicia, but Cilicia belonged, from 25 B. C. down to the time of Vespasian, to the province of Syria. As Cyrenius had been proconsul in Africa, and as it was a rule that the same person should not be ruler over more than one of the consular or prætorian provinces under the care of the Senate, he could not have been governor of any of the provinces immediately adjacent, — Asia, Pontus, Bithynia, Galatia; he must, then, have been acting as governor of the province of Syria, and as legate of the Emperor.

“We cannot here enter into an investigation of the many intricate questions which belong to this point, and which are fully discussed by Zumpt. The result of all is, that Cyrenius became governor of Syria, as the successor of Varus, toward the end of 750, and continued in office till 753.

“It cannot be said that Zumpt demonstrates that Cyrenius was twice governor of Syria, but he certainly makes it highly probable. It is indeed possible that he was acting in the East at the time of the Lord’s birth as legate extraordinary, or as head of the census commission for Syria and the East. As, however, Luke’s language seems to mean that he did act as governor of Syria at this time, and as he is confirmed in this by many of the earliest Christian writers, the burden of proof lies upon those who dispute his accuracy. As the case now stands, we may assume that Cyrenius was so governor from the end of 750 till 753.” — pp. 5, 6.

Bishop Ellicott, who also gives a summary of proofs and authorities in his notes, is still more confident in the result.

“I feel certain no fair and honest investigator can study the various political considerations connected with this difficult question, without ultimately coming to the conclusion, not only that the account of St. Luke is reconcilable with contemporary history, but that it is confirmed by it, in a manner most striking and most persuasive. When we remember that the kingdom of Herod was not yet formally converted

into a Roman province, and yet was so dependent upon the imperial city as to be practically amenable to all its provincial edicts, how very striking it is to find, in the first place, that a taxing took place at a time when such a general edict can be proved to have been in force; and, in the next place, to find that that taxing in Judæa is incidentally described as having taken place according to the yet recognized customs of the country, — that it was, in fact, essentially imperial and Roman in origin, and yet Herodian and Jewish in form. How strictly, how minutely, consistent is it with actual historical relations, to find that Joseph, who under purely Roman law might, *perhaps*, have been enrolled at Nazareth, is here described by the Evangelist as journeying to be enrolled at the town of his forefathers, ‘because he was of the house and lineage of David’! This accordance of the sacred narrative with the perplexed political relations of the intensely national, yet all but subject Judæa, is so exact and so convincing, that we may even profess ourselves indebted to scepticism for having raised a question to which an answer may be given at once so fair, so explicit, and so conclusive.” — pp. 67, 68.

We are the more disposed to rely upon the accuracy of Luke in this instance, when we recall the remarkable corroboration by Dio Cassius of the much-disputed title, *ἀνθύπατος*, given by Luke\* to Sergius Paulus, governor of Cyprus. It was alleged that, as Augustus had reserved Cyprus as an imperial province, it must have been governed by a legate, and that consequently Luke was in error in calling Sergius a proconsul, — an officer of the Senate and the people. But after hypercriticism had satisfied itself of the inaccuracy of the chronicler of the Acts of the Apostles, “a passage was discovered at length in Dio Cassius (53. 12) which states that Augustus subsequently relinquished Cyprus to the Senate in exchange for another province, and (54. 4) that it was governed henceforth by proconsuls, — *ἀνθύπατοι*. Coins, too, have been found, struck in the reign of Claudius, which confirm Luke’s accuracy. Bishop Marsh mentions one on which this very title, *ἀνθύπατος*, is applied to Cominius Proclus, a governor of Cyprus.”† At a time when the government of Cyprus, like that of New Orleans, alternated between a military and a civil administration, Luke is careful to give the exact title

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\* Acts xiii. 7.

† Prof. Hackett, *Comm. in loc.*

of the officer to whom he makes a mere passing allusion. We submit that the positive statements of an historian of such proved accuracy of detail cannot be impeached by the *omissions* of Josephus upon certain obscure passages of contemporary Roman history.

A test passage in Luke's Gospel, for both chronological and geographical accuracy, is the opening of his third chapter: "Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Iturea and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being the high-priests, the word of God came unto John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness." Of the political geography of Syria, as indicated in this passage, we shall speak presently; we are now concerned with its chronological accuracy. The minor question whether the reign of Tiberius should date from his accession to the throne, or from his colleagueship with Augustus two years previous, is of no consequence to the correctness of the official grouping in Luke's text, though it is important for determining the dates of Christ's birth, of his ministry, and of his death. Bishop Ellicott inclines to the view of Wieseler and Tischendorf, that the fifteenth year of Tiberius dates from his accession, and coincides, "not with the first appearance, but the captivity, of John the Baptist."\* Mr. Andrews prefers to date it from the colleagueship, since "we cannot, without doing St. Luke great injustice as a historian, suppose him to have been ignorant of a fact so public and notorious as that of the association of Tiberius with Augustus in the empire; and there is no good reason why, if knowing it, he should not have taken it as an epoch from which to reckon,"—especially as he then became the acting Emperor of the provinces of Asia Minor and Syria.

"To sum up our investigations upon this point, we find three solutions of the chronological difficulties which the statements of Luke present: 1st. That the fifteenth year of Tiberius is to be reckoned from the death of Augustus, and extends from August, 781, to August, 782.

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\* Page 106, note 1.

In this year, the Baptist, whose labors began some time previous, was imprisoned, but the Lord's ministry began in 780, before this imprisonment, and when he was about thirty years of age. 2d. That the fifteenth year is to be reckoned from the death of Augustus, but that the statement the Lord was about thirty years of age is to be taken in a large sense, and that he may have been of any age from thirty to thirty-five, when he began his labors. 3d. That the fifteenth year is to be reckoned from the year when Tiberius was associated with Augustus in the empire, and is therefore the year 779. In this case, the language 'he was about thirty' may be strictly taken, and the statement, 'the word of God came unto John,' may be referred to the beginning of his ministry.

"Of these solutions, the last seems to have most in its favor; and we shall assume that during the year 779, or the fifteenth year of Tiberius, reckoned from his colleagueship with Augustus, John began to preach and baptize." — pp. 28, 29.

This question aside, we find in Josephus the fullest corroboration of the political subdivisions mentioned by Luke. Herod the Great, by a will which Augustus confirmed, divided his kingdom among three sons (excluding Philip I., the son of Mariamne), making Archelaus ethnarch of Judæa, Idumea, and Samaria; Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Perea; Herod Philip II., tetrarch of Batanæa, Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, and the region about Paneas. Herod died in the first year of Christ; but when Joseph, returning from Egypt, heard that Archelaus, who inherited his father's cruelty, "did reign in *Judæa* in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither, but turned aside into the parts of *Galilee*," now under Herod Antipas, who would be less likely to concern himself about the rumored birth of a child-king of the Jews, at Bethlehem. The reign of Archelaus lasted but ten years; and after his deposition, Judæa and Samaria were united to the province of Syria, under Quirinus, but were governed by procurators, of whom Pontius Pilate was the sixth in order. Pilate sent Jesus to Herod Antipas, as soon as he heard that he was a Galilean, and "belonged to Herod's jurisdiction." Both Antipas and Philip had long reigns covering the whole period of the life of Christ.

But who was the Lysanias whom Luke mentions as contemporary with Pilate, Antipater, and Philip? Josephus men-

tions a Lysanias, governor of Chalcis, who died about B. C. 34, but does not specify Abilene as a part of his possessions. But he also states that the *Emperor Caligula* (about A. D. 38, ten years after the time mentioned by Luke) gave to Herod Agrippa the "tetrarchy of Lysanias," reserving to himself "the Abila of Lysanias, and whatever was on Mount Lebanon." Hence Robinson infers that there was another Lysanias, the son or grandson of the former, and "it thus appears that the specifications of Josephus, referring to a period several years later than the notice of Luke, are in perfect harmony with the latter."\* There was no reason why Josephus should mention this second Lysanias, since during his lifetime his tetrarchy did not come into direct connection with Jewish history; but when, after his death, his possessions were added to the dominions of Herod Agrippa, Josephus names them as the tetrarchy of Lysanias. On the other hand, as at the time of Luke's writing Abilene had been absorbed into a Jewish kingdom, it was important for him, in fixing the date of John's ministry, to refer to the old title of the tetrarchy.

"We can now see clearly," says Mr. Andrews, "the reason why Luke, writing after Abilene had been made a part of the Jewish kingdom, should have mentioned the fact, having apparently so little connection with Gospel history, that at the time when the Baptist appeared this tetrarchy was under the rule of Lysanias. It was an allusion to a former well-known political division that had now ceased to exist, and was to his readers as distinct a mark of time as his mention of the tetrarchy of Antipas, or of Philip. This statement respecting Lysanias shows thus, when carefully examined, the accuracy of the Evangelist's information of the political history of his times, and should teach us to rely upon it even when unconfirmed by contemporaneous writers." — p. 136.

The accuracy of Luke's information, as shown in this instance, is as striking as if one now writing of the emancipation movement in Missouri, by way of contrast should say, that, in the fourth year of President Pierce's administration, Wilson Shannon being Governor of Kansas as a Federal Terri-

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\* Researches, III. 483.

tory, Charles Robinson being Governor elect in the State administration as organized under the Topeka Constitution, and Colonel E. V. Sumner being commander of the United States forces in the Territory, General David R. Atchison of Missouri, formerly President of the United States Senate, and Colonel Buford of Alabama, invaded Kansas with an armed force, in order to establish therein, by fraud and intimidation, the slave system of Missouri. One who was upon the ground during those memorable days could pen such a sentence from personal recollection; but at a distance, the writer must consult authorities, to avoid confounding the administrations of Reeder, Shannon, Geary, and Denver. The minute accuracy of Luke is the more striking, because his allusions to the shifting political divisions and administrations of Syria are simply incidental to his main purpose. But these serve to fix the chronology of the life of Christ, and to identify it as belonging to the local history of Palestine at a known period of the Roman empire.

Passing from the chronology to the chorography of the Gospels, we find in this the same natural, incidental, and always correct references to known matters of fact.

"The first consideration," says Lamartine, "that presents itself to the astonished mind, when opening a map of the globe for the purpose of studying the geography of religions, is that the little strip of earth between the head of the Mediterranean and the shores of the Red Sea, — a space almost entirely occupied by Mount Lebanon, the hills of Judæa, the mountains of Arabia, and the desert, — should have been the site, the cradle, and the scene of the three greatest religions adopted by mankind (India and China excepted), — the Jewish religion, the Christian religion, and the Mahometan religion. One would think, on contemplating a map of the world, that this little zone of rocks and sand between two translucent seas, and beneath stars of bright serenity, alone reflected more of divinity than all the residue of the globe." \*

But more to our purpose than this rhapsody of the poet is the deliberate judgment of the greatest geographer of our age, Carl Ritter.

"In the Book of Joshua, which relates the conquest and distribution

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\* History of Turkey, I. 37.



of the land of Canaan, the geographical character is predominant. Its contents, therefore, in this respect, admit of being brought to the test of comparison with the ascertained condition of the country; and the result is, that its accuracy has been fully established in the minutest details, even when the examination has been pursued into the most unimportant and trivial local relations. Its notices, not only of distinct regions, but of valleys, fountains, mountains, villages, have been confirmed, often with surprising certainty and particularity. The entire political and religious life of the Hebrews was interwoven in the closest manner, like a piece of network, with the geography of the land, far more so than is true of the modern European nations; and hence the opportunity to verify the alleged or implied connection between places and events is the more perfect, and affords results the more satisfactory. Most decisive is the rebuke which infidelity has received from this new species of testimony; it has been compelled to confess with shame that it has imposed on itself and on others by the unfounded doubts which it has raised against the truth of the Scriptures. The authenticity of the historical books of the Old Testament has been shown to be capable of vindication on a side hitherto too much overlooked; their fidelity in all matters within the sphere of geography places a new argument in the hands of the defenders of Revelation."\*

What is true of the Book of Joshua is equally true of the Evangelistic narratives of the New Testament. The progress of modern researches in Palestine has subjected the chorography of the Gospels to the severest scrutiny, which it has sustained in the minutest particulars. The land of Palestine is peculiarly fitted to test the accuracy of the Scriptures in their geographical and local allusions. The smallness and isolation of the territory enable us to take in its whole area at one view, to understand the relations of its various parts, and to study the exact details of locality. The empires of Darius, of Alexander, of Augustus, of Napoleon, bewilder us by the vastness of their extent and the variety of countries and races embraced in them. These, too, were continually shifting their limits. But the life of Christ was confined to a territory not larger than Vermont. We can place Palestine, as it were, under the stereoscope, and inspect it at our leisure. For beside being circumscribed within such narrow boun-

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\* Ritter, quoted by Prof. Hackett, "Illustrations of Scripture," p. 224.

daries, this country is isolated by strong physical features. "South and east inhospitable deserts, to the west the sea, shut it off from other lands, while Lebanon on the north bounds it by an almost insurmountable wall, stretching from the sea to the eastern desert." Nowhere else on the surface of the globe are the two conditions for the development of a world-religion — centrality and isolation — so wonderfully combined as in this hill-country between the Mediterranean and the Jordan, the wilderness of Arabia Petræa and the mountains of Northern Syria. The physical geography of Palestine is remarkably permanent. The clearing of forests, the neglect of agriculture, the gradual modifications of time, may have produced changes in the climate, in the aspect of the hills, and in the size and volume of the streams. But the general face of the country is to-day just what it was in the time of Christ, the time of David, the time of Joshua; its great landmarks remain unchanged. The deep fissure of the Jordan is there, with the blue Lake of Genesareth above and the molten Sea of Death below; the rocky wilderness is there, upon either side of the river; the plain of Jericho, the mountainous ascent to Jerusalem, Zion, and the Mount of Olives, all marked by unaltered features; the valley of Hinnom, the valley of Jehoshaphat, with the channel of the Kedron; Joppa still looks upon the great western sea; the plain of Sharon stretches northward to Carmel. The hill-country of Judæa, the hills and plains of Samaria, the vale of Shechem, with Ebal and Gerizim upon either hand, the great plain of Galilee, the vale of Nazareth, Tabor and Gilboa, Hermon and Lebanon, — every spot in nature that Jesus visited or looked upon is there unchanged. Hence we have the materials for the minutest comparison of the narrative of the Evangelists with the region of Christ's earthly life. If that narrative is found to contain serious inaccuracies, or is contradicted by the physical features of the country, then must our confidence in its authenticity be hopelessly shaken, and the Gospels pass at once from the category of historical productions into that of the legendary or the fictitious. The tone of extravagance in the reports of Du Chaillu with regard to the gorilla country, and the contradictions in his own journal, — though he

attributes these to the jumbling of two or three journals together by his amanuensis, — have led eminent men of science in England to doubt whether he has ever been in the region he professes to describe. “He that is first in his own cause seemeth just; but his neighbor cometh and searcheth him.” Now the Evangelists have been searched and sifted as to localities and matters of fact in Palestine, from the days of Jerome’s *Onomasticon* to those of Robinson’s “Biblical Researches,” and they have stood this test far more conclusively than Herodotus or Strabo, or any other writer of antiquity whose veracity and substantial accuracy are admitted by scholars. Upon this groundwork of fact their character as witnesses is established.

This comparison of the Evangelists with the local and physical record of Palestine is favored also by the frequent identification of ancient names through those in common use. The language of Palestine being the Arabic, the cognate of the Hebrew, and the language of a religion — the Mohammedan — which accepts the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as a preliminary revelation, it is easy to trace the origin of many present names of places in Palestine to the geography of the time of Christ and his Apostles, and even as far back as the age of Joshua and the conquest of Canaan. The Book of Joshua has been aptly compared to the Domesday Book of William the Conqueror. This book, still preserved in the British Exchequer, exhibits the state of landed property in England, its tenure and value, the quantity of meadow, pasture, forest, and arable land in each district, as reported by the king’s commissioners shortly after the Norman conquest. This chorographic survey has been the authority of title-deeds and boundary lines for later generations. It fixed the basis of military tenure and fealty to the crown, when the old Saxon estates were broken up, and Norman barons were transformed into English nobles. Coke, Blackstone, and all the best authorities in English law, recognize this great survey as a decisive *record* upon questions of ancient demesne. Just so the distribution of Canaan among the Israelites by Joshua was matter of permanent and decisive record concerning the inheritance of the tribes; and “the more we become ac-

quainted with the geography of Palestine through the discoveries of modern travellers, the more clearly do we perceive the correctness of all the boundary lines of the tribes, not only as regards their directions and windings, but also as to the heights and valleys over which they passed."\* Joshua himself gives us the old Canaanitish names of many of the cities of Palestine, though these fell into disuse after the Israelites had taken possession of the land. And in like manner we can trace in the present geographical nomenclature of Palestine the old land-roll and census prepared under the direction of Joshua the conqueror.

A striking instance of this is found in the recent probable identification of a series of towns in the inheritance of Naphtali, to wit, *En-hazor*, *Iron*, *Migdal-el*, *Horem*, and *Beth-anath* (Joshua xix. 37, 38). Upon Carl Zimmermann's new *Karte von Galiläa*, constructed to illustrate the routes and researches of Dr. Ernst August Schulz, we find these several towns in their proper juxtaposition, in the valley that stretches in a northeasterly direction from Acre toward Lake Huleh: *En-hazor* in the *Ain Hazur*, near El Mughar; *Iron* in *Yarōn*, northwest of Giscala; *Beth-anath* in *Ainata*, farther to the north. *Migdal-el*, Keil would identify with *Mejdal*, the Magdala of Matthew's Gospel, on the western shore of the Lake of Genesareth; but this is inadmissible. *Horem* is marked in most itineraries as unknown. Dr. William H. Thomson, formerly of Syria, now of New York, while exploring this valley, was led to suspect that *Migdal-el* and *Horem* were but parts of one compound name; and in *Medj el-Kerām*, which lies northwest of *Ain Hazur*, the long-sought identification is found. The Septuagint reads these two as one name, *Μεγαλααρίμ*. Thus Joshua's Domesday Book, confirmed by native tradition, corrects a false reading of King James's translators.

The value of this native tradition in determining Biblical localities appears in the fact that the Greek and Roman names imposed upon Palestine have almost entirely disappeared, while the common people have kept alive, in a kindred dialect, the ancient Hebrew designations. Hence Robinson, who

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\* Keil, Commentary on Joshua, p. 51.

attached but little value to ecclesiastical traditions, — which may have originated either in credulity or in cupidity, — gives to this native nomenclature a weight beyond any other form of testimony collateral to the Bible and Josephus.

“There is in Palestine another kind of tradition, with which the monasteries have had nothing to do ; and of which they have apparently in every age known little or nothing. I mean, *the preservation of the ancient names of places among the common people*. This is a truly national and native tradition ; not derived in any degree from the influence of foreign convents or masters ; but drawn in by the peasant with his mother’s milk, and deeply seated in the genius of the Semitic languages. The Hebrew names of places continued current in their Aramæan form long after the times of the New Testament ; and maintained themselves in the mouths of the common people, in spite of the efforts made by Greeks and Romans to supplant them by others derived from their own tongues. After the Muhammedan conquest, when the Aramæan language gradually gave place to the kindred Arabic, the proper names of places, which the Greeks could never bend to their orthography, found here a ready entrance ; and have thus lived on upon the lips of the Arabs, whether Christian or Muslim, townsmen or Bedawin, even unto our own day, almost in the same form in which they have also been transmitted to us in the Hebrew Scriptures.” \*

While the general topography of Palestine exhibits so many and so minute correspondences with the names and localities of the Old and New Testaments, the more prominent scenes in the life of Christ can be identified beyond a question. We may not be able to designate the Mount of the Beatitudes or that of the Transfiguration ; the site of Capernaum may be uncertain ; geographers may not agree which of two ruined villages represents the Cana of Galilee ; but Bethlehem and Bethany, Jericho and Jerusalem, the Mount of Olives and the Valley of the Kedron, Sychar and Nazareth, and the Lake of Tiberias, are as definitely known as the stopping-places on the Hudson River Railroad. One feels as sure that the plain of Genesareth lay upon the lake of its name, as that Sing-Sing is on the Tappan Zee. One is as sure that the vale of Shechem lies between Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim, as that the Northampton meadows stretch out between Mount Holyoke and Mount Tom.

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\* Researches, I. 255.

Geographically, the life of Christ may be arranged in three sections, — though these will not represent its chronological order. The first section embraces the northern portion of Judæa and Samaria; the second, the region of Galilee; the third, the country beyond Jordan, known under the general name of Perea. This very division identifies the period and the region in which Christ appeared. The original distribution of Canaan by Joshua after the conquest was into twelve divisions, which took the names of the twelve tribes of Israel. But the Evangelists, though Jews, barely allude to these tribal divisions. The reference to Bethlehem as a city of Judah, and the description of Capernaum as “upon the sea-coast, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim,” are the only mention in the Gospels of the original Jewish divisions of Palestine. Those divisions, though substantially retained under the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, were nearly obliterated after the captivity, from which only remnants of Judah and Benjamin returned. But when Palestine was reduced to a Roman province, a new political division of the country was made, to provide offices for favorites, and to facilitate the government of a turbulent people. The Jewish historian, Josephus, and the classical geographer, Pliny, give substantially the following divisions: Judæa, which embraced the old tribes of Judah, Benjamin, Simeon, and Dan; Samaria, which took in Ephraim and parts of Issachar and Manasseh; Galilee, made up of Zebulun, Naphtali, Asher, and the northern possessions of Dan; Perea, on the east of Jordan, embracing Reuben and Gad; and the Decapolis, with its surrounding tetrarchies, embracing the half of Manasseh east of Jordan, and stretching northward to Anti-Lebanon and eastward to Damascus. Such were the political divisions imposed upon the Jews by the Romans, obliterating the ancient tribal divisions, which were the basis of their nationality. It was as if our State boundaries should be swallowed up in the military departments created by the general government.

Now the geographical references in the Gospels correspond throughout with this state of facts. “There followed him great multitudes of people from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem and Judæa, and from beyond Jordan.”

Such is the general division. But just as the limits of our military departments and the names and functions of their commandants are continually changing, so these provinces and the titles of their rulers were frequently changed at the period to which we refer. Thus Judæa was subdivided into districts, the southernmost of which was called Idumæa; and this was sometimes reckoned as a distinct province. Furthermore, around cities of the Decapolis there grew up petty kingdoms, or tetrarchies, such as Abilene and Trachonitis, which had governors of their own. This state of facts, which we have upon independent Jewish and Roman authorities, and which greatly complicated the political geography of Palestine by frequent and embarrassing changes, is also recognized in the incidental allusions of the Evangelists. "A great multitude from Galilee followed him, and from Judæa, and from Jerusalem, and from *Idumæa*, and from beyond Jordan; and they about Tyre and Sidon," on the old Phœnician coast, adjoining Galilee. (Mark iii. 7, 8.) "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of *Iturea* and of the region of *Trachonitis*, and Lysanias the tetrarch of *Abilene*." (Luke iii. 1.) Luke has a certain methodical minuteness of time and place in his narrative, which we might expect from an educated physician. These references to a group of political provinces and their rulers, at a time when the boundaries of those provinces and the names and titles of their rulers were frequently changing, show at least the confidence of the historian in his own knowledge, and should predispose us to receive him as an authority in matters of fact. And since these passing allusions of Luke are confirmed by the more formal narrative of Josephus, and by fragmentary Roman history, their testimony to his accuracy is of the very highest order.

There are similar allusions by Matthew and Mark, which corroborate each other through circumstantial diversities. Thus Matthew tells us that, after feeding the four thousand in the Decapolis, Jesus "sent away the multitude, and took ship, and came into the coasts of *Magdala*." (Matt. xv. 39.) Mark says, that "straightway he entered into a ship with his dis-

ciples, and came into the parts of *Dalmanutha*." Now, with one exception, all the cities of the Decapolis lay on the east of the lake and the Jordan; the site of Magdala is well identified through the Arab village Mejdol, on the southwestern shore of the lake; and Dalmanutha was in the same region.\* Jesus must, therefore, have crossed the lake from Decapolis to the point where these two neighboring villages marked the shore. After this he goes again by ship to "the other side" of the lake, that is, to the eastern shore, where next we find him at Bethsaida, at the northeast corner of the lake, near the entrance of the Jordan, and thence he journeys northward into the coasts, or, as Mark says, "the towns of Cæsarea Philippi." This name is another proof of both historical and geographical accuracy. Familiar as is the history, we must cite its principal facts in evidence upon this point. There was a Cæsarea upon the coast of the Mediterranean, forty miles north of Joppa, founded by Herod the Great, and so named in honor of Cæsar Augustus. This is often mentioned in the Book of Acts. There Philip labored; there Peter visited Cornelius; there Herod died; there Paul had his hearing before Felix, and again before Festus and Agrippa. This was *the* Cæsarea of Palestine. But when Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis, he enlarged and embellished one of its cities, *Panium*, as his capital, changed its name to Cæsarea, in honor of the Emperor, and then added his own name, *Cæsarea Philippi*, to distinguish it from the older and more conspicuous city on the sea-coast. This Cæsarea Philippi, nestling under the very shadow of Hermon, near the head-waters of Jordan, was the most northern point of our Lord's journeyings. The minute accuracy of the historian in the use of this name is seen in the fact that, about thirty years previously, the city was known exclusively by the name of Panias, and that twenty years later its name was again changed to Neronias, in flattery of Nero; after which it was long known as Cæsarea Paneas.† Thus the great library of Paris has changed its name from Royal to Imperial, and again to Royal, and then to National, and once more to Imperial, according to the political administration of the capi-

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\* Robinson, II. 397.

† Josephus, Ant. XVIII. 2. § 1, and XX. 9. § 4.



tal; and the mention of either name suggests a corresponding epoch of the government. Accuracy in such details, when purely incidental to the main purpose of the writer, affords the strongest presumption possible of his trustworthiness as an historian.

In the simple narratives of the journeys of Christ, when time is given, it accords well with the relative distances of places; and towns and districts are always named in their proper relations to each other. From Nazareth to Cana is about twelve miles over the hills; from Cana the route to Capernaum is an almost continuous descent,—a distance of some fifteen miles. The nobleman coming from Capernaum finds Jesus at Cana in the after part of the day, and beseeches him to “come down” and heal his son. Next morning, as he is hastening home, he meets his servants, who inform him that his son began to mend the previous afternoon. Taking into account the mode of Eastern travel, these dates correspond exactly with the distances. From Capernaum to Nain is barely twenty miles; accordingly we find Jesus one day at Capernaum, and “the day after” at Nain (Luke vii. 11). In going northward from Jerusalem to Galilee, Jesus “must *needs* go through Samaria”; and in Galilee, within another jurisdiction, he would be comparatively safe from the rage of the Sanhedrim. The populous district about Lake Tiberias,\* the chief scene of his labors, had near it, upon the northwest, mountainous solitudes to which he could withdraw for seclusion and prayer. On the eastern shore of the lake, over against Galilee, lay Gergesa and the country of the Gadarenes. Here, too, as above noted, was the broad region known as Perea, traversing which southward “beyond Jordan,” to the ford at Jericho, our Lord would thence come to Bethany and Jerusalem. Bethany, nestling under the eastward slope of Olivet, just out of sight of the capital, was an easy and pleasant resort by night, after a day spent in the discussions of the temple.

Thus may we trace step by step the earthly life of Jesus upon the soil of Palestine. It is written upon the hills and the valleys, upon the lake and the river, upon the desert places of

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\* The Gospels make no mention of *Tiberias*, built several years after Christ. This omission is a confirmation.

Jordan and Galilee, on the smiling fields of Shechem and the fair slopes of Olivet, as legibly and imperishably as if for each succeeding generation Jesus had there repeated his lowly, patient wanderings, his works of sublime beneficence. To doubt this is to doubt everything in human history. No amount of testimony could make more certain the reality of that earthly life; no geographical exploration, no surveyor's measurements, though these might multiply points of correspondence and identity, could make more sure a life certified by so many points unchanged in name and locality, and whose distances and bearings so completely underlie the narrative. The very stones are witnesses for the story. Say what men will of the character and mission of Christ, of his work, his doctrine, his death, they must accept the fact of his life on earth, or burn up every record of the past, and sink the land of Palestine in the depths of the sea.

The political vassalage of Palestine, the inertia of Oriental society, and the bigotry of race and of religion, have combined to keep the features of the country and the location of its principal places more nearly like what they were two thousand years ago, than are the physical features and historical sites of any other land, Egypt alone excepted. For centuries its Turkish masters have barred it against the encroachments of modern civilization, and now the mutual jealousies of Christian powers keep it in a state of chronic supineness. Hence the verisimilitude of the Gospel narratives when read amid the every-day incidents of life in the Holy Land. Even the archæology of Palestine is a thing of the present; its antiquities are living realities. And, so far as scenery, climate, places, manners, and customs are concerned, much of the Bible might be reproduced there to-day, as all of it must at some time have been written there. To a reader not versed in Italian, the poem of Dante may at first seem obscure and dry, from the multitude of its local and historical allusions. But when one has resolutely mastered these, they in turn place him *en rapport* with the mind of the poet, and the once tedious page becomes a living annal of its times. Michel Angelo had brought the pencil of the greatest artist of Italy to illuminate her greatest poet; and the loss of his illustrations was a calamity to the

world of letters no less than to the world of art. But a modern artist has revived this difficult task ; and as you turn over the pages of Dante's *Inferno* illustrated by Gustave Doré, you gain a realization of the poet's meaning, so vivid and intense, that you seem to walk with him pensive and shuddering through the dismal caverns of hell, fascinated by the very horror that repels you. The pictured pages are themselves a poem ; they give a visible shape to the conceptions of the poet, and by their shadowy light you look into the mysterious depths of that great soul. Yet this is only imagination illustrated by imagination. But in the land of Palestine, — rocks, hills, rivers, valleys, lakes, fountains, trees, and flowers, — we have a photographed copy of the life of Christ, fact illustrating fact, and making that life of august mysteries a reality of earth and time. Every allusion of Christ to objects in nature belongs to Palestine, and must have been suggested and uttered there.

We look to the geographer, the botanist, the naturalist, for minute and classified descriptions of the soil, climate, and products of a country, of its agriculture, its fauna, and its flora. But from the native orator or poet we expect passing allusions to such physical scenery, and such animal and vegetable life, as he is familiar with in his own surroundings ; and these allusions may serve to localize the speech or poem, as belonging to the Occident or the Orient, to the North or the South, to England or to Italy. Bryant's "*Prairies*" could not have been written by an Englishman, nor Wordsworth's descriptions of Rydal and Windermere by an American. The verifying a literary production by its topical allusions becomes obvious and natural when the country of its birth has prominent peculiarities of scenery, climate, or productions. Now Palestine combines in a remarkable manner the climates and productions of the temperate and the tropical zones, concentrated within a small area. Of the valley of the Jordan, and the country of Genesareth, Josephus says : " One may call this place the ambition of nature, where it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to agree together ; it is a happy contention of the seasons, as if every one of them laid claim to this country ; — the hardier trees, that require the

coldest air, flourish there plentifully; there are palm-trees also, which grow best in hot air; while fig-trees and olives grow near them, which yet require an air that is more temperate." Much as the soil and productions of Palestine have deteriorated since the land has been trodden under foot of strangers, and much as the climate itself has changed, from the clearing away of forests, there yet remains in the vegetable and animal kingdoms of the Holy Land, and in the agricultural habits of its people, a striking confirmation of the allusions to soil and climate in the life of Christ.

Did John the Baptist appear in the wilderness, living upon locusts and wild honey? The uncultivated, uninhabited region of Judæa toward the Dead Sea, whose trees and rocks drip honey from the nests of wild bees, is there to certify to the story. The contemporary Pliny informs us, that the Parthians esteem the locust a choice food,\* and that some tribes of the Ethiopians subsist on nothing but locusts, which are smoke-dried and salted as their provision for the year; † and a modern Jewish Rabbi, long resident in Palestine, mentions that in 1837, when myriads of locusts covered the land, "the Arabs roasted these insects and ate them with much relish." ‡ The camel, as of old, is the beast of burden, and his hair is woven into a coarse cloth for garments such as the Baptist wore. The banks of the Jordan are lined with reeds "shaken by the wind." The fox still has his hiding-places in the hill-country of Palestine, where the Son of Man was a homeless wanderer; serpents and vipers abound, to illustrate the comparison of the Pharisees to their venomous brood; the scorpion haunts ruins, and hides in the crevices of the walls, its terrible sting representing the fierceness of "the enemy," over whom Jesus gave his disciples power. If an ass or a camel die by the roadside, wheresoever the carcass is, the eagles or vultures\* are quickly gathered together. The ravens, true to their instinct, drive out their young from the nest to seek their food, having neither storehouse nor barn. The dove is still the favorite bird of the house and the grove, and is held sacred by Mohammedans, as the symbol of harmless-

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\* Book II. c. 32, 35.

‡ Schwartz's Palestine, p. 300.

† Book VI. c. 35.

§ Pliny, X. c. 7.

ness and purity. The sparrow is still so annoying by its numbers upon the house-tops, and so little relished as food, that two might be bought for a farthing. The ox and the ass are still the favorite beasts of burden, and the ass's colt is the common saddle-beast of the poorer people, — even as when Jesus came meekly “riding on the foal of an ass.” Sheep and goats, however, are the most numerous of the domestic animals of Palestine; and every allusion to these in the parables and discourses of Christ may be verified among the flocks and sheepfolds of the country as one sees them to-day. At certain seasons of the year the shepherd lives with his sheep in the open air, abiding in the field keeping watch over the flock by night. At other times, when cold or danger threatens, all the flocks of the village are gathered within a walled enclosure, whose door is in the keeping of the porter. In the morning each shepherd calls out his own sheep, and they, knowing his voice, follow him to their feeding-places, where, armed with sling, staff, or other weapon, he watches them against the wolf or the robber. When the time of dividing the flocks comes, the sheep are separated from the goats.

In the open country — the fields unbroken by fences and traversed by the highway — the sower may drop seed upon stony places or on the wayside, to be trodden under foot of men. When the wheat is in the ear, the traveller, following the path through the field, may pluck his hands full, rub out the grain, and eat. In marshy spots the *zowan*, or tare, will often spring up and choke the wheat, where only good seed had been sown. The barley-loaf remains a common article of diet. At harvest-time one sees the oxen treading out the grain upon the great stone floor in the open air, where the wind carries away the chaff, or the fan in the hand of the husbandman thoroughly purges his floor of dust and refuse. At evening, in the doorways, the women, usually two, sit together at the millstones, grinding the meal for the next morning. For the baking, as wood is scarce, dry weeds and grass are gathered to be cast into the little oven of earth, and burned.

If the traveller in Palestine would rest by the wayside, as he approaches a village, he will find the well or the fountain

to which the women resort to draw water; and he may sit under the wide-spread branches of the sycamore,—wholly unlike the American tree of that name,—reminding himself how easily Zaccheus, from such a tree, could scrutinize the crowd as it passed along; and also how great must be the faith that would pluck up this deep-set tree by the roots. Perhaps near by he may see the mustard-seed grown to a shrub in which birds make their nests; or by some brook or moistened valley, near Tabor or Nazareth, his eye may feast upon the lilies of the field, with which all the glory of Solomon could not compare. The plain of Jericho might still furnish palm-branches for the royal welcome of the Son of David; the fig-tree would still illustrate his parables; the olive would yield its oil to the good Samaritan; the vineyard, with its wine-press and tower, with its well-pruned vines and abundant fruits, is at hand as a commentary upon the last discourses of Jesus; while the buckthorn and a species of cactus, simulating the grape and the fig, remain to point the proverb that “men do not gather grapes of thorns nor figs of thistles.” Perhaps in the early season one might be attracted to a fig-tree by its promising foliage, to find “nothing thereon but leaves only,”—a symbol of a cultivated intellect with an unbelieving heart.

The life of Christ must take its place in history among the realities of earth and time. We may not be able to trace its every link, to identify its every footstep; “here, perchance, we may wander; there miss the right clew; yet, if with a true and living faith we seek to bring home to our hearts the great features of the Evangelical history,—to journey with our Master over the lonely mountains of Galilee; to sit with him beside the busy waters of the Lake of Genesareth; to follow his footsteps into remote and half-pagan lands, or to hang on his lips in the courts of his Father’s house,—we shall not seek in vain. The history of the Gospels will be more and more to us a living history.”\* The patient study of that history, in the candid and liberal spirit of true criticism, can lead only to the conclusion of the reality of the life of Christ as

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\* Ellicott, pp. 141, 142.

there recorded. And whatever harmonistic and chronological difficulties may yet remain in certain passages of that life, we may gladly observe, with Bishop Ellicott, "that order and connection have been found where there was once deemed to be only confusion and incoherence, — that the inspired narratives are regarded no longer as discrepant, but as self-explanatory, — and that honest investigation is showing more and more clearly, that what one inspired writer has left unrecorded another has often supplied, with an incidental preciseness of adjustment which is all the more convincing from being seen and felt to be undesigned."\*

For such a study we know of no more agreeable and instructive helpers than the two authors whose works we have now brought to the notice of the reader. Each should be read in its own order; Mr. Andrews's, for the thorough historical and geographical groundwork of the life of Christ; Bishop Ellicott's, for the devout realization of that life upon this basis of actuality. Mr. Andrews preserves the calm, exact, critical style of the historian, never indulging in homiletic reflections or in devotional meditations; yet he is not wanting in fervor of conviction or in vivacity of narration. His work is by far the most complete, trustworthy, and satisfactory digest of the later results of criticism upon the life of Christ that has appeared in the English language. Nothing of importance seems to have escaped his notice, and no point has been evaded or slurred over because of unresolved difficulties. Bishop Ellicott's volume retains the popular and hortatory style of discourses which assume the inspired character of the Gospels. They are therefore less forcible as an argument for the credibility of the Gospels, but are rich and eloquent in the portraiture of the life of Christ. Nor are they wanting in a critical analysis of doubtful points, which is carefully elaborated in learned notes. Thus the two works supplement each other; and if we study them connectedly, the things narrated of the earthly life of Christ "will seem so close, so near, so true, that our faith in Jesus will be such as no sophistry can weaken, no doubtfulness becloud."

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\* Page 220. We do not moot the question of inspiration, the fact of which Bishop Ellicott assumes.

- ART. IV. — 1. *The Duty of a Rising Christian State to contribute to the World's Well-being and Civilization, and the Means by which it may perform the same. The Annual Oration before the Common Council and Citizens of Monrovia, Liberia, July 26, 1855, being the Day of National Independence.* By ALEXANDER CRUMMELL. London. 1856.
2. *The English Language in Liberia. The Annual Address before the Citizens of Maryland County, Cape Palmas, Liberia, July 26, 1860, being the Day of National Independence.* By ALEXANDER CRUMMELL. New York. 1861.
3. *The Relations and Duties of Free Colored Men in America to Africa. A Letter to Charles B. Dunbar.* By ALEXANDER CRUMMELL. Hartford. 1862.
4. *Proceedings at the Inauguration of Liberia College, at Monrovia, January 23, 1862.* Published by Order of the Legislature of Liberia.
5. *Liberia's Contributions to Letters and Theology. The Future of Africa.* By REV. ALEXANDER CRUMMELL, Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy in Liberia College. — *Liberia's Offering, being Addresses and Sermons.* By REV. EDWARD W. BLYDEN, Professor of Languages in Liberia College. 2 vols. New York. 1862.

It is impossible to read any ordinary account of Africa without having the mind filled with images of sadness, and the heart aroused to a painful sympathy. Such a picture of desolation, ignorance, cruelty, and general degradation, with the thought that the people are our fellow-beings, — that their aggregate numbers approach a hundred millions, and that every avenue to their relief seems sealed, — death, in some fearful shape, guarding every portal, — is indeed most appalling. Nothing so reproachful to our humanity is to be found on all God's earth. It is as if the ocean — the silent highway which brings into happy contact all other lands — had in the case of Africa served only to wash away the tie of blood that bears witness to the universal brotherhood of man. We compass Arctic seas and dare the most horrible fate in pitiless wildernesses of ice, to find the bones of one dead man; but it is



impossible to awaken a thousandth part of the interest in the actual sufferings and moral death of the myriads of Africa. And why? Because they are so miserable, so utterly to be pitied!

Theirs is, indeed, a strange, an anomalous fate. Those who interest themselves in searching out the springs and tributaries of crime and misery in great cities, learn to recognize in Darkness a great power for evil, in Light a benign moral as well as sanitary agent. In proportion as the wretched live in dungeon-cellars and unwindowed garrets, or in by-ways whose labyrinthine coils forbid the entrance of the full light of day, is found the tendency of poor humanity to sink to the lowest depths of degradation without a struggle or an upward glance. The best cure devised, the only wholesale remedy, is the running of a wide street through the infected district, a path of light, straight as a beam of the blessed sun, irresistible in its power of cutting open poisonous blind alleys and horrible knots of murder and worse than murder, and in which by night floods of gas-light secure safety and decency more effectually than the best police.

But Africa,—unhappy Africa, enormous continent, seemingly God-forsaken and man-abhorred,—known as the home of rapine, treachery, and savage barbarity, such as it makes the flesh creep to read of,—Africa, who sells her children without shame or mercy; whose festivity is the slaughter of helpless and unoffending victims, and her choicest morsel their quivering flesh; whose religion is, if possible, more abominable than her amusements, and from whose many dialects all words which signify any noble or honest, any pitiful or devout feeling, have dropped away as useless, their places supplied by others which betray familiarity with things accursed; bathed in sunshine which, forsaking its better office, corrupts instead of purifying; suffering the torments of a lidless eye, “blasted with excess of light,”—what a fate is hers! Fierce beasts and venomous reptiles, plants full of death, and winds that carry pestilence, are hers, and men of like nature seem her natural product. Better animal and material things may be found here and there,—gold, ivory, precious woods and oils and gums, cotton, sugar, coffee; but we are forced to think

that better *men*, men who have in them the gift of healing and the love to use it, must needs be exotic. No germ of improvement exists among her native tribes; the elephants that roam her wastes or congregate about her infrequent springs might as reasonably be expected to agree upon a social polity, or to originate a code of morals. Without a miracle, Africa must receive the awakening and purifying power for which she languishes through men imported from more favored lands. Dumb and helpless, she can never seek the true light, the Light of Life. Generous pity, enlightened benevolence, Christian love, must go to her where she lies, bleeding and helpless; must lift her drooping head, find balm for her many woes, and show her the cure for that blindness which is her curse.

Africa is called "missionary ground," and truly. She is the "God's acre" of that devoted band, both men and women, who, moved by a divine pity, have crossed the world to labor and suffer in her behalf, and whose remains lie beneath her "burning marle"; for few indeed have ever returned even to find a resting-place within the dear bosom of their native land. Better face the bullets that are decimating our armies, than the more insidious dangers of an African home. A slave-trader, or other murderous wholesale robber, may elude the withering, venomous power of the climate, for he is protected by a Mithridatic charm,—pre-saturated with a poison which not even Africa can overmatch. But the man of mind, gently bred, and especially the woman of our race, goes to Africa as the martyrs of earlier times went to the ordeal of fire, fully aware that innocence will be no protection. The blazing, consuming sun that makes Sahara a desert, and one half whose torrid light would cover Siberia's dreary steppes with villages and abundant human life, has no mercy on pale faces. As well sow wheat before the simoom as send out our brethren and sisters to labor under that terrible sky. Sanitary care, temperance, heroism,—nothing avails. Burning days, succeeded by almost frosty nights of deadly damp; a season of killing heat which ushers in a deluge of rain, to be followed by another heat that dries up the rivers and annihilates vegetation,—these alternate extremes, which admit of no alleviation, forbid the white man's hope of evangelizing Africa.

Death is not to be coaxed into sympathy with even our holiest aims and efforts.

That the civilization and Christianization of the Land of Light shall be undertaken and accomplished, is doubtless written. For what age and what instrumentality the work is reserved remains to be developed. But why it should not be attempted in our day, and by those who speak our English tongue, it is difficult to see. We live in a period of great undertakings and great discoveries; among the latter this, greatest of all,—that there are no insuperable difficulties. The idea entertained, the impulse felt, the obstacles thoroughly investigated and understood, the means will be found. But the motive power must not be that love of gain which has been hitherto the chief prompter in any interest in the great lonely continent, and which has in too many cases been gratified in a way which might, were that possible, teach new barbarity to Africa, and give a deeper tinge to the bloody rites of Dahomey. It must be no vampyre spirit, willing to suck what it craves even from the decaying corpse, but the zeal of the good physician, who freely and gladly brings all the resources of science, all the patience and hope of love, to bear upon the body seeming dead, in the hope of discovering and fanning into full life some yet vital spark. The impulse towards an object so unpromising and so unpopular must be noble and disinterested, and calm wisdom and far-seeing sagacity will be required to make it efficient.

Suitable instrumentality will not be far to seek. The wise and liberal souls who are to undertake the great work will find artificers ready. Our readers will, of course, have perceived that, considering as we do the climate of Africa impracticable for white men, our hope for her rests on the belief that another race, of tropical origin, awaits only our hearty co-operation and generous help to do that which personally we cannot do. Men there are among us who, competent morally and intellectually to be the seed-wheat of a moral wilderness, are also endowed with a constitutional aptitude for resisting the miasms of a torrid wilderness. They are men to whom long and grinding oppression has taught the value of religion, and to whom piety, enlightened or not, has become as natural as their

inborn love of music ; men, too, whose skin — the texture and color of which in our country bring upon them only poverty and a ferocious contempt — finds its natural and healthful action under a sky which scorches our very marrow. They are a people passionately desirous of learning, as will be testified by those who have seen the trembling hand of three-score and the ebony fingers of childhood grasping the same primer with equal eagerness, to find out the names of the letters, and to comprehend the magic power which forms familiar words out of these mystical characters. And their teachers tell, too, of the surprising readiness with which they acquire the simple rudiments which are thus offered, — a readiness which will doubtless be found to keep pace with the higher learning which better fortunes will soon place within their reach.

Those who doubt the capacity of the black man for instruction may sneer at this assumption, but there are already facts enough, and a state of things actually existent, which must consign all such scepticism to the limbo of ignorance and prejudice. Doubts are natural enough, it is true, under the circumstances, and it would seem as if they might claim the support of philosophy and experience ; for where can be found an instance of slavery's having nursed intelligence, or of elevated traits of character having been brought out by the lash ?

The success which has attended the few rational efforts hitherto made to educate the man of color may, without exaggeration, be claimed to have shown him unusually susceptible of intellectual light. It is true that the half-savage field negro, to whom no human being ever offered an intellectual pleasure, even in the shape of a child's picture-book or a word of rational information, would be a poor subject for collegiate instruction. But is he a fair specimen of the race, imbruted as he is by toil and ignorance, — of set purpose kept in blindness, lest a ray of light should make him mad ?

"What would be thought," says Mr. Shedd, in an address before the Colonization Society of Massachusetts, "of a generalization in respect to the native traits and capacities of the whole Celtic stock, — of the entire blood of polished France and eloquent Ireland and the gallant Highlands, — that should be deduced from the brutish descendants of

those Irish who were driven out of Ulster and Southdown in the time of Cromwell; men now of the most repulsive characteristics, 'with open, projecting mouths, prominent and exposed gums, advancing cheek-bones, depressed noses; height five feet two inches on an average; bow-legged, abortively featured; their clothing a wisp of rags; spectres of a people that were once well-grown, able-bodied, and comely'? But such a judgment would be of equal value with that narrow estimate of the natural traits and characteristics of the inhabitants of one entire quarter of the globe, which rests upon an acquaintance with a small portion of them, carried into a foreign land and reduced to slavery."

Even in slavery, the smallest chance of self-improvement tells on the black. If he stand behind his master's chair or drive the carriage of his mistress, let him be of never so pure ebony in color, he will invariably be found to have imbibed many more and higher ideas than his employers desired to impart. We should be sorry to confine white children to such an amount of education; and it is questionable whether, were the cases reversed, our children would succeed any better in entrapping the stray sunbeams of the mental heaven than do the impressible and imitative people of African blood. It is a pity that what few glimpses of knowledge have fallen in their way have not been better worth catching.

Of their fitness to endure extremes of climate and other personal hardships we have abundant proof, without going beyond the rice-fields of South Carolina and the swamps of Florida. One of themselves — a college-bred man of color, the Rev. A. Crummell, of Queen's College, Cambridge, England — speaks of it thus: —

"In connection with the painful providences of our lot in this nation, God has given us also special advantages. One of these is capability of endurance and wonderful tenacity of life. The black man, even in the lands of his thralldom, shows extraordinary vitality. If you go into some quarters of the earth, you cannot but see how, at the approach of a civilizing power, the aboriginal races fade away and perish. The mere breath of civilization seems destruction to them, and they vanish before it. But the black man appears to be of harder stock; he lives, even under the most adverse circumstances. The old slave-traders used to say the negro had nine lives. However severe the storm of disaster, he still stands, and, endowed with a most plastic nature, he can suit himself to the hardest lot."

The condition and prospects of the African race in our country have never been so interesting and important as at the present moment. According to the opinion and estimate of one of the most intelligent and eminent of their friends, Mr. Latrobe of Baltimore, President of the American Colonization Society, the situation of the free blacks before the commencement of the war was miserable, if not hopeless.

“The condition of the free colored population as a class is inferior to what it was in 1816. . . . . They find by sad experience how irresistible is white competition in a strife for bread. Excluded from many an accustomed calling, legislation has been invoked to straiten their condition, and emancipation has been prohibited lest the numbers of so superfluous a class should grow too fast. Strenuous efforts, made under favorable circumstances, to put them on a footing of equality with the white race, have resulted only in increasing public prejudice. Courts of justice have recognized the existence of this feeling, and even in those States which boast peculiar sympathies in their behalf, the distinction of caste practically pervades the entire community, so far as they are concerned. And why should all this be? Why at least have the free colored people not been permitted to maintain the kindlier relations, indifferent as those were, of half a century ago? Personally they have not deteriorated in the interval. In individual cases the free man of color has wonderfully improved; he is better educated, more refined; with appreciative tastes, an elevated ambition, comfortable means, often wealth. . . . . They voted, in Maryland, up to 1809, and the popular almanac, at the beginning of the present century, in the States of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, was the work of Benjamin Banneker, a man of unmixed African descent. Why, then, the change in question? There is but one cause to which it can be attributed, — the increase of our aggregate population. The two races are coming, day by day, into closer contact. Collisions, of old unknown, are beginning to occur between the masses of the respective populations. The old story of the Spaniard and the Moor is being re-enacted in our midst. We are but illustrating the law that invariably prevails where two races that cannot amalgamate by intermarriage occupy the same land.”

What is here put forth with regard to the half-million or more of free blacks in 1860 applies with greater force to those of the present time, whose numbers we cannot attempt to compute. The problem as to the fate of these unhappy multitudes

is one of the deepest interest, not only to themselves and to us, but to the whole civilized world. Here they are, by no fault of their own, — living, sentient creatures, of generous nature, with the same needs, the same desires, the same future destiny, as our own ; and, so far as their condition in this world goes, an immediate and heavy responsibility rests upon us. How, in view of all the difficulties, shall it be met ? Legislation may forbid, but it is utterly incompetent to ordain, anything with regard to their future under the new *régime*. A free man is free, whatever be his color. We can enforce upon him the restraints of law and order ; we can punish him for begging, and at the same time prohibit his practising any trade of which he feels himself capable, and by which he might earn an honest livelihood ; we may tax him, though he has no political *status* ; we may exclude him from our public conveyances, our churches, and our schools, and by laws worthy of Japanese brains may drive him from the borders of States whose lands lie untilled for want of the very labor he would bring ; but we cannot force him to go hither or thither, or to practise this or that trade or way of life, without reducing him again to the condition of a slave. We can only, having first gained his confidence, enlighten, advise, aid, and defend him. He is at liberty to choose his path, narrowed as it is, wisely or unwisely, as the case may be ; but we of more knowledge may warn him against the evil, and offer inducements toward the advantageous and the happy. When a river is to be forded, the man who has long lived on its banks can be of essential service to the stranger or the child who is obliged to cross ; and these new-made citizens of ours, who have been so long in a “state of pupillage,” yet not taught, are but children and strangers in the path of life. Even already they mutely appeal to us for help, and it must be owned that the very depth of their need chills our humanity. How can we undertake a task so immense ?

It is plain that our power lies in theirs. Our ability to help them depends on their ability and willingness to help themselves. We might try in vain to lift a dead weight so fearful, but to their strength we may with good hope add the power of our machinery. They ask nothing more. To feel their

own responsibility is one of their new pleasures. Under all their misfortunes, all their discouragements, all their sad and bitter memories, they are full of spirit. There is nothing of the beggar about them. Europeans as poor, as untaught, as much abused, would be abject, but the negro never. Win his affection and confidence, show him that you are thoroughly kind and true, and he will serve you heartily and faithfully. Use him ill, wound his pride, trample on his self-respect, and he will bear with you as long as he must, but you have not conquered him. This spirit, inherent in the race, its enemies and contemners call *impudence*, even when it exhibits itself in no more aggressive form than walking about the streets well dressed and with a cheerful and assured look. But it is what Eastern people call *grit*, and respect very highly in persons of their own complexion, and what the few who do not despise a black skin denominate, quite as truly, *manliness*. That the colored people should retain it under all the cruel injustice and wrong that have been heaped upon them is most remarkable. The black man is a perfect Jack-in-the-box as to oppression. While the lid is well on, he is quiet and submissive; but the first chance for liberty and light shows the power of a strong spring in him. In the District of Columbia, where we have, as it were, a cabinet picture of the effect of emancipation upon the individual, we cannot but admire the behavior of the blacks. Quiet, orderly, and, if somewhat elated by the great boon, yet restraining all outward signs of elation with what almost merits the name of dignity, they "bate no jot of heart or hope" at being sent forth upon the world to "take care of themselves," though they have been industriously taught to think this a task impossible to them. It is true, they do not fully appreciate the difficulties before them. They fancy that we are going to be more just and kind, more reasonable and Christian, than before. Let us hope, not only for their sake, but for our own, that it may be so. But, again, intuition has not taught them political economy. As they have no nationality and no concert, they feel and judge only as individuals, each deducing his future from his past. But the iron law of the dreadful science founded on human selfishness will none the less confront them as they attempt to advance: when



two races struggle for existence on the same ground, the weaker must give way. So has it been ever since the world began ; so must it be till — shall we say the millennium ?

The colonization plans of our excellent President are doubtless based upon his conviction that this struggle must be a fruitless one on the part of the colored race. He is not sanguine enough to think — and, indeed, his surroundings do not seem calculated to inspire the confidence — that men are more virtuous or more brotherly, wiser or more disinterested, now than they have been in times past ; and his kindly nature would give the new freemen a fair chance to show their powers and use their liberty in a clear field. But his intended beneficiaries, though they love and honor him as their great benefactor and sincere friend, are not attracted by the prospect held out to them. They have their own views, with which feeling and habit have not a little to do. They have no idea of being “removed.” They deny that they are foreigners, and claim the privilege of remaining in their own country, unless they see it for their interest to go elsewhere. Children of instinct, of affinities, of affections, as they are, no one of a different race can plan acceptably for them. They must work out their own salvation, and they will do it in due time. We must have patience. Mr. Latrobe says : —

“Apprehensive as are the intelligent among them with regard to the future, whither can they look ? They have already tried Hayti, and found it wanting. Alike in color, but unlike in all other respects, they have neither affinities nor sympathies with its people. They have no desire to be hewers of wood and drawers of water in the British colonies of Trinidad and Demerara. They fully appreciate the motives of those who invite them to the West Indies. With no spot on the American continent not appropriated to the white man’s use, and his exclusively, whither can they go to avoid the throng of multiplying thousands now competing with them in all the avenues of labor ? Whither, when the West, which now by absorbing the foreign immigration relieves them from the pressure on the seaboard that would otherwise crush them, — whither, when the West, too, shall have a redundant population, shall they go ? Whither but to Africa, where climate genial and salubrious to the descendants of the soil PROTECTS THEM AS WITH A WALL OF FIRE AGAINST THE ENCROACHMENTS OF THE WHITE MAN, guards the headland, sentinels the mine, and stays, even

on the very border of the sea, on the rivers, and in the forest, that march of empire which pestilence alone can check?"

Forty-four years ago, Rev. Robert Finley of New Jersey, moved, as he said, "by the increasing wretchedness of the negroes," originated the idea of planting a colony in Africa, the object of which should be to induce the free people of color "to go and settle there." He met with some sympathy, and more ridicule; excited a good deal of attention, and also a large share of violent opposition. There were those who saw that the free blacks were in a miserably degraded condition among us, and who were ready to commend, if not to aid, almost any scheme for their relief; and there were not a few to whom the idea of doing anything for the grinning, blubber-lipped half-baboon called a negro was ludicrous in the extreme, and who believed that any man pretending to take an interest in them was a hypocrite, who had his own ends to answer. The thinking and conscientious among our citizens discussed the scheme in their way, and were in general favorably impressed by it, although they perceived at once that the number of persons who could be sent to Africa, properly fitted out for the new life they were to lead there and reasonably secured against its difficulties and dangers, could bear scarcely an appreciable proportion to the mass of free blacks among us, if only private benevolence was to be invoked in their behalf; while the advocates of immediate emancipation strenuously opposed the whole plan, as being likely to quiet the conscience of the slaveholder, and to make him feel all the more secure in holding his human chattels, for having freed a small fraction of them and fitted them out for exportation. Some enthusiastic individuals there were who rejoiced in the idea that *all* the free blacks could be removed and colonized, and who would hardly believe figures when the sum necessary for colonizing even the increase of a single year was exhibited to their wondering eyes. But good Mr. Finley persevered, saying that he knew the thing was of God, and in December, 1816, his prayers and efforts resulted in the formation of the American Colonization Society, which has ever since been sedulously at work, sustained mainly by the benevolence of individuals, and winning the approbation of many of our

wisest and most eminent statesmen, divines, and philanthropists.

If the intention had been the deportation of free colored people contrary to their own will and wishes, all the opprobrium heaped upon the society by its bitterest enemies would have been simply just; and there were stories of force used in getting "emigrants" on shipboard, and of prisons employed for confining them after they had consented to go, "lest they should foolishly change their minds," which, true or false, operated at one time very damagingly against any and every effort to persuade the free blacks, however poor and wretched, to go to Africa under any circumstances. There were instances of slaves, whose masters, dying, had bequeathed them freedom, on condition that they should consent to be colonized in Africa, refusing even that greatest of earthly boons through fear of the horrors they had been taught to dread in case of emigration.

But gradually the true idea, — that with which Mr. Finley began, — the providing of a place in Africa whither colored people could go, and where they might settle, — came to be generally understood, and benevolence and common sense have both been enlisted in its favor. He died in the faith which subsequent events have abundantly justified; for LIBERIA has become the nucleus of a civilization modelled on our own, and at this moment offers all the inducements which are found powerful in other cases to colored men who desire a fitting home. The colony has become an independent republic, known everywhere as such, and having commercial treaties with the principal nations of the civilized world. It is yet feeble; but it stands alone, and possesses the elements of future strength. It has good laws, well administered; churches and schools; the mutual-aid societies of more advanced communities; agricultural exhibitions, with their annual prizes; a militia, tried and not found wanting; a traffic with the interior, very advantageous to all concerned; a foreign commerce, and ever increasing commercial resources. Light-houses guide ships into the ports; revenue-cutters watch over the public interests on the coast. Colored people go thither, not because they are fascinated by the eloquence of coloniza-

tion agents, not for want of love to the land they leave, but to "better their condition." "All that colonization has aimed at doing," says Mr. Latrobe, "has been in view of voluntary, self-paying emigration, — an emigration that finds its precedents in the history of every people, from the nomadic tribe whose encampment shifts with failing springs or withering pasturage, to the community which, driven by religious persecution from the Old World, landed from the Mayflower, or that which encountered the perils of Cape Horn, attracted by the gold fields of California."

In speaking of Liberia and her prospects of happiness and usefulness, it is necessary to recollect that all glowing anticipations in respect to any great changes for the better in this world are regarded with distrust, and that we can expect to carry the reader with us no farther than we are able to maintain a certain cool indifference, and to refer rather to the statistician than to the prophet. Yet really the contemplation of Liberia as she is awakens such admiration and such hopes that it is difficult to maintain a philosophic coolness in speaking of what she has already accomplished. Let us, then, borrow the sober words of the (English) Society for promoting Christian Knowledge: —

"The progress of this colored settlement during the last forty years has hardly been surpassed by anything recorded in the history of civilization; and it may, therefore, be said with truth, that the negro has given the lie to the assertion of the ethnological sciolists who, presuming on his alleged natural inferiority, declared him incapable of taking care of himself. He *has* taken care of himself, — has provided by acts of courage and self-denial for the growth of his prosperity, for the education of his children, and for his instruction in the truths of Christianity; and in so doing has forever solved and settled the question as to his capacity for self-government."

A more enthusiastic tone may perhaps be tolerated in a Liberian, — one who, having enjoyed the best educational advantages which England can offer, is now wholly devoted to the land of his adoption: —

"Here, all around and beyond us, on every side, in ourselves and children, and in the coming days at hand, are spur and stimulus and

high incitement to every noble work and lofty desire that has circled the brain of the greatest men earth ever saw in all her histories. The ocean, in majesty and magnificence, seems inviting argosies of sails from our ports and harbors, laden with tropical products for foreign lands. This vast and wild Africa, to indefinite depths, seems now yearning to throw off the forest, the jungle, and the bush, and to open a pathway for the spade, the hoe, and the scythe; so that all the world, ere the coming of its last days, may delight itself with its prolific fulness and its vast and inexhaustible riches. Tribe after tribe, far inward, through marsh, over mountain, down beyond the broad valleys, clear off to the large central lakes of the continent, starts up, and seems listening to the faint music of the distant Gospel sweetly sounding on this coast, and craves its blessings and its gifts."

In a public address at Monrovia by the same writer we have this exposition of his desires and hopes for his country: —

"The world *needs* a higher type of true nationality than it now has; why should not we furnish it? I know the wont to regard precedent in fashioning and compacting the fabric of government. And it is, to a great degree, a wise tendency, for it is a perilous sea on which to embark, — that of nationality; and all along its course one sees strewn, everywhere, the wrecks of nations. And therefore an infant state needs, and should seek light. . . . . And this light comes, to a great degree, from the past, — the light of national experience. Hence we must read history, and the philosophy of history, and laws, and the genius and spirit of laws. But are we ever to be bound by these? Are they ever to hold the spirit, and the brain, and the healthful instincts of cultivated and civilized humanity, in this day of the world's high advancement, — hold them ever in check and close restraint? Must we, in order to be a nation, imitate all the crudities and blunders which statesmanship has gravely handed down in history as rule and authority? I trust not; for no thoughtful man can look into the history of states without perceiving many national forms and established customs which even now have mastery, but which are nothing more nor less than empty gewgaws. I do not lack, by any means, reverence for the sage wisdom of ages; neither do I despise the ancient forms of older states, which often are the clothes — garments — of noble truths. But he must be blind who does not see that the formal precedents and the hollow forms which, for ages, have held and bound the souls of vast empires and mighty kingdoms, are now vanishing before the clear brain and the cool common-sense of mankind.

‘ Even now we hear, with inward strife,  
 A motion toiling in the gloom, —  
 The spirit of the years to come  
 Yearning to mix himself with life.

‘ A slow developed strength awaits  
 Completion in a painful school, —  
 Phantoms of other forms of rule,  
 New majesties of mighty states.’

“ Why should we haste, with foolish, blind zeal, to pick up the chaff, and rust, and offal, which wise nations are throwing away? Why not seize upon their cautious, prudent eclecticism, now, in our masculine youth, instead of going the round of a stale, perhaps a foul experience? Why not make OURSELVES a precedent? Why should we not profit by the centuries of governmental history, if even we should appear venturesome?

‘ The noble soul by age grows lustier,  
 Her appetite and her digestion mend;  
 We cannot hope to feed and nourish her  
 With woman’s milk and pap unto the end:  
 Provide you manlier diet!’

“ If I mistake not, the great *desideratum* of the nations is a rigid honesty; a clear, straightforward rectitude; the absence of chicane, of guile, and cunning; the cleaving the meshes of policies and heartless diplomacy; and the constant and happy consciousness of the ideas of God, of truth, and of duty.”

This sounds ambitious, but it is ambitious in the right direction, and the opinion of a solid American writer of the present tone of Liberia sustains Mr. Crummell in his lofty aspirations: —

“ This Liberian republic is a really *Christian state*. There is not now, probably, an organized commonwealth upon the globe, in which the principles of Christianity are applied with such a childlike directness and simplicity to the management of public affairs, as in Liberia. New England, in the days of her childhood, and before the conflicting interests of ecclesiastical denominations introduced jealousies, — Geneva, in the time of John Calvin, when the church and the state were practically one and the same body, now acting through the consistory, and now through the council, — in fine, all religious commonwealths in their infancy, and before increasing wealth and luxury have stupefied conscience and dimmed the moral perception, furnish examples of the

existing state of things in the African republic. Even the common school education, which the Liberian constitution provides for the whole population, has been given by the missionary, and in connection with the most direct religious instructions and influences. The state papers of the Liberian executive and legislature breathe a grave and serious spirit, like that which inspires the documents of our own Colonial and Revolutionary periods."

What we gather from these extracts as to the progress already made in Liberia towards intellectual improvement makes the idea of a college there, adapted to the wants of her newly organized population, seem neither incongruous nor premature. Common schools she has already established, and the reputation of these, spreading among the native tribes in her vicinity, brings numbers of young persons from the interior in quest of education. As early as 1836 a citizen of Mississippi, Captain Isaac Ross, whose name deserves most respectful mention, bequeathed freedom to his slaves on condition of their emigrating to Liberia, accompanying this legacy with the gift of his whole estate, valued at one hundred thousand dollars, to be used for the benefit of the persons so emigrating to the land then so dim and distant, and for the establishment of a college in Liberia. Unhappily the estate fell into litigation, as is but too common in such cases, and in twelve years the depletion went so far that the expense of removing one hundred and seventy-six slaves to Africa absorbed nearly all that remained.

On the 30th of May, 1849, the Massachusetts Colonization Society, at its annual meeting, decided that "the Republic of Liberia ought to have within itself the means for educating citizens for all the duties of public and private life," and at once appealed to the National and State societies to unite in an effort for this excellent purpose. Such appeals in our country never fall unanswered, and in this case approbation and sympathy were ready. Trustees were appointed, donations of considerable amount were received; friends sprang up on all sides, and the generous enterprise soon took a decided shape. It is curious to read the fate of legacies to benevolent objects; it would seem that the result was intended to teach rich and public-spirited men to be their own executors, and not to tempt

their heirs to disgrace themselves by trying to divert the wealth they covet to channels never intended by the owner. Some legacies reached the college fund,— that of \$ 10,000 left by Mr. Samuel Appleton of Boston, and another of \$ 5,000 from the estate of Josiah White of Philadelphia. But one from the late Mr. Stanton of Illinois, “ to be expended in promoting the cause of education in Liberia,” met the fate of Captain Ross’s good gift, and never came into the possession of Liberia or her friends. A very large bequest of Mr. Anson J. Phelps of New York was set aside as being “ void through uncertainty,” although the intention and wish of the testator were clear as the sun at noonday. Thus, if the college had been fated to depend on legacies, we might have been obliged to defer for a long time the announcement of its completion.

The Liberian government passed an act establishing Liberia College, incorporated a Board of Trustees, and granted to the institution one hundred acres of land on the right or north-west bank of the river St. Paul, about twelve miles from its mouth and fifteen miles in a direct line from Monrovia. This position was chosen on account of its various advantages, particularly that of salubrity, the place being one to which invalids suffering from the climate resort for the recovery of their health. But black men proved in this case only too much like white men. Selfishness stepped in ; this man and that insisted that the college should be built where it would be of some private advantage to himself, and controversy delayed the great work for several years. The principal materials required for the building were sent from this country in 1857, the ship which carried them being ballasted with brick of better quality than can as yet be produced on the spot. Litigation and dispute caused all to be laid aside for a time, and it was feared that much loss would ensue. But through extra care this evil was averted, and the wood-work, being kept under shelter, was little, if at all, injured. A few faithful men watched over the interests they had so much at heart, and through all the storm of opposition never lost sight of the main object, — the permanent and worthy foundation of an institution which should outlast all these choice materials, and prove a blessing to the world for ages. “ The founding of Harvard College,” said



one of them, "forms an epoch in the history of the United States; why should not the founding of Liberia College be an epoch in the history of Africa?"

At length all impediments were overcome; the building proceeded, was finished, to the satisfaction of all, — substantial, elegant, capable of expansion, and offering at once the space at present required for students and their exercises, and room for the families of two resident professors. It stands seventy feet in length by forty-five in width, three stories high, and surrounded by an iron-framed verandah eight feet wide, all on a foundation of granite. A dining-room sufficiently large to serve for all the inmates; a room for the library and the philosophical apparatus; a hall to be used as chapel, lecture-room, or for any other purpose for which students and faculty are to be convened; rooms for study and recitation; dormitories, offices, and store-rooms, are included in the building, the kitchen being detached, yet in easy communication with the dining-room. The library has already a recognizable existence, for Professor Crummell has obtained from friends in the United States four thousand volumes, many of them rare and valuable, and to these the Corporation of Harvard University adds six hundred. These, with other private gifts of smaller value, certainly form a very respectable nucleus, around which we may hope thousands more will gather as the years roll on, and the great value of the institution makes its due impression on our ever liberal community. The fact that a mineralogical cabinet has been quietly contributed, shows plainly that there are people among us who "devise liberal things" even for poor Africans, so long shut out from all the lights of science.

On the 23d of January, 1862, Liberia College was solemnly inaugurated, with appropriate ceremonies and addresses. A procession, music, cheers, and congratulations; thanks for the past, high auguries for the future, — these were the outward demonstrations of the occasion, such as the multitude could share. But they only faintly expressed the feelings of the thoughtful, patriotic, pious souls who knew what success had cost, and who secretly breathed a *Nunc dimittis* as the joyful shouts went up to heaven.

Who could behold such an event with indifference? From this side of the ocean it looks sublime, — “marvellous in our eyes!” To those immediately concerned, it must have seemed at once the reward of labor and the answer to prayer, — the splendid proof of generous sympathy in friends beyond the sea, and a pledge of the Divine favor and protection to a race long down-trodden almost beyond the power of hope or faith. All honor to these dark-skinned citizens, and to their noble friends here among us! Founding a university, in a new country which is ripe and ready for such a boon, is rearing a temple in honor of all that is precious and dignified in intellectual progress, and all that is purifying and exalting in our hopes for the future, or a great Pharos, to which men who love their country may raise hopeful eyes as they “go sounding on their dim and perilous way.” Who, in any land, can be grateful enough to those who build these strongholds of learning and religion?

The simple ceremonies of inauguration were modelled, as is almost everything else in Liberia, upon those used in the United States. The Chief Justice officially delivered the keys of the edifice into the hands of the President of the College, Mr. J. J. Roberts, who was long the President of the Republic, accompanying the transfer with some remarks, in the course of which he said: —

“While conflicting views were raging, and while many despaired of ultimate success or the realization of this happy boon, we are too happy that, with entire unanimity, we can thus congratulate ourselves, in view of the success thus gloriously achieved, and with united hearts and fraternal consent bring our offerings of differences, and thus deposit them upon the common altar of national union, to be consumed by the all-powerful principle of love, which has its abode in celestial regions. The sacrifice being acceptable to our Heavenly Benefactor, it will rise as sweet incense to the skies, to be returned only in such abundant blessing as shall eventually crown our united efforts to further this enterprise with more than ordinary success. What people on earth have better reasons to love each other and be united, than the people of Liberia? What people have suffered more than ourselves, taking into consideration all the past and present circumstances, to inaugurate a government upon the simple, heaven-born principle of man’s right to claim, assert, and maintain his liberty?

“The negro born on American soil has, after years of toil and suf-

fering, returned to his fatherland, without purse or scrip, without the precious gift which this college is intended to bestow, to battle against the prejudices of a wild country; but, under these unfavorable circumstances, he has taught the world that a man is a man, when he is allowed to try to show himself such. . . . . The growth and prosperity of a people is certainly in proportion to its intellectual improvement; and the mind being thus cultivated, it is, as we are aware, more susceptible of the great saving truths of the Bible. It is, then, for the perfection of these high and lofty principles that this institution has its existence amongst us. Education has done a great deal, as you know, in all enlightened countries; for, in consequence of its power being brought into contact with minds susceptible of its golden touch, mountains have poured forth rivers of wealth, the arid wastes have been made fertile, and from it has sprung the golden sheaf to make glad the hearts of faithful and scientific husbandmen. Much, much more has been done in all countries by this powerful agency than by any other. Who will venture to compare now the great success achieved by the founder of the art of printing with that attained by the conqueror of the world?"

President Roberts, after a warm outpouring of gratitude to friends in the "Old Bay State," whose hearts had been moved to recognize those claims of brotherhood that take no account of color or nation, mentioned the names of many who had been most prominent in advocating and aiding the establishment of a college in Liberia, and dwelt anxiously on the truly national character of the institution, its being intended for the use and benefit of all, to be administered apart and aloof from all sectarian or sectional preferences, all party or political favoritism. The plan of study was then sketched. It embraces Intellectual and Moral Philosophy; the Greek and Latin Languages and Literatures; Mathematics; Natural Philosophy; Jurisprudence and International Law; besides the Modern Languages and general literature. Mr. Roberts had something to say of the usefulness of each of the principal branches of study, but argued especially against the prejudice entertained by many as to the study of the ancient languages.

"In some directions, I am aware, it has been urged that the time spent by students in acquiring a knowledge of languages is time lost; as such acquirements, say these objectors, only tend, in a large majority of cases, to fill the minds of the young with an empty conceit of their

literary attainments, while such knowledge does not infuse that humble and cautious spirit which is fostered by sound learning, and is the characteristic of true philosophy. This view, however, obtains only in contracted minds. But all active, liberal, and highly cultivated minds agree, that instruction in various languages, both ancient and modern, and especially a critical acquaintance with Greek and Latin, is indispensable to a polite and comprehensive education. And such is the view entertained by the patrons of this institution. For, indeed, a knowledge of languages, so I am impressed, is not only necessary, as the principal method by which one man shares in all the intellectual attainments of the rest of his species, but also constitutes a most extensive and curious science, which is intimately connected with the history both of nations and of man, regarded as a creature capable of progressive improvement, and which may be employed with the greatest advantage to exemplify the conclusions of moral philosophy. 'Than the reading of Greek and Latin,' says an eminent author, 'no employments have been yet devised which are better fitted to exercise any intellectual power, whether memory, judgment, or imagination.' Hence it must be desirable to every lover of literature and science, that that system of education should be pursued which unfolds the various faculties of the mind so as to prepare it for all those efforts and investigations by which all difficulties are surmounted."

The next speaker was the Rev. Edward W. Blyden, Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages and Literature. His discourse was principally devoted to the advocacy of those pursuits which form his especial province.

"This is an auspicious day for Liberia and for West Africa. The first college edifice erected on this benighted shore has been completed; and we, descendants of Africa, are assembled to inaugurate it. Perhaps this very day, one century ago, some of our forefathers were being dragged to the hold of some miserable slaver, to enter upon those horrible sufferings of the 'middle passage,' preliminary to their introduction into scenes and associations of deeper woe. To-day, their descendants, having escaped the fiery ordeal of oppression and slavery, and having returned to their ancestral home, are laying the foundation of intellectual empire, upon the very soil whence their fathers were torn, in their ignorance and degradation. Strange and mysterious providence!

"It is, among the most fortunate circumstances connected with the founding of Liberia, that schools of a high order, and now a college, should be established in this early period of her history. It is impos-

sible to maintain our national independence, or grow in the elements of national prosperity, unless the people are generally imbued with a proper sense of their duties and responsibilities as citizens of a free government. The duties which devolve upon the citizens of Liberia are as diversified and important as those which devolve upon citizens of larger nations and communities; and, in order to discharge those duties faithfully and successfully, we need all the fitness and qualification which citizens of larger nations possess. To say, as has been too often said, by persons abroad and by persons here, that the establishment of a college in Liberia at present is premature, is to set aside the experience of older countries, and to ignore the testimony which comes to us from a hundred communities far in advance of us, showing the indispensableness of institutions of a higher order to send down, through all the ramifications of society, the streams of wholesome and elevating influence. . . . .

“De Tocqueville informs us that, before the colony that landed at Plymouth was as old as Liberia, there were laws enacted establishing schools in every township, and obliging the inhabitants, under pain of heavy fines, to support them. Schools of a superior kind were founded in the same manner in the more populous districts. The municipal authorities were bound to enforce the sending of children to school by their parents. It is certainly a very remarkable fact, that in New England, by the time the first child born in the colony had reached a proper age for admission to college, a college was established. They did not wait to have all those preparations which some have fancied are necessary before Liberians can reap the benefit of a college. We are informed that the forests were yet standing; the Indian was still the near neighbor of the largest settlements; the colonists were yet dependent on the mother country for the very necessities of life; and the very permanence of their settlements was as yet undecided, when they were erecting high schools and colleges. They did not regard it as too early to provide for the thorough education of their children. They had left their fatherland to seek an asylum of liberty on those distant shores, and they well knew that intelligence was indispensable to the enjoyment and maintenance of true liberty.”

The Professor then entered upon a warm defence of classical studies, — a defence which one reads as in a dream, asking, Is this a black man, speaking to other black men, — escaped slaves, those stupid, toil-worn creatures, accustomed to be driven and castigated like beasts of the field?

Rev. Alexander Crummell, a full black, whom we have

before mentioned as a graduate of Queen's College, Cambridge, England, is Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, and, for the present, of the English Language and Literature. He was in the United States, on business for the College, at the time of the Inauguration, so that no address of his on that occasion is to be recorded. But we have several of his productions before us, and find them invariably characterized by good sense, practical knowledge, plain speaking, and the warmest desire for the improvement of his people. Being invited by the citizens of Maryland County, Cape Palmas, to deliver an address on July 26, 1860, the anniversary of Liberian independence, instead of imitating the "spread-eagle" style of our Fourth-of-July orations, he gave his hearers a well-considered address on "The English Language in Liberia," a discourse curious and interesting in many points of view. He dwells on the strange spectacle of an organized negro community, republican in form, possessed of Christian institutions and civilized habits, yet in color, race, and origin identical with the masses of rude natives around them, — these people speaking this refined and cultivated language, which beyond the bounds of Liberia is fast supplanting the meagre African dialects, conquering wherever it penetrates, by mere force of excellence.

"Within a period of thirty years, thousands of heathen children have been placed under the guardianship of our settlers. Many of these have forgotten their native tongue, and know now the English language as *their* language. As a consequence, there has sprung up, in one generation, within our borders, a mighty army of English-speaking natives, who, as manhood approached, have settled around us in their homes from one end of the land to the other. Many of these take up the dialect of the other tribes in whose neighborhood their masters lived, but even then English is their speech. Thus it is, that everywhere in the Republic, from Gallinas to Cape Palmas, one meets with a multitude of natives who have been servants in our Liberian families, and are daily in the utterance of English."

With a population of fifteen thousand emigrants from this and other lands, the number is in fact more than doubled by the constant influx of native Africans from the contiguous country; and the ability and firmness with which these sav-

ages are kept in order, and the sagacity shown in providing for their effective and inexpensive training, not only in ordinary business, but also in letters, is truly admirable. Each Liberian family becomes in some sort a missionary teacher, taking into its service one or more of the natives as domestics, and giving instruction which we are assured is most eagerly sought and appreciated. Some amusing anecdotes are told of these heathen guests of the nation.

“We have received many thousands of recaptured slaves, who are distributed among the families of the colony. It is a great question which arises, — Are these men going to be amalgamated with us, or are they going to outnumber us and sink us to their own level? Two years ago a large number of this class was recaptured in the slaver *Echo*, and brought to Liberia. Twenty were sent to one family, and twenty to another, and thus they were disposed of. Those who were taken to Cape Palmas were first washed, then put in a house, and afterwards placed under the instruction of a schoolmaster. The next Sunday after their arrival they were brought in a body to the Episcopal church. They took their seats very quietly, and after the service was over they returned to the school. Since then they have attended church very regularly. They are quiet, peaceable, industrious men. No vestiges of idolatry — such as fetichism, obeahism, or devil-worship — have ever been observed among them, and they have embraced the Christian faith. They have now become citizens of the Republic. They have been enrolled among her soldiers, and they can perform their duties with as much precision as the others. There is nothing which does so much for civilizing a man as putting a gun into his hands. It makes a savage into a man directly.

“Among the recaptured Africans were two men who exhibited peculiar signs of industry, and two of the colonial women noticed them. One of these women frequently stopped and spoke to one of the men, and fancying that he would make her a good husband, she did what is sometimes done in leap-year in this country, — she courted him, and took him before a magistrate and married him. Two years ago he was a savage! His master missed him from his usual employment, went in search of him, and at last found him. He took him before a magistrate and said, ‘I want this man.’ But the man’s wife said, ‘You can’t have him!’ ‘But he’s my apprentice,’ rejoined the master. ‘But he’s my husband,’ replied the wife. The result of the trial was, that the lady was victorious, and carried off her husband in triumph.

“On the *St. Paul’s*, numbers of recaptured slaves are apprenticed

out, and the minister of that place told me that his church, which had previously been almost deserted, is now well filled with these recaptured Congoes. Two houses are now being erected for the use of them; and from what I have seen of them, I have no doubt they will become good citizens of our country. Already the young negroes refuse to speak their own language, and talk the English language instead. To give you a proof that the recaptured Africans soon acquire a taste for the habits of civilized life, I may mention an instance which occurred in the family of Judge James. He had taken two recaptured females into his house as servants, and after they had lived there for a few months, he took two others. But the first two refused to associate or eat with the second two, and said they were not civilized enough. But by and by the second two became brightened up, and were then permitted to associate with the others. Some time afterwards other two recaptured females were taken into the house, and not only the first two, but the second two also, refused to associate with them, and on precisely the same grounds. I mention this to show you how plastic the nature of the negro is, and how easily they can be raised up to become good citizens and Christian men and women."

The knowledge of English spreads faster than the knowledge of Christianity, it is true, yet that follows in due time. Professor Crummell proposes some plans by which this desirable result may be accomplished. It is not to be denied, he says, that a naked savage will speak and write good English, yet preside at "devil-dances" and other heathen abominations. It is no uncommon thing to find boys well able to read and write English who have not yet learned to wear clothes. But he thinks that the great desire which the pagans have to acquire the language which is to them the key to wealth and power, will put into the hands of Liberia the means of inducing them to assimilate themselves to the colonists in the still more important matters of general civilization, and the relinquishment of their abominable rites.

"The chief point is the English language. This language is destined to get the mastery all along the coast of Africa from Sierra Leone to the Bight of Benin. Literature is quite common among us. If you go into our houses you will find Shakespeare and Milton, Bacon and Bunyan; or you may find some such ambitious work as Guizot's History of Civilization, or Bancroft's History of America. You will find the American poets, — Dana, Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell, and all the



other great poets of this country ; and when the English steamer arrives, you will see heaps of literature, fresh from the English market. You will see the Eclectic and Quarterly Reviews, the Bibliotheca Sacra, and all the other principal periodicals, the Illustrated London News, the New York Tribune. Not only do you find these papers in the hands of the people of Liberia, but many of the people of the interior have been instructed by them.

“The Methodist, Episcopal, and Baptist denominations have had missionaries in the country, and they have done a great deal of good. Some of the teachers in their schools are native Africans, and many of them are engaged in teaching the English language. In teaching the classes of Arithmetic and Euclid, I have had no difficulty. In Euclid the aborigines are quite equal to the best of my own school, and with regard to reading and committing to memory, there was one who sat first in his class. At every mission there is a school, and in some places two or three, and in these schools you will find just the same school-books which are used in this country. Besides the common schools we have several high schools and academies. There is a High School at Cape Palmas of which I have been Principal for the last three years. These schools are attended by native children as well as the children of emigrants, and all through Liberia there is hardly a family which has not three, four, or five native children, whose fathers have brought them from the interior to receive an education. . . . So many large American and English vessels pass along the coast for trading purposes, the natives wish to have one member of each family who can talk the English language, in order that they may be able to traffic with them, and hence they send them to school to learn it. And now a college is in course of erection, and will be completed next year. One result will be that the native chiefs along the coast, instead of sending their sons to England, Scotland, or Holland, to be educated, will send them to Liberia.”

A curious story is told of the value of a knowledge of English. A man sold his son to a slave-trader, the laws allowing him to do so. But the boy understood and spoke English well, and he insinuated to the purchaser that his father, being mature and strong, would be a much more efficient laborer than himself, and that they had better take him, which they did, to the affectionate parent's great discomfiture. The father pleaded that the law did not allow the selling of a father by the son, but the traders took him, and paid the purchase-money to the son.

Mr. Crummell has been indefatigable in his labors for his adopted country, travelling, preaching, and writing on various topics connected with the welfare of the rising state. One of his productions is an admirable paper on "The Relations and Duties of Free Colored Men in America to Africa," a pamphlet of fifty pages, in which he argues anxiously the point of nationality, and sets forth not only considerations of duty, but the immense advantage to themselves which would ensue if the colored men of character and property in this country would try the new world into which their less fortunate brethren have ventured under the pressure of unhappy circumstances. He speaks modestly in offering advice on a point so important, but he speaks from experience and observation, and weighs his words carefully. He had been an Episcopal clergyman in New York for some years, when he was urged to make a voyage of observation to Liberia. This was some ten years ago. He was so well pleased with what he saw on arriving at Monrovia that he forthwith took out naturalization papers, and from that day to this his whole soul has been devoted to the land of his new home. The pamphlet above mentioned contains some interesting statistics, particularly with regard to the growing commercial advantages of Liberia, the good success of Liberian merchants, and the increased culture of cotton, sugar, coffee, and other products much in demand. The large amount of property owned by free colored people in this country, a considerable portion of which is unproductive, owing to the terrible disadvantages under which they suffer, is urged as a reason why they should transplant their means to a country where large returns await enterprise and industry. "As a people," says Mr. Crummell, "we are victimized in a pecuniary point of view, as well as morally and politically; and as a consequence there is an almost universal dread of intrusting our moneys in the hands of capitalists and trading companies and stock; though, in great cities, large sums are put in savings banks. There are few, however, who have the courage to take shares in railroad and similar companies, and in many places it could not be done."

Speaking of the "African Methodist Church," with its organization, its bishops, its conferences, its Magazine, he says: —

“ But *the* point to which I desire to direct your attention is the fact that they have built, and now own, some three hundred church edifices; mostly brick; and in the large cities, such as New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, they are large, imposing, capacious, and will seat some two or three thousand people. The free black people of the United States built these churches; the funds were gathered from their small and large congregations; and in some cases they have been known to collect, that is, in Philadelphia and Baltimore, at one collection, over one thousand dollars. The aggregate value of their property cannot be less than five million dollars.”

After treating of the various avenues of commercial profit lately opened in Liberia, Mr. Crummell proceeds to show that the philanthropic results of the voluntary emigration of black men of ability and wealth to Liberia would also be very important.

“ The moral and philanthropic results would be equally if not more notable. The kings and tradesmen of Africa, having the *demonstration* of negro capacity before them, would hail the presence of their black kinsmen from America, and would be stimulated to a generous emulation. To the farthest interior, leagues and combinations would be formed with the men of commerce, and thus civilization, enlightenment, and Christianity would be carried to every state and town and village of interior Africa. The galling remembrances of the slave-trade on the coast and of slavery in America would quicken the blood and the brain of both parties; and every wretch of a slave-trader who might visit the coast would have to atone for his temerity by submitting to the rigid code framed for piracy. And when *this* disturbing and destructive hinderance to African progress was once put down, noble cities, vast agricultural establishments, the seeds of universities, and groundwork of church organizations, would spring up all along the banks and up the valley of the Niger. . . . .

“ In Liberia, we have the noblest opportunities and the greatest advantages. We have a rich and varied soil, — inferior, I verily believe, to but few, if any, on the globe. We have some of the proofs, and many of the indications, of varied and vast mineral wealth of the richest qualities. We have a country finely watered in every section by multitudinous brooks and streams, and far-reaching rivers. We have a climate which needs but be educated and civilized and tempered by the plastic and curative processes of emigration, clearances, and scientific farming, to be made as fine and as temperate as any land in the tropics can be.

“On this soil have been laid the foundations of republican institutions. Our religion is Protestant, with its characteristic tendencies to freedom, progress, and human well-being. We are reaching forward as far as a young and poor nation can to a system of common schools. Civilization, that is, in its more simple forms, has displaced ancestral paganism in many sections of the land, has taken permanent foothold in our territory, and already extended its roots among our heathen kin. Our heathen population, moreover, in the immediate neighborhood of our settlements, is but small and sparse; thus saving our civilization from too strong an antagonism, and allowing it room, scope, and opportunity for a hardy growth in its more early days. Active industry is now exhibiting unwonted vigor, and begins to tell upon commerce and the foreign market.

“Now when you consider that all these elements, humble as indeed they are, are our own, — that we are the creature and dependent of no foreign government, — you will agree with me, I think, that men who have families will act wisely in looking narrowly at our advantages, ere they place themselves in circumstances where the moral elements of life and society are more rude, and where the formation agency and influence will belong to some foreign power. That these elements are slow in growth and expansion, is true; but this, it will be remembered, furnishes probability of their being sure and permanent. . . . .

“As yet, we are but *parvenus* in the intellectual world. Our greatness lies in the future; as yet we have not secured it. Nevertheless American black men have done, and are now doing, enough to challenge respect. When American black men are ably editing literary journals, publishing respectable newspapers, issuing from the press volumes of sermons, writing scientific disquisitions, venturing abstruse ‘Theories of Comets,’ and sending forth profound ‘Vital Statistics,’ vexatious alike to opposing statesmen and divines; they so far vindicate their mental power and ability, as to make it manifest, that, under better circumstances, in a clear field, they could

‘Move and act

In all the correspondences of nature,’

with force, and skill, and effect.”

But we must break off our citations, intended to show what black men can say and do, — are saying and doing. An exposition of the commercial resources of Liberia would tend to illustrate the prospects of the new College and to encourage the hopes of its patrons, but our space forbids the introduction

of a theme which could not be fitly presented in few words. The commercial treaty with the United States — long sought, but only recently confirmed — is an important advance for Liberia, and will, we may hope, grow more and more important to her as her resources increase. The present dearth of paper-making materials has brought into notice the Liberian products which may be turned to this important use, no less than six of which were offered at the great London Exhibition of the present year. There are machines already invented by which every one of these species of fibre can be quickly prepared for the market, and paper-stock needs only to be offered to command the very highest price. Here, then, is a very important, valuable, and profitable article added to the already long list of Liberian commercial treasures. "Without paper," says the New York Evangelist, "civilization would almost stop; it would be peculiarly appropriate could Africa, on the borders of which civilization now stands, supply us with that which we need to make her progress sure and rapid." In the present anxious and agitated condition of our free colored people, — hardly able to enjoy their new-found liberty for thinking what they shall do with it, — it seems only kind to them to remind them how many and how eligible modes of making their talents, their ingenuity, their industry, and their money availing exist beyond the competition of unscrupulous white men, in a land where the presence of cultivated colored people is the greatest possible boon next to liberty itself.

We shall conclude what we have to say at present with a suggestive extract from an article in the London Quarterly Review, on African Discoveries.

"Africa may in one sense be defined as the continent of the future. At least seven eighths of the enormous area of one of the largest divisions of the globe have yet to acquire even the rudiments of true civilization. Although forming so considerable a portion of the earth, Africa has been almost entirely neglected by the nations of modern Europe *since the discovery of America*. They directed their attention and their enterprise almost exclusively towards the new regions which were so unexpectedly revealed. The tide of colonization long flowed in an uninterrupted stream to the West, where the hope of easy conquests and the expectation of boundless wealth attracted the most ambitious and

energetic spirits of the age. If Columbus could have foreseen the effect which his great discoveries would have upon a large portion of the human race, the piety and humanity of the great navigator would certainly have recoiled from the spectacle. It is a melancholy reflection, that one of the continents of the Old World should owe by far the greater part of its sufferings to the discovery of the New. The colonists and conquerors of America, having used up an immense proportion of the population in compulsory toil, turned to the opposite continent for a supply of their industrial wants. The robust natives of Africa were found to be specially fitted for labor in hot countries, and the petty sovereigns of the coast were soon instructed in the art of replenishing their treasuries by the sale of their subjects, who were exported by hundreds of thousands to the remote and unknown regions of the West. Thus one quarter of the earth has been left a prey to a rapacity and violence disgraceful to humanity."

Truly, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge!"

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- ART. V.—1. *Life of Samuel Kirkland*. By SAMUEL K. LOTHROP, D. D. SPARKS'S *American Biography*. Second Series. Vol. XV. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1855.
2. *Memorial of the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Founding of Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.* Utica: Ellis H. Roberts. 1862. 8vo. pp. 232.

THE recent literary festival at Hamilton College has awakened a new interest in the men who were specially concerned in founding that institution. Chief among these was the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, the larger part of whose life was spent in endeavors to Christianize the Indians of Central New York, and to introduce among them the benefits of modern civilization. He was not permitted to witness as large success as he had hoped; yet few men have labored more faithfully than he, and few have achieved, under like circumstances, more important results. His life covers the period of our Revolution; he was officially connected with some of the leading men and events of his day; and his relations to the central college of

the Empire State were such as to merit for him an honorable record among the friends of Christian learning.

At the celebration above referred to, an historical discourse was delivered by President Fisher, in which he recounts the part taken by Mr. Kirkland in founding that institution. We avail ourselves of the new interest thereby awakened in the memory of this benevolent and heroic man, to give a detailed sketch of his life.

Samuel Kirkland was born in Norwich, Connecticut, December 1, 1741. His earliest ancestor, of whom any trace remains, was one John Kirkland, of Silver Street, London. The family, for several generations, held influential posts in society and in the Church. Miles Standish was one of his progenitors. Particular mention is also made of Daniel, his father, who was pastor of a church in Norwich, and is recorded as being "a devoted minister, an accomplished scholar, a man of fine talents, of a ready wit, and an amiable disposition." Of the incidents of Samuel's childhood and youth little is known. It may be supposed, however, that he was trained, like other Puritan boys of the time, to habits of industry and self-dependence. As Cotton Mather wrote of Thomas Hooker, so it may be said of him, that "he was born of parents that were neither unable nor unwilling to bestow upon him a liberal education; whereunto the early, lively sparkles of wit observed in him did very much encourage them. His natural temper was cheerful and courteous; but it was accompanied with such a sensible grandeur of mind as caused his friends, without the help of astrology, to prognosticate that he was born to be considerable."

When about twenty years of age, we find him at the academy of Rev. Dr. Wheelock, at Lebanon, Connecticut, preparing for college. Among his companions here were several Indian youth, with one of whom he studied the Mohawk dialect, and made a good degree of proficiency in it. He entered the Sophomore Class at Princeton, where he maintained a high rank as a scholar. Here, if not at Lebanon, he entered upon the Christian life. At some time during his college course, he determined to spend his days in missionary service among the Indian tribes of the West; and when this purpose was once

formed, it gave a new impulse to his mind, and inspired him with fresh ardor in study.

The Senior year in college seems to have been a little too long for his fervent zeal; since we find him starting off, several months before its close, on a tour of exploration and inquiry among the Seneca Indians in Western New York. Though not present to graduate with his class, he received the usual bachelor's degree at Commencement. Young Kirkland was now twenty-three years of age. The Senecas were the most remote of the Six Nations, if not the most powerful and warlike of them all. His undertaking was regarded by his friends as bold and hazardous. The journey thither was toilsome and difficult. No Protestant missionary had ever dwelt among this tribe; indeed, all proposals to enlighten and convert them had hitherto been scornfully rejected. Nothing daunted, our young apostle resolved to visit these savages, and, if he could persuade them to receive him, he meant to live among them as their teacher and spiritual guide. This enterprise was doubtless undertaken by the advice of his patron and friend, Dr. Wheelock, and its expenses were defrayed out of funds deposited with him by certain benevolent gentlemen in Scotland. The journey thither, in view of all its circumstances, is worthy of detailed recital.

He started early in November, 1764, attended by a young Mohawk Indian, and arrived on the 16th at Johnson Hall, the residence of Sir William Johnson, his Majesty's Agent for Indian Affairs, near the present village of Johnstown, N. Y. Much to his regret, he was obliged to remain here until January, for want of a suitable guide through the wilderness. But he did not spend his time in idleness or vain repining. Every day he gained some new information from his host touching the manners and customs of the Senecas, and soon acquired a good general knowledge of all the leading characters in the Six Nations. At length, two friendly Senecas, passing westward, offered to conduct him to their country. On the 17th of January, the party set out. The weather was severely cold, and the snow so deep that it was necessary to walk with snowshoes. Besides this, each traveller had to carry a pack of clothes and provisions weighing upwards of forty pounds.



"It would have been a fine study for a painter," says Dr. Lothrop, his grandson and biographer, "to watch his countenance, and trace its lines of high thought and holy purpose, as he turned his back upon Johnson Hall, the last vestige of civilization, and, amid the dreary desolation of winter, in company with two savages, . . . . with whom he could hardly exchange a word, struck off into the forest on a journey of nearly two hundred miles." — *Memoir*, p. 24.

He did not suffer as much hardship on this journey as he had expected. His companions opened with their hatchets the path before him, whenever it was obstructed ; they halted to rest, when he became weary ; they chafed his limbs when they were swollen by the friction and weight of the snow-shoes ; and at night they made for him soft and fragrant beds of evergreen boughs. At Kanonwarohale, the chief village of the Oneidas, and at Onondaga, they were kindly treated, and invited to tarry ; but, after a day's rest at each place, they pressed forward until they reached Kanadasegea, the principal village of the Senecas. The day after their arrival, a council was called to receive and hear a letter brought by Mr. Kirkland from Sir William, in which, among other things, he commended the missionary to their confidence, and enjoined it upon them to treat him with kindness and respect. The head-chief and a majority of his people received him with frank cordiality, though a few were silent and looked sullen. The sachem even adopted him into his family ; of which ceremony the graceful forms and courtesies were truly remarkable, as the acts of savages who had learned little from the usages of civilized life. A Dutch trader, happening to stroll into the settlement the next day, acted as interpreter between the parties. It is remarkable that nearly every one who addressed the missionary began with this inquiry : "What put it into your mind to leave your father's house and country, to come so many hundred miles to see Indians, and live among them?" Did they suspect some sinister design, or were the poor creatures unable to appreciate his Christian philanthropy ?

Having been domiciled in a small family near the wigwam of the sachem, Mr. Kirkland applied himself to learning the language, and acquainting himself with the habits of the people. For a time everything went on smoothly. But lo ! in

a few weeks his host died suddenly in the night. "What means this?" inquired the superstitious red men. Some of his enemies avowed that he had caused this death by magic; others, that the Great Spirit was angry because they had permitted the strange teacher to come among them; and they clamored for his life. A council was called to consider this matter, and held its sessions for six days. At first the result seemed doubtful. On the third day, one of his friends, apprehensive as to the issue, put a gun into his hands, and led him into the woods, as if for hunting partridges, but, in reality, to conceal him in a distant and secret hut until the public excitement should pass over. At length, after long deliberation, the missionary was acquitted, and restored to general confidence. Several days after the dispersion of the council, the chief took Mr. Kirkland aside, and observed to him, quite naïvely, that "some Indians were afraid of writing, as it would speak for a great many years afterward, and that, whenever he wrote to Sir William, therefore, it would be good for him to call several of the chiefs together, and interpret to them what he had written: this would please them, and make their hearts glad." The young missionary was shrewd enough to see that this speech was designed to prevent his writing to Mr. Johnson an account of the late difficulty. They were heartily ashamed of it.

A speech of one of the leading men in this council (as afterwards reported to Mr. Kirkland) ran thus: "This white skin whom we call our brother has come upon a dark design, or he would not have travelled so many hundred miles. He brings the white people's book. They call it God's holy book. Brothers, attend! You know this book was never made for Indians. The Great Spirit gave us a book for ourselves. He wrote it in our heads." This speech became inflammatory as it went on, and closed with a demand for the white man's blood. The widow of the deceased was then called to testify whether this priest did not carry with him some magical powders: "Did he never come to the bedside, and whisper in your husband's ear, or puff in his face?" "No, never," replied the honest woman; "he always sat or lay down on his own bunk; and in the evening, after we were in bed, we could see him get

down on his knees and talk with a low voice." Whether this testimony to his pious integrity, or the fear of incurring Sir William's displeasure, had most influence upon their decision, we care not now to inquire.

In March and April of the following year there was a great scarcity of food among the Senecas and the adjoining tribes. Not only was their stock of corn exhausted, but game of all sorts became scarce, and for a time nothing but roots and nuts kept them from starvation. Expeditions were sent out in various directions for supplies, one of which, to the Mohawk valley, headed by Mr. Kirkland, came back loaded with food and blankets. As soon as he had mastered the language so as to speak it, he went from village to village, instructing the people in religion. He saw, indeed, that many suspicious eyes were fixed upon him, and that in some breasts the old hatred was still burning; but he hoped to outlive this prejudice, and so kept on at his work as if unconscious of danger.

A single incident, illustrating the cherished malignity of some of the Indians, may not be out of place. Returning, one summer's day, from a neighboring settlement on the lake shore, singing hymns as he went, and talking to his favorite pony, he espied an Indian skulking through a neighboring thicket, and picking the flint of his gun, as if preparing to fire. A moment's glance showed him that this was one of his old enemies, — a vindictive and ferocious fellow, capable of any deed of savage cruelty. Assured that this man was intent on destroying his life, he yet rode on, betraying no sign of fear. "Stop! stop!" shouted the Indian. Mr. Kirkland replied, as if misunderstanding him, "I have been over on the other side of the lake," meanwhile quickening his horse into greater speed. Shortly afterward, he turned his head enough to see that the murderer had raised his gun to his shoulder. In a moment more, he heard the snap of the lock. The gun missing fire, the savage again bade him halt; but he pushed on, though expecting every instant to feel the bullet in his back. The click of the missing lock again reached his ear, and now he spurred his horse into a full run, and ere-long reached home unharmed. What transpired subsequently we are not informed, except that this man, convinced that the

Great Spirit loved the missionary with a special love, and guarded him from impending danger, came and humbly begged his pardon, and thenceforward remained his stanch friend.

After Mr. Kirkland had spent a year and a half among the Senecas, — a period full of hardship and danger, — he returned to New England to receive ordination. Arriving at Lebanon, he was formally set apart to the work of the ministry, and was at the same time appointed Indian missionary under the charge of the Connecticut Board of the Scottish Missionary Society. It will be observed that he had pursued no prescribed curriculum of theological study; his teachers in divinity had been the experiences of eighteen months among the sons of the forest. Yet he had not wholly neglected books. No small part of the load which he and his guides carried in their knapsacks through the wilderness consisted of choice treatises on Biblical learning. After his ordination, the Missionary Board decided against his return to the Senecas, and commissioned him, instead, to the Oneidas, who were somewhat central among the Six Nations, and seemed more willing than any other tribe to receive instruction. Mr. Kirkland, from first to last, regarded them as the noblest portion of the confederacy. Brave and fierce in war, they yet were generous, hospitable, and benevolent in social life. Plainly, too, they were not wanting in shrewd and nice discernment of character, since they styled the white man “a *knife-man*,” — in allusion, doubtless, to the favorite recreation of our whittling ancestors. The name of this tribe signifies *the upright stone*. There was standing, until recently, in the town of Stockbridge, Oneida County, N. Y., an upright stone or rock of considerable size, which was reputed to be the national altar. For many ages — so it was believed — the people had assembled here annually to celebrate a grand festival in honor of the Great Spirit. Hence they became known as the Oneidas, or the tribe of the upright stone. This stone has lately been removed to a prominent position within the gates of Forest Hill Cemetery at Utica.

In July, 1766, Mr. Kirkland started for this new field, and ere long arrived at Kanonwarohale, the principal village of the

tribe, situated near what is now known as Oneida Castle. Intending to make this a permanent residence, he built for himself a log-house, doing much of the work with his own hands. He soon formed plans and commenced labors for the good of his new parish, — plans and labors which were not wholly in vain. Thus occupied, he spent three years of useful activity, not sinking under bodily privations and discomforts, nor discouraged by the indifference or opposition of the natives, but toiling onward with a cheerful faith, instructing the ignorant, restraining the vicious, and declaring to all the unknown God whom they ignorantly worshipped. In the spring of 1769, his hardships had so worn upon his health that his friends urged him to rest awhile and to visit New England. This was just what he needed. The summer's recreation on his native hills restored him, and before the autumn set in he was ready to return to his post of duty. But is it strange that he now began to think it not good for a missionary to be alone? Several years before this, his correspondence betrays, now and then, a touch of the tender passion. To his friend, Dr. Wheelock, he writes thus: "I thank you, reverend sir, for the frequent mention of a *certain name* in your letters, which is very agreeable in this rough, unhewn part of the world; and I can assure you *the person* would be much more so, were I in a proper situation for the sweetest joy of life. But farewell to that for the present." His circumstances having now somewhat improved, he sought and won in marriage the hand of Jerusha Bingham, a niece of Dr. Wheelock.

Our narrative must not linger to follow the happy pair in their boat-passage up the Mohawk River, and their horseback tour through the woods to Oneida, his wife on a pillion behind her husband. Nor can we dwell upon his enlargement of his log-house to the dimensions of sixteen feet square, making it quite a spacious and stylish residence for the time and place. This, however, should be said, that Mrs. Kirkland's presence among the Indians was immediately felt, diffusing a spirit of order, industry, and purity on every side, and improving the dress and manners of both men and women. Her husband, too, engaged in his work with new energy. His schools flourished, intemperance was checked, the Sabbath was better

observed, and not a few persons appeared truly reformed in heart and life. At this very day, there are families among the descendants of the Oneida tribe at Green Bay, Wisconsin, who trace back the respectability and virtue of their ancestors to the labors of the missionary at this period.

In the year 1770 Mr. Kirkland transferred his relations from the Scottish Board of Missions to the London Society, whose correspondents resided in Boston. He also now interested himself more in the material prosperity of the Oneidas. A saw-mill, a grist-mill, and a blacksmith's shop were built the same year, with a substantial school-house and church. Then oxen were purchased, and farming utensils in considerable variety. During the next year Mrs. Kirkland became the happy mother of twin sons, whom the parents named George Whitefield and John Thornton. The Indians were greatly rejoiced at this event: they adopted the boys into their tribe with a gleeful ceremony, and gave them significant and high-sounding names. The following summer and winter Mrs. Kirkland spent at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, intending to return in the spring. But when that season came, such disturbances had arisen among the Six Nations, with the prospect also of war between the Colonies and the mother country, that Mr. Kirkland thought it prudent to purchase a house for her in Stockbridge, where she could remain with her children in safety.

Now begins a turbulent period in the life of our missionary. Sir William Johnson having died, his son, Colonel Guy Johnson, was made Superintendent in his stead. "Another king arose who knew not Joseph." In every possible way he showed hostility to him and the objects of his mission. A sturdy royalist, he tried to array the Indians against the colonists. A bigoted Churchman, he hated Mr. Kirkland's Puritanism, and reviled his clerical pretensions before the natives, affirming that he and all the other "New England ministers were not true ministers of the Gospel," and "that they held to dangerous doctrines." "You Indians," he declared with much warmth, "ought to pray only according to those forms which the King has set forth in the prayer-book, and you must learn the responses." The angry Colonel did not carry his

point. The natives summoned a council, in which they resolved to send him a belt of wampum and a messenger to make a speech defending the missionary and deprecating all interference with his work. At the same time, they paid due respect to the position and dignity of the Colonel. This firm yet temperate and reasonable course had the desired effect.

During the Revolutionary war, which now began, we have no full or connected account of Mr. Kirkland's life. His labors as missionary and teacher were much interrupted by the efforts of the royalists to enlist the Indians against the Colonists. During this period of agitation, he was often absent from Oneida, now serving as chaplain in the Continental army, and then engaged by appointment of the government in endeavors to hold the Six Nations in a state of neutrality. In this latter capacity he took long journeys in various directions to attend councils among the different tribes. For a time his exertions promised success, but the persistent efforts of Joseph Brant, Colonel Johnson, and other British agents, were too much for him. The Oneidas and Tuscaroras remained firm; but the Mohawks, Senecas, and others wavered, and then fell away. Every reader of American history is familiar with that bloody page which recounts the descent of St. Leger, at this time, from Oswego, with a large body of Indians, attacking Fort Schuyler (now Utica), and ravaging no small part of the valley of the Mohawk. At these scenes of violence, the Oneidas and Tuscaroras became greatly excited. Like all other savages, they delighted in war. To keep the peace, as the Colonists desired, was the hardest thing that could be demanded of them; they wanted to fight on one side or the other. After two years of impatient neutrality, General Schuyler gratified them by allowing a few hundred warriors, headed by the famous Oneida chief, Skenando, to engage in certain special services. In the years 1777 and 1778, we find Mr. Kirkland at one time on short visits to his family; again at Oneida, endeavoring to cheer and control his people amid the troubles of the times; and again at various places, procuring information from friendly scouts of the movements of the enemy along our northern frontier. In 1779 he was brigade chaplain with General Sullivan, in his campaign on the Susquehanna.

On the return of peace, in 1784, he was reappointed a missionary among the Oneidas. But he found, alas! that war had sown desolation in its track. It left the red men poor, their habits of industry broken up, their morals depraved, and their schools and churches almost forsaken. Yet he was not discouraged. He resumed his work with hopefulness and ardor. In the course of a year the affairs of his flock looked encouraging. The natives became more intelligent, and showed a disposition to inquire into, and an ability to understand, the leading truths of Christianity. A Cayuga chief, who had heard favorable reports of the white priest and his Bible, came sixty miles to visit him. The origin of the Christian religion, the inspiration of the Scriptures, the law of God, the history of Christ, — such high themes were the subjects of their conversation. The sagamore admitted that Christianity was a pretty good sort of religion. But just as he was departing Satan put it into his heart to inquire why, if the Bible was so good a book, it had been so long withheld from heathen nations; and this he followed up with other questions of casuistry, — among the rest, that old thorny perplexity, the origin of evil, — all produced for the sake of debate and fault-finding. The missionary replied to these inquiries in an able manner, but feared that the chief went back to his tribe little benefited by his visit.

A happier case was that of a venerable Indian, who had been quite a Pharisee, and was accounted one of the wisest men of his tribe, but who, after several discussions with Mr. Kirkland, was convinced of the falsity and corruption of paganism and of the truth and purity of Christianity, and then entreated his teacher to “come and cast water on him in the name of Jesus.” The conversion of this leading man was the beginning of a general reformation. For a period of seven months not an instance of intoxication was observed. In the three villages under Mr. Kirkland’s care upwards of seventy persons were believed to have become truly religious. Not seldom did he see persons in his congregation who had walked twenty and thirty miles to hear him preach.

When the troublous period of the Revolution was over, Mrs. Kirkland had hoped to return to Oneida, to share with her husband in his privations and labors. But the want of schools



and of suitable society for her children detained her in Stockbridge year after year. One of her sons, John Thornton,—a name afterwards to become eminent in the Presidency of Harvard College,—was sent to Phillips Academy, Andover, and thence, in due time, to Cambridge. The twin brother, George, was sent to Dartmouth College. In the year 1788, when the hopes and prospects of the family were very bright, the mother was taken away,—a blow from which the children, as well as the husband and father, were slow to recover. In the summer of this year, Mr. Kirkland was directed by the Missionary Board to perform a tour among the other tribes of the Confederacy, in order to ascertain their real numbers, and to learn their desires in reference to missionaries and teachers. In connection with this, he was requested by the State government to attend a council of chiefs and State Commissioners held at Buffalo Creek, for the transaction of important business. It was found that the Six Nations numbered about 4,350, exclusive of the Mohawks, who had left the Confederacy and settled north of Lake Erie; also, that they were not friendly to the proposal to send New England missionaries among them: at least, if any were sent, they insisted on having only such as would baptize the children of all parents, however ungodly. It would seem that Mr. Kirkland's services as interpreter and mediator in the council were highly valued by both parties. At the conclusion, "the chiefs unanimously returned him their thanks for his friendly aid and advice." The Commissioners also voted that, "in consideration of the services rendered . . . . by the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, two thousand acres of land . . . . shall be appropriated and given gratis to the said Mr. Kirkland, for the accommodation of his sons, or for such other purpose as he may think proper." \* And at the close of this year, the State of New York and the Indians conjointly made him a grant of valuable lands in Oneida County, amounting in all to about 4,760 acres. The tract, since known as Kirkland's Patent, was two miles square, and lay on the west side of what is now styled "the Property Line," its northeast corner being just outside the present park of Hamilton College.

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\* This land lay in Ontario County.

This year and the next find him busy in his appropriate work, yet not without troubles. His meetings were sometimes interrupted by noisy and drunken men. More than once plans were laid to take his life. One morning, a bloody tomahawk was found stuck in his door, an intimation that he must soon leave the neighborhood, or expect the tomahawk. French traders brought in Jesuit priests to combat his teachings and assail his reputation. But he bore his trials manfully, and his influence among the people was strengthened under every attempt to weaken it.

During the summer of 1789, several head men of the tribe came to confer with him in reference to the condition and prospects of their nation. Earnestly, and sometimes tearfully, they spoke of their poor people, contrasting their lot with that of the whites. They could not help seeing that the English were increasing in numbers and power, while they were becoming weaker; and, beholding this, they exclaimed: "The rivers and harbors which once received only a few canoes of ours are now crowded with the great ships of the white people! Where we had only a few smokes (wigwams), they have now great cities and lofty houses! Lands which our forefathers sold for a few pence could not now be purchased of the whites for a hundred or a thousand dollars!" A lamentation which poetry has caught up and repeated: —

"They waste us, — ay, like April snow,  
In the warm noon, we shrink away:  
And fast they follow, as we go  
Towards the setting day, —  
Till they shall fill the land, and we  
Are driven into the western sea."

As they dwelt upon this theme, their breasts would heave, and their eyes flash with sorrowful indignation. "Why this difference?" they exclaimed, in tones of piteous despair. "Does not the curse of Heaven rest upon us for some old transgression, which we are powerless to remove, and which prevents our reformation and our prosperity?" A strange superstition, indeed; yet, in these lamentations over their impending fate, what a touch of nobleness! Mr. Kirkland handled the matter wisely. He unfolded the influence of

ignorance and vice, and of knowledge and virtue, respectively, on individual and national character; and he showed that herein, and not in any malediction of Heaven, lay the difference between the lot of the Indians and that of the whites. He endeavored to cheer and encourage them, assuring them that by diffusing intelligence, and by cultivating habits of industry and virtue, they might hope to rise to a condition of comfort and prosperity.

Among the records of the following summer, we note intimations that he was then giving much thought to a system of thorough education for the Indians of the Five Nations. He even went so far as to draw out his "Plan" in writing, and to submit it to the consideration of several leading civilians. These gentlemen expressed their approbation of his scheme, but did not think the time quite ripe for its execution.

In the winter of 1791, the general government again sought his aid in conducting a negotiation between them and the confederacy, the design of which was to strengthen their attachment to the government, and to secure a more general introduction among them of the arts of civilization. Washington felt a deep interest in this movement, and General Knox wrote to Mr. Kirkland more than once, expressing the high sense which the government entertained of his services, and urging him, if consistent with his other duties, to undertake this new labor. A hostile feeling had lately sprung up against the whites, and plans were maturing in secret to combine the whole confederacy and the Western tribes against the American government. Thanks to the missionary's great personal influence, and to his untiring exertions, this conspiracy was nipped in the bud. The Five Nations were induced to remain firm in their adhesion to the government, and eventually adopted some of the measures proposed for their improvement.

Is it surprising that Mr. Kirkland now desired to gather the separated members of his family under one roof and under his own eye? With this in view, he cleared several acres of his landed property near Oneida, and built a house upon it. The removal of his effects having been accomplished under the charge of his son John Thornton, he plied his missionary work with all his accustomed zeal. During this year some friendly

hand presented his educational scheme to Congress, and it met with such favor that a yearly grant of \$ 1,500 was voted, to aid in teaching the natives agriculture and some of the useful arts.

In August, 1792, he attended the Commencement at Dartmouth College, accompanied by an Oneida chief, named Onondego, whose remarkable presence attracted much attention. The Trustees and Faculty of the College paid marked respect to Mr. Kirkland during this visit. On Commencement day, President Wheelock addressed Onondego from the rostrum. A part of his response addressed to the graduating class ran as follows : —

“ My young brothers, I salute you. My very heart has been gladdened by your pleasant voices. Although I understand but little of your language, I see marks of wisdom, and an enlarged mind, in many things you have said in your talks this day. This is the place for enlightening the mind. . . . .

“ My young brothers, attend. In the world, there are many things which cause the unwary to step out of the right path. Hear what I say. Be watchful. Do not forget what you have learned. Never go out of the straight path. It has been marked out by the instructions of your chief. . . . . Let every step in your future life . . . . . show that you love peace and the true religion ; and the Great Spirit will bless you. The light begins to break forth a little among us in yonder wilderness.”

From Hanover they went to Boston and Cambridge. At the College, the chief became quite a “ lion ” to the undergraduates ; his grave and crisp remarks on what he saw and heard pleased them not a little. The library, the chemical and philosophical apparatus, and the astronomical instruments, filled him with wonder. As to the orrery, which he called “ the sun-moon-and-star machine,” he feared he should not be able to describe it to his nation, or that they would ridicule it as “ some magic-work.” On leaving the town he “ expressed great delight and surprise that the wise men at Cambridge, with their knowledge of everything about the works of God, in creation and providence, could nevertheless turn their attention to the interests and happiness of poor Indians.”

Shortly after this tour in New England, Mr. Kirkland transferred his residence from Oneida to his lands near the village

of Clinton. Here his children, five in number, grew to maturity. Here, too, he was married to Miss Mary Donnally, a respectable lady who had long resided in his family, and had charge of his children and household in Stockbridge. It was his wont to ride on horseback to his various preaching-places in the vicinity. On one of these tours through the woods, a small branch of a tree, which he was endeavoring to push aside, struck him in the eye. The blow was not so severe or painful as to prevent his going forward and fulfilling his engagements; but the injury proved to be serious and permanent. For several months he was unable to read or write, and his nervous system was much deranged. By the advice of his physician, he went to New York and Philadelphia to consult certain eminent oculists. He was the more readily inclined to undertake this journey because, in addition to the benefit to his health which he hoped to gain, it would give him an opportunity to confer with several leading men as to a further prosecution of his educational scheme. This scheme contemplated the providing, first, of schools for young native children, in which they should be taught the rudiments of an English education. Three such schools had already been established. A second part of his plan involved the founding of a High School, or Academy, to be centrally situated, and contiguous to some settlement of whites, to which "English youth were to be admitted, bearing the charges of their own education," and a certain number of older Indian boys, selected from the different tribes of the confederacy. These latter were "to be instructed," we now use Mr. Kirkland's words, "in the principles of human nature, in the history of civil society, so as to be able to discern the difference between a state of nature and a state of civilization, and know what it is that makes one nation differ from another in wealth, power, and happiness; and in the principles of natural religion, the moral precepts, and the more plain and express doctrines of Christianity." For the convenience of both parties, he proposed to place this institution near what was then the boundary-line between the white settlements and the Indian territory. The scheme was well approved everywhere, but perhaps it found its warmest advocates among those intelligent families which had recently emi-

grated from New England, and settled in the adjoining towns; for though they somewhat doubted its success so far as the Indians were concerned, they felt sure that it would be beneficial to the white population.

On the journey of which we have spoken, he gave his first thoughts to the Academy. He solicited and obtained subscriptions to its funds. He visited the Governor of the State, and the Regents of the University, and, with their co-operation, took the first steps toward procuring a charter, which was obtained the following year, 1793. Alexander Hamilton afforded him invaluable aid, as did also Colonel Pickering. At Philadelphia he called upon General Washington, who expressed a warm interest in the welfare of the institution. Mr. Hamilton was one of the trustees mentioned in the petition for its incorporation, and after him it was named the "Hamilton Oneida Academy." Mr. Kirkland's exertions did not end here. In April, 1793, he conveyed to the institution a valuable grant of land. This donation was made in connection with a subscription for erecting the academy building. On the table before us lies this original subscription-paper, now yellow and torn, on which he entered his first donation. It reads in this simple way: "Sam<sup>l</sup> Kirkland, £ 10. 0. 0. and 15 days' work. Also, 300 Acres of Land, for the use and benefit of the Academy, to be leased, and the product applied towards the support of an able Instructor."

This gift, with others from the friends of learning and religion throughout the State, placed the Academy on a substantial footing. A commodious building was erected on the western hillside overlooking the infant settlement of Clinton, on the spot designated by Mr. Kirkland; an able Preceptor and an assistant were procured, and the doors opened for pupils. Hamilton Oneida Academy soon became widely known, and scholars flocked to it from every quarter.

In his Historical Discourse, President Fisher, having remarked upon *the time* at which the corner-stone of the Academy was laid, thus pictures also *the occasion* : —

"The occasion is one of special interest. The chief statesmen of the nation, including the father of his country, have heard of and anticipated it with that peculiar pleasure which belongs to far-seeing and

patriotic minds, intent upon the production of those forces which were to mould the grand future of this young nation. It has gathered together the leading minds from a large section of the State. The men who moulded these communities into their present form, with not a few of the earnest, stalwart workers whose hands were to subdue the forests, are there. STEUBEN, the brave old warrior, who came, in our hour of trial, to discipline our rude soldiery and organize them into the effective battalions that beat back the invading hosts of England, has come to perform one of the last and most notable and pregnant acts of his useful life, for the country of his adoption, — to lay the corner-stone of an Institution which is to bear down into the future the name of his old compatriot in arms, one of the foremost statesmen of this or any other age. A troop of horsemen, commanded by a son of KIRKLAND, among whom were some who had mingled in the fight of Oriskany, and seen Cornwallis surrender his sword at Yorktown, occupy the outer circle as his escort, and symbolize the patriotism that is to be nourished here; a patriotism that in the hour of our country's need will not shrink, sword in hand, from defending the nation's rights, be the assailants ambitious foreign despots, or equally ambitious but more malignant traitors in our own land. Reclining partly on the grass and standing around is a company of the faithful Oneidas, among whom towers the venerable form of their Christian chief, the brave SKENANDOA: SKENANDOA, the friend of KIRKLAND, whose counsels in peace and war have kept them firm on one side through all the horrors of the Revolution; his head is now whitened by the snows of ninety winters; he looks in silence upon the scene, knowing that, whatever may betide his people, his own ashes will mingle with those of his Christian father, and his body ascend with his in the resurrection of the just.

“But there is still another — the central figure of this company — around whom clusters the chief interest; one whose noble heart prompted, whose intellect conceived, whose energy carried into execution, the plan of founding this Institution. The name of SAMUEL KIRKLAND, although as yet, like that of CALVIN, no marble shaft designates the spot where his dust reposes, will live while yonder walls endure, and literature, science, and religion shall cherish the memory of those whose lives have been associated with their advancement in this land.” — *Memorial*, p. 60.

We cannot now pause to trace the history of this institution further than to record, that in the year 1812 it was raised to the rank of a college, and that from that time to the present it has enjoyed a fair measure of prosperity.

The establishment of this seminary of learning, which had occupied so many of Mr. Kirkland's thoughts for the fifteen years previous, was the last important act of his life. He continued his missionary labors, but they were performed amid bodily infirmities and many increasing sorrows. He never recovered entirely from the injury of the eye. In the year 1795, he was thrown from his horse, and received a blow which aggravated his other disorders. In short, he had overtaken his energies, by thirty years of toil and exposure, and it were not strange that his health now broke down. And that he should slacken somewhat his labors among the Indians is not surprising, nor yet that he should neglect the details of some of the other interests committed to his keeping. Accordingly, we find that, in the year 1797, the Board of Commissioners withdrew from him their appointment and support. They did not present full and satisfactory reasons for this summary procedure; but they doubtless felt that, as he had become broken in health and spirits, and was somewhat engrossed in the care of his lands, a younger man could serve the society better. It is gratifying to know that his *integrity* was not impeached. Shortly after this, he became involved in great pecuniary embarrassments through the failure of one of his sons; and close upon this calamity came the death of two of his children, Samuel and George. But the brave old man bore up under his heavy and complicated trials, evincing a patience and submission truly beautiful.

In the year 1798 he received a visit from President Dwight of Yale College, and Jeremiah Day, then Tutor in the same institution. These gentlemen had started from New Haven for a vacation tour on horseback to Niagara Falls; but on reaching Utica, they heard such accounts of the difficulties and perils of the journey that they were constrained to abandon it. They, however, rode out to Clinton, to visit the missionary Kirkland and his infant seminary, and then returned to New England. During the remainder of his life, Mr. Kirkland continued to cherish a deep interest in the improvement of the town where he resided, in the prosperity of the Academy, and in the welfare of the Indians. He bestowed several other gifts upon the institution, and in his death did not forget it.



With or without official appointment and salary, he regarded himself as missionary and friend to the natives, and he continued to serve them while he lived. His death occurred in February, 1808, after a short but severe illness. His remains were carried to the village church in Clinton, where a sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Norton. A large assemblage of Indians, from far and near, convened on the occasion, and poured out bitter lamentations over his grave. The funeral address was interpreted to them by Judge James Dean, then resident Agent of Indian Affairs.\*

Mr. Kirkland seems to have been well adapted physically for the life of labor which he chose. In stature he was a little above the medium height, well proportioned, robust, and in his mature manhood inclining to stoutness. In manners he was simple, dignified, and courteous, not without a dash of brusqueness at times, yet thoroughly polite, — a true gentleman of the old school. His urbanity came partly from native endowment, and partly from his frequent intercourse with eminent and cultivated men. On all public occasions he wore the clerical gown and bands, and, thus robed, presented an imposing aspect. His portrait, prefixed both to Dr. Lothrop's Memoir and to the College "Memorial," represents him as he appeared when about forty years of age, — erect, vigorous, of commanding presence, with a penetrating eye, and an animated, buoyant expression, as if ready for adventure or the endurance of hardship. Had he possessed a feeble constitution, he could never have made those long and toilsome journeys, often on foot, through mud and snow, and sometimes in open boats; nor could he have submitted to the hard fare of the savages, and been brought, not seldom, to the verge of starvation. Some of his survivors, who saw him in their youth, tell us that, when he was about sixty years of age, he looked like a hard-worn old man, — one who had gone through the wars, and come out bronzed by

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\* Mention has already been made of his two sons, George Whitefield and Samuel Thornton. Of his daughters, the eldest, Jerusha, was married to John H. Lothrop, of Utica, N. Y., and died about two years ago. The next, Sarah, became the wife of Francis Amory, of Boston. Eliza, the youngest, was married to the late Edward Robinson, then Professor in Hamilton College, and since a Biblical scholar of world-wide reputation.

exposure and well marked with bruises and scars. Only a man of great physical vigor could have endured so much and held out so long.

It will not be claimed for him that he was gifted with extraordinary mental powers. We find no brilliancy of imagination, no exuberance of wit, no philosophical profoundness. But we meet with what is of more value, — good, plain strength of intellect, ability to grasp large and small matters, solid judgment, rare executive talent, and an unconquerable will. He was a careful observer of men and of events. Early thrown upon his own resources, and disciplined by adversity, he became independent and self-sustained. His mind took on something of the freedom and rough grandeur of the scenes amid which his life was passed. It was no slight advantage for him to live in the stirring times of our Revolution, to witness its first outbreak, to watch and help on its progress, and to greet its successful termination. In such scenes the mind often acquires a vigor and clearness which do not come from simply poring over books.

He was by no means wanting in tender sensibility and generous enthusiasm, and in humor and wit, though this latter trait was only a delicate vein running through his nature, and not perceptible to every eye. It took the form rather of airy sprightliness and genial pleasantry. He possessed a large fund of *memorabilia*; and the recital of these in his downright, hearty manner gave variety and raciness to his conversation.

We do not hear that the Indians ever said of him, as the natives once did of a bookish Puritan, that “he could whistle Greek”; yet he was learned enough to be an oracle to them, and his learning was practical, and ever at their service. To use an ancient figure, he was a tree of knowledge which carried its heavy-laden boughs so low that even children might pluck the golden fruit. He did not, like Jonathan Edwards, while missionary to the Stockbridge Indians, spend his leisure in composing theological treatises, but he gave all his time and thoughts to the well-being of his humble charge. He was made for a pioneer and for a worker in the common ways of life, and he used his talents wisely and effectively.

His moral and religious character gave tone and direction

to his whole career. While yet a youth, at Dr. Wheelock's school, his true spiritual life began, and he evinced the earnestness of his zeal by resolving at once to spend his days in missionary service among the Indians. He consorts with the dusky Seneca boys, that he may learn their manners and their strange tongue. From college halls his eyes look abroad with longing upon the Western wilderness, and he cannot wait for his bachelor's diploma before he starts upon his first adventurous journey among the Iroquois. Nor does he sink under rough toil, or quail before persecution and threatened death. He does not, like David Brainerd, spend his time and exhaust his strength in torturing self-scrutiny and self-upbraiding and melancholy forebodings. No: he wisely learns that the best proof of love to God is to be found in hearty, joyous service for him. He suffers himself to be adopted into the family of an Indian, sleeps and eats in their smoky, squalid wigwams, becomes all things to them, if by any means he may save some. He imbues their children with the rudiments of education and religion, and to their sages he opens the higher wisdom of the Bible. He teaches agriculture and mechanics. He mediates between men at variance. He goes on long journeys to negotiate their affairs with the whites, and to keep them at peace with those who would embroil them in war.

And does he not serve his country, too? Indeed, as we review the history of his life during the Revolutionary war,—holding in friendly relations two savage tribes, and keeping close watch upon the movements of others,—now acting as chaplain in the army, and at the conclusion of the war managing several difficult embassies between the natives and the whites for their mutual benefit,—he seems to us deserving of no less honor from his countrymen than many a military hero crowned with blood-bought laurels.

His plan for the education of the Indians is creditable alike to his head and his heart. He doubtless foresaw that missionary labors among them would be of little permanent value without education. The half-regenerated savage would relapse into barbarism as soon as the living preacher should be withdrawn. Desirous that his work should outlast his own life, he resolved to lay a solid basis in education. He wanted,

moreover, to promote the social culture of the natives by bringing their children into daily association with those of white men. In this way he hoped to overcome the prejudices existing between the two races, and to bind them together in bonds of perpetual brotherhood. The conception of this plan must have been the fruit of those frequent and touching interviews with Indian chiefs concerning the prospects of their race. These men saw that their decline was inevitable, unless something were done to prevent it; and they came with sad hearts to their friend and teacher, imploring his help to save them from utter extinction. It seems as if his scheme were formed in fulfilment of some secret, holy vow to make one grand and mighty effort to stay their fall, and, if possible, to restore them to prosperity. Was it not a worthy endeavor? Had he done nothing more than this, he would be entitled to a high place among Christian philanthropists.

It matters little that his plan did not accomplish all that he had hoped. A few natives only became members of his Academy, and some of these pursued their studies but a short time. The careless freedom of life in the woods and the excitements of the hunting-ground were more attractive than the confinement and dull routine of the school-room. Yet of these few, and of the larger number trained in his primary schools, a goodly proportion became intelligent and virtuous men. To this day, their descendants, living in a Western State, revere and bless no name so much as that of Kirkland. But his scheme, so far as it related to the whites, was abundantly successful. The Academy flourished, and, as he had contemplated from the first, was soon raised to the rank of a College. He saw our day afar off, and was glad. The old landmark known as "the boundary line of property" between the whites and Indians has been almost swept away with the removal of the natives; but the College founded by his wisdom and benevolence still stands, diffusing its light far beyond the territory occupied by the Six Nations. It has trained its thousand youths for professional and commercial life, and will doubtless continue to send forth streams of healthful influence for many generations to come.

- ART. VI. — 1. *The Autobiography of LEIGH HUNT.* A new Edition by the Author; with further Revision, and an Introduction by his Eldest Son. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1860. pp. xvi. and 412.
2. *The Correspondence of LEIGH HUNT.* Edited by his Eldest Son. With a Portrait. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1862. 2 vols. Small 8vo. pp. viii. and 333, 331.

As the descendant of American parentage, as an author who for more than half a century occupied a conspicuous, if not a foremost, rank among the literati of England, as one who through a long life maintained a consistent adhesion to principles which, in his own country, are considered radical, but in ours liberal, as the friend of Shelley, Keats, and Lamb, and as a cheerful and genial companion in gloomy hours, Leigh Hunt seems to have no slight claim to our interest and attention. So quiet and even was the tenor of his life, and so disconnected, toward its termination, with either literary or political discussion, that comparatively little is known of him on this side of the Atlantic; and we deem it no unworthy task to bring him before our readers, now that he has so recently passed away. Of the volumes before us, the collection of letters has been issued from the press within a year; the Autobiography, improved and revised by the author from earlier editions, and enlarged by an account of his last days and death, by his eldest son, was put forth in 1860, within a year of the close of his life. We are somewhat disappointed in the letters, as they fail, we conceive, when read without a previous perusal of his other works, to give a true impression of the author's manner of composition, or the frame of his mind. The Autobiography, on the other hand, displays the actual man, admirably illustrating every strong and every weak point in his character, presenting a perfect key to his feelings and prejudices, and setting forth just such a person as a study of his works would lead one to conjure up, namely, a sprightly, affectionate, restless, and yet timid and self-conceited man. The attention of the author was evidently concentrated, in the composition of this work, on himself. His

minuteness in the description of the most trivial incidents of his childhood and youth is almost always interesting, but occasionally becomes undignified and irksome. It must be confessed that in this respect he puts himself in danger of falling under that description of weakness which Sir William Hamilton, in his *Metaphysics*, predicates of a vulgar mind, which, he says, "forgets and spares nothing, — and is ignorant that all which does not concur to the effect destroys or weakens it." A good instance of this tendency in our author occurs, where, speaking of his timidity when a child, and his unwillingness to be alone in the dark, he mentions a book in which he had seen a picture of some horrible monster that had frightened him, and thereupon enters into a long and learned disquisition as to what the monster was, quotes Pliny, Aristotle, and Ctesias as to its origin and etymology of its name, dives into classical antiquities to ascertain its localities and habitudes, and spares no pains to enlighten us in regard to this uncouth beast which he found in a juvenile story-book. The same minuteness marks his details as to his family, which are dull enough when confined to his immediate progenitors, and, extended to his brothers and cousins, become utterly intolerable.

On the whole, however, it is an entertaining little volume, full of interesting information about the literary and political celebrities of the times, accurate in the delineation of the manners and state of society among his contemporaries, delightful for its free and almost careless tone, and charming for its descriptions of Italian cities and scenery. Hunt lived in a time which we like to read about. His rank among literary men was such, that he had abundant opportunities for observing the tendencies of literature, and the personal excellences and prejudices of those who took the lead in the different coteries into which authors were at that time divided. We do not propose to enter into the elaborate criticism of his various works; but rather to dwell upon his personal history, and to glance cursorily at others who form the background of the picture in which he has taken good care to make Leigh Hunt the central figure.

The regency and the reign of George IV., disgraced as they

were by the profligacy of the sovereign and the easy morality of his court, were nevertheless brilliant in military achievements, and in the creations of literary and æsthetic genius. The preceding age had produced no such generals as Wellington and Uxbridge, no such poets as Byron, Coleridge, and Wordsworth, no such novelist as Scott, no such critics as Lord Francis Jeffrey and Sir James Mackintosh. The arts of literature, which had become heavy and methodical by the too sensitive ear of Pope, the graceful monotony of Addison, and the ponderous genius of Johnson, were in this period restored to a vigorous independence, such as gave full vent to those illustrious writers who adorned the otherwise splendid reign of Elizabeth. A few years ago some of the foremost of those who figured as reformers in George's reign were yet living, — Rogers, De Quincey, Moore, Wordsworth, Talfourd. Now but two remain to represent that brilliant era. Lord Brougham still lives to adorn Westminster Hall by his yet vivid eloquence, to elevate science by his patient and penetrating research, and to enrich letters by a critical ability and a memory rich in historic lore, such as few men possess in the prime of life. Walter Savage Landor, at the great age of eighty-seven, retains that vivacious temperament and matchless humor which a half-century ago attracted to his companionship the first scholars and *savans* of Europe. Leigh Hunt survived most of his contemporaries, and died in a good old age in the latter part of the year 1859.

A consideration of the literature of the period referred to discovers great variety, both in the current of thought and in the different styles which gave it expression. This is more especially the case with the poets; and from this diversity a natural consequence was that literary men separated into cliques, each representing peculiar characteristics of sentiment or diction, and each bitterly antagonistic to all the others. Thus arose different schools of poetry, all agreeing perhaps in rejecting the poets of the eighteenth century as too far enslaved by the empire of rhythm and metre over ideas, all eschewing the rules enounced by the schools of which Pope and Goldsmith were representatives, but seeking, each after its own peculiar system, to reform and to elevate by widely

diverging methods. It is not proposed to analyze the different styles which thus took their rise, that task having been thoroughly executed long since by the ablest critics both of England and this country; but merely to call attention to them, that our author may be put in the class to which he was attached, and that his position in the literary world may be fully illustrated. Of the new generation of poets, Lord Byron rose first, and assumed for a while the dictatorship of poetry and of popular applause. As his rise was sudden, so was his subsequent downfall; and after being alternately flattered by the highest encomiums, and condemned by the bitterest anathemas, of his countrymen, he finally was entirely superseded by other schools. Then the "Lake" poets, at first and for many years assailed by the fiercest enmity of an almost unanimous critical opinion, and doomed by the most powerful censors to oblivion and ignominy, slowly approached the public ear, and finally established themselves securely in the popular esteem,—Byron having already met his fate, and retired in despair from his own country forever. Of the Lake school, Coleridge, Southey, and Wordsworth were the shining lights; and they, uniting on common ground in their political, religious, and literary opinions, first opened a new path into which poetic inspiration should be directed, going back to the Elizabethan era for their precedents in disregarding metrical accuracy. While this coterie was yet struggling for supremacy, there appeared, trumpeted by Leigh Hunt in the *Examiner*, what their contemporary enemies contemptuously called the "Cockney School," of which Keats became the martyr and Shelley the hope. Attracted by the erratic genius of the one, and by the independent mind and warm heart of the other, Hunt proposed to himself the glory of heralding the approach of a new era, which should eclipse the fairest periods of poetical history. The novel opinions to which the revolutionists of France gave birth, harmonizing with their enthusiastic spirits, became the creed of the Cockneys; and their issues were heresies, the more dangerous because clothed in the alluring splendor of poetry. The result of so ill-judged an attempt to seduce public sentiment from an appreciation of healthy to a taste for morbid literature, was a just retribution



upon its authors ; for Shelley was not only expelled from the University of Oxford for atheistical opinions, but was shunned alike by literary men and by the public ; and Keats, after insanely endeavoring to gain for himself national favor, received, at the hands of the Quarterly Review, a fatal blow to his current reputation, if not to his enduring fame. Leigh Hunt was endowed with much less genius, less independence, and more foresight, than his unfortunate friends. His writings evinced less originality, less brilliancy of imagination, less startling scepticism. He therefore escaped the withering rebukes of those critics who assumed, and soon acquired, the position of oracles for the general judgment. His mind, too, was more healthily organized than those of Shelley and Keats ; and instead of rushing headlong into the wild theories of Voltaire and Mirabeau, he stopped at a reasonable independence of ecclesiastical conventionality, and, rejecting the doctrine of "liberty, equality, fraternity," as interpreted by the Jacobins and Republicans, clung to limited monarchy with all its faults.

For several generations the ancestors of Leigh Hunt, on his father's side, were natives of Barbados ; and his great-grandfather, grandfather, and father were all clergymen of the Established Church of England. Isaac Hunt, at an early age, was sent to college in Philadelphia, and afterwards in New York. It was at the latter place, as Leigh tells us, that a romantic incident occurred, which was materially to affect his future. When he was delivering his oration, at the close of his collegiate course, two young ladies among his audience, charmed doubtless no less by his graceful delivery and flowing style, than by his blue eyes and well-chiselled features, were so indiscreet as to fall in love with him. With one of them he was equally well pleased, and after a courtship which seems to have derived its chief charm from mutual recitations of the poets, they were married. It is an amusing feature of this incident, that the two ladies stood to each other in the relation of aunt and niece, though they were nearly of the same age.

The mother of Leigh Hunt was a daughter of Stephen Shewell, a Philadelphia merchant of wealth, and of Quaker descent. Dr. Franklin was intimate at his house, and once

offered to teach Miss Shewell the guitar ; but she was too shy to accept his tutorship. Mr. Isaac Hunt was at first destined for the Church ; but showing a disinclination to that profession, he began the study of law in Philadelphia. When the Revolution broke out, he warmly espoused the cause of the King, and so earnest was he in the expression of his opinions, that he was mobbed by the populace. He was obliged to escape by stealth from the city, and, having succeeded in reaching a ship bound for England, he made the voyage in her. He now entered the Church, and when Mrs. Hunt afterward joined him, she found him officiating as Rector of Bentinck Chapel at Paddington. He afterward became tutor to Mr. Leigh, nephew of the Duke of Chandos, the gentleman for whom he named the subject of this sketch. He seems at this time to have had high hopes of a bishopric, through the influence of the Duke, his patron ; but he never rose above the rectorship of a popular chapel. As Leigh Hunt describes his father, we cannot help assimilating him to Thackeray's character of Charles Honeyman, in "The Newcomes," with his smooth, liquid voice, his flowing style, his studied grace, his sleek appearance, and his occasional convivial indiscretions. He seems to have loved gayety and fun, and to have cared more for worldly comfort than for spiritual food. His indolence soon reduced him to poverty ; and although he had been popular as a preacher, he now found but few friends to relieve him. From a High-Churchman and a Tory, he became a Universalist and a semi-Republican ; and these later views of the father were inculcated in his early lessons to his son, who adhered to them through life. Mrs. Hunt is described by her son as a sensitive woman, keenly alive to the appearance of distress, melancholy, but withal of great moral courage.

Leigh Hunt was born on the 19th of October, 1784, at Southgate, a beautiful village in Middlesex ; a spot also known as the resting-place of Coleridge and Lamb, and formerly as the residence of Arbuthnot, Akenside, Shelley, and Keats. He was a sickly child, and the village physician used to predict that he would die an idiot before he was fifteen. He was early sent to France to improve his health, and such was the watchful solicitude of his mother, that he finally grew up a healthy,

bright-eyed lad, ready at all times for study or frolic. As he became more mature, his character developed partly after the disposition of his father, and partly after that of his mother. At times he would be happy and boisterous, and, donning his childish sword and cap, he would amuse himself with military sports; at other times he would become grave and solemn, and, stealthily abstracting his father's surplice and bands from the closet, would proceed to deliver a pompous homily to the astonished and delighted servant-maid.

His early childhood was passed during a period peculiarly eventful in the history of England. The American Revolution, in which both his parents had a personal interest, had but a little before his birth resulted in the success of the Colonies. The French Revolution was approaching, and ere long would burst upon the doomed people, and at one blow shake philosophy, religion, social order, and political system to their foundations. Burke, Fox, and Pitt were rising to the leadership of the House of Commons; Goldsmith and Johnson had just disappeared forever from the scenes of their enduring triumphs; Cowper was the presiding genius of poetry; the Empress Catharine was startling Europe by her masculine energy and warlike enthusiasm; Great Britain was on the verge of passing from the government of a crazy father to that of a licentious and indolent son; Voltaire and Paine were attracting to their intellectual dominion the flower of the Continental youth; Gibbon was alluring by his stately sophistry the minds of men from the perception of the true influence of Christianity; Sheridan was the dictator of the drama; and Mrs. Siddons was just engaging the applause of the British public by her majestic presence and wonderful passion. Hunt's early recollection teemed with such remembrances as these. He had seen Pitt in the House of Commons appealing to his colleagues with a "loud, important, and hollow voice"; he had looked with wonder upon Horne Tooke, whom he had been taught to believe a man of surprising learning and sagacity; he had met John Wilkes and Charles Townshend, and was thus enabled to contrast the ugliest and the handsomest man of the time; he had listened with rapture to the queen of the British stage;

he had been charmed with the matchless beauty of the Duchess of Devonshire.

In 1792 he was admitted a student in the school of Christ's Hospital, which was originally intended by Edward VI. as a foundation for poor orphan children born in London, but which afterward extended its benefits to the middle classes as well as the lower. In this school had been educated some of the first writers and scholars of England ; — Richardson, the genial author of " Pamela " and " Clarissa " ; Bishop Stillingfleet, whose courtly eloquence charmed the nobility of Queen Anne's time ; Mitchell, the translator of Aristophanes ; Horne, the theologian ; Barnes, for many years editor of the Times ; Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Charles Lamb.

Leigh Hunt was placed in the Grammar School, devoted to the instruction of those who intended pursuing the liberal professions. Many are the amusing incidents of his school-days with which he entertains us ; how the quaint dresses of the scholars used to astonish the passers in the street ; how, indignant at the cruelty of one of the larger scholars toward a smaller, he soundly thrashed the bully, and humbled him into a peaceable lad ; how the master, Boyer, was a tyrant after the fashion of Squeers, and seemed to delight in punishing poor Leigh for stammering ; how they were preached to alternately by exceedingly prosy and exceedingly energetic divines ; how all the boys looked up to a Grecian, and how the Grecians used to walk straight forward, overturning with exquisite composure the smaller urchins who happened to be in their path ; how many a cunning trick, sometimes successful, sometimes abortive, was played upon the dreaded master, and how a spirited boy once in a while braved his fury, and by impudence conquered him ; how he once saw Lamb, " with his fine intelligent face," on a visit to his Alma Mater ; with what enthusiasm he spent his sixpences at the book-stall round the corner, on an humble edition of the poets ; how he learned to appreciate Homer and Ovid, to love Goldsmith and Pope, to study Atterbury and Wharton ; how he formed friendships lasting and delightful, which were always to be kept fresh ; and with what tearful regret he finally left that scene of his joys and sorrows and his best friendships, and, assuming a hat and coat,

entered once more the bustling world. It is the old story of school-life in England, vividly told, and rich in pleasant details, attractive alike by its simplicity and its hearty enthusiasm.

While at this school he became intimate with two families, of which he speaks with such affectionate interest that we cannot avoid noticing them. One was that of Benjamin West, F. R. S., the illustrious painter and elegant gentleman. Mr. West had married a relative of Mrs. Hunt, and was an American by birth. In his house Leigh was ever welcome, and many were the delightful hours he spent there. He says of Mr. West, "He was a man with mild, regular features; and, though of Quaker origin, looked what he was, a painter to the court. His appearance was so gentlemanly, that the moment he changed his gown for a coat he seemed to be full dressed." The young scholar was wont to wander with rapture among the productions of the artist's pencil; wrapt in admiration at Sir Philip Sidney giving up the water to the dying soldier; awestricken at the wild brilliancy of Ophelia's countenance; inspired with pious reverence as he gazed upon the calm, perfect face of Christ Healing the Sick. He says, "My mother and I used to go down the gallery as if we were treading on wool." The quiet kindness of the Wests, the pleasant humor of the artist, and the always cheerful welcome, awaken affectionate remembrances of those delightful visits. Nor does he forget to mention the footman, who figured in his master's pictures as an apostle, and the butler, who wore his own likeness with proud ostentation on his shirt bosom.

The other family of which he retains pleasant reminiscences was that of Mr. Godfrey Thornton, who lived in Austin Friars. There his recollections teem with lawns and rich gardens, cordial welcomes and music, hospitality and female loveliness, a union of gayety and of intellectual delight. We would gladly review with him these scenes brimful of happiness, but we are compelled to desist for want of room.

Leigh's first love was Fanny Dayrell, his cousin, a bright West Indian lass, who, as being older than himself, used to dampen his ardor by contemptuously calling him *petit garçon*. She soon after married, and they were separated for many years; but when they again met, after many vicissitudes

to both, Leigh confesses to an emotion for which he had to seek his wife's forgiveness.

After leaving school he turned his attention to the study of the profession which he had determined to follow,—the unsubstantial profession of poetry and literature. In 1802 his father published a volume of his verses, which, according to himself and every one else, were wretched. Nevertheless, the critics dealt with it with unaccountable gentleness, and for a time he was quite a lion among the *literati*. He then became much interested in two subjects,—the stage and military life. Bonaparte was threatening to crown his victorious course by achieving the conquest of England. Volunteers were forthcoming in multitudes, and companies were set to drilling throughout the kingdom. Leigh Hunt enlisted, but was soon discharged, with the rest of the valorous youth, when the imagined occasion disappeared. He attended the opera and theatre sedulously, and gives us charming descriptions of the eminent artists of the day. Catalani, with her wonderful vocal volume; Grassini, with her superb contralto; Pasta, uniting grace and tenderness; Jack Bannister, with his fair, round John Bull face and hearty honesty; Mundar, exciting a roar without uttering a sound; Kemble, with his Roman stateliness and sonorous declamation; Siddons, with her dreary and terrible majesty; Mrs. Jordan, with her fine spirits and happy countenance,—all appear to us through our author's delineation, moving, speaking, provoking us to sadness, mirth, and wonder, as they did the generation of fifty years ago.

It was at this time that he wrote his first prose, confining himself mainly to theatrical criticism, which he contributed to a paper called "The Traveller." These essays were little better than his verses had been; they nevertheless gained for him a species of popularity. He devoted himself more earnestly than ever to books, among which the novels of Fielding, Smollett, Radcliffe, and La Fontaine were his especial favorites. This taste for novel-reading continued through life. Few will agree with his strictures on historians, for whom he entertained but little respect; and his censure of them, as "assuming a dignity for which I saw no particular grounds, as unphilosophic and ridiculous in their avoidance of personal anecdote, and,

above all, as being narrow-minded and timeserving in confining their subjects to wars and party government," is unjust, exaggerated, and, as applied to the majority, totally false. But the writer for whom he evinces the most entire admiration is Voltaire. This enemy of religion and order he erects into a noble reformer; he contrives to find in him the most exalted virtues, while his vices are either ignored or rapidly passed over. It was undoubtedly this author who imbued Leigh Hunt with those revolutionary ideas which afterward brought upon him merited misfortune and obloquy. He became a member of a debating-club, among whose members were Thomas Wilde, afterward Lord Chancellor Truro, and Frederick Pollok, now Chief Baron of the Exchequer; but a habit of stammering, which rendered it exceedingly difficult for him to speak in public, induced him to leave this assembly, and determined him against the pursuit of a political career.

In the year 1805 his brother, John Hunt, established a paper called "The News," and Leigh was engaged to contribute to it the department of theatrical criticism. He determined to break loose from the custom which uniformly prevailed among critics, of exchanging compliments with the actors, and bartering puffs for tickets and suppers. He dashed about indiscriminately on the stage, doomed Betty to oblivion, assailed Kemble with a force which he imagined would annihilate the great Shakespearian, and sought, at the age of twenty-one, to obliterate the fame of "The Rivals" and "The School for Scandal." These criticisms were published in a volume in 1807. The project of the News having failed of success, the brothers Hunt again essayed as journalists, and in 1808 "The Examiner" appeared as the result of their plans. It was the intention of the proprietors to make this journal the organ of the radical Reformists, of the ultra liberal theologians, and of independent literary criticism. It went beyond Fox in its advocacy of political innovation; it tended toward, if it did not impliedly encourage, an approval of Bonaparte's career; and it was unscrupulously malignant toward the King and his ministers. For a short time Leigh Hunt was a clerk in the War Office, at the head of which Lord Sidmouth presided; but finding himself placed in the invidious position of attacking

the party in power, while he was fed by its generosity, he resigned his position and devoted himself exclusively to literary labor. While editor of the *Examiner*, he made the acquaintance of many literary men, whose names have since become household words. At the table of Mr. Hill, proprietor of "The Monthly Mirror," he met the generous and sensitive author of "The Pleasures of Hope." He describes him as a genial companion, overflowing with humor, free and cordial, lively and earnest in conversation, not without a mixture of sarcasm, and, though rarely, of bitterness. His personal appearance — which indeed we might guess from his portraits — was classically handsome, and his manners elegant and scholastic. "Some gentle Puritan," says Hunt, "seemed to have crossed the breed, and to have left a stamp upon his face"; but "he appeared not at all grateful for this, and when his critiques and his Virgilianism were over, very unlike a Puritan he talked!" Under the same hospitable roof he also found Theodore Hook, whose talent for extempore verse astonished and amused the company, while his imitations of eminent characters were the more ludicrous for their exaggerated lifelikeness. The comedian Matthews entertained them with similar exhibitions, remorselessly bringing forth Garrick, Siddons, and Sir Walter, for the edification of his friends. James and Horace Smith, the authors of "Rejected Addresses," also contributed a large share to the good cheer of the guests.

The *Examiner*, meanwhile, became so bitter in its onslaughts upon the government, that two prosecutions for libel were brought against the proprietors by Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Attorney-General, both of which were, however, dropped before they reached the judgment of the court. One of these libels was an attack on the Duke of York, then commanding the army in chief, for corruption in the sale of commissions; the other was a contemptuous article on the King. About this time (1809) Leigh Hunt married Marianne, daughter of Thomas Kent, Esq. In 1810, so successful had the *Examiner* become, on account of its popularity among the lower classes, that Mr. John Hunt established a quarterly magazine called "The Reflector," and the duty of editing it devolved on Leigh Hunt. To this periodical several of the most prominent



writers contributed, among others, Lamb, Barnes, Dyer, and Aikin; but, in spite of every effort, it failed through want of funds and encouragement. The fact was, that the radicals were not generally from the richer classes, and hence could not support a quarterly. It lived long enough, however, to give utterance to much partisan venom, and in its early pages appeared a work by Leigh Hunt, which his own subsequent judgment failed to justify, and in which many noble writers were attacked, namely, "The Feast of the Poets." It presented to the ridicule of the public the most eminent poets of the age, and was particularly severe upon Sir Walter Scott; the principal objection to whom, in the author's mind, seems to have been that he was a Tory. We are happy to state that the author himself acknowledges this production to have been "a just ground of offence"; and certain it is that it brought down upon him nearly every literary celebrity, and caused an enmity to his paper which wellnigh destroyed its existence. An excessive act of presumption soon after completed the ruin which he had barely escaped by the denunciation of critics. At an annual dinner of the Irish on St. Patrick's day, 1812, the name of the Prince Regent was received with groans and hisses. After some discussion of this indignity by the Whig and Tory organs, the Examiner, ever ready for a verbal affray, took up the subject, and came out in the severest denunciation of the heir apparent. Hunt went so far in this article as to call the prince a liar, a libertine head over ears in disgrace, a despiser of domestic ties, the companion of gamblers and demireps, and other epithets equally gross. The government was prompt in bringing the authors of this libel to the judicial bar. The result was, that, after a careful trial, Leigh Hunt and his brother were sent to prison for two years, and fined one thousand pounds. Such was the state of our author's health, that confinement in the ordinary cells might endanger his life; he was therefore transferred to the prison infirmary. Here he found a pleasant room, leading into a small but tasteful garden. "I papered the walls with a trellis of roses; I had the ceiling colored with clouds and sky; the barred windows I screened with Venetian blinds; and when my book-cases were set up with their busts, and flowers and a piano-

forte made their appearance, perhaps there was not a handsomer room that side of the water." Thus with his exquisite taste did he contrive to make his new abode inhabitable; he had his family about him; his books were at his elbow; pen and paper were at hand, ready to fix a passing thought; and — what was no mean consideration — he had a jailer who was anxious to make him comfortable and happy. It was while he was imprisoned that he made the acquaintance of some of the first men of the time. Thomas Moore and Lord Byron visited him in his seclusion. Hazlitt came to cheer and amuse the martyred radical. The venerable Bentham, now grown old in the service of political science, took pains to make the acquaintance of one about whom so much had been said. The Lambs, too, ever ready to extend their sympathy to those in distress, were constant in their exertions to relieve his discomfort. On the 3d of February, 1815, Hunt again breathed free air. He took board with his family soon after his release on the Edgeware Road, near his brother's house. It was here that the acquaintance begun in prison with Lord Byron ripened into friendship. Hunt's recollection of this remarkable person was that of a rather corpulent and strikingly handsome man, whose countenance wore an expression "of spirit and elevation," and who had "a very noble look." Byron seems at this time to have taken quite a liking to Hunt's society; and frequently urged him to go to the theatre and other amusements with him. His calls were very often repeated; and, as it was before the current of public opinion had turned against him, he was always vivacious and good-humored. Another visitor at his house soon after his release from prison was William Wordsworth. Upon Hunt's showing him his own works beside those of Milton in the library, the poet felt much gratified, and from that moment looked upon the author of the *flattery* with favor. He was a dignified man, with a rough but pleasant voice, prematurely gray and bald, with a very *grand* manner of speaking. "I never beheld," says Hunt, "eyes that looked so inspired or supernatural."

In the year 1816 Mr. Hunt went to reside in Hampstead for his health; and here he finished his "*Story of Rimini*," which had been commenced before his imprisonment. This

poem is pronounced by the English critics the best that ever issued from his pen. It was after the manner of Dryden, and some portions of the poem are not unworthy imitations of him.

We are now at that period when he formed the remarkable friendship with Percy Bysshe Shelley, which was to remain tender and uninterrupted during the life of the latter. He had seen Shelley early in his own career as a journalist, but it was not until 1816 that they were so thrown together as to become intimate; and meanwhile those domestic calamities and discords had occurred which nearly made the poet mad. Shelley and Keats met each other for the first time in Hunt's house at Hampstead. Our author had met the latter when he was at work on the *Examiner*, and they had been mutually pleased with the acquaintance. The young poets, aristocratic and plebeian, became friends, although Keats was rather shy at first, distrusting as he did men of gentle birth. In some points of character, they resembled each other closely; in others, they were utterly opposite. Both were melancholy, looking naturally upon the dark side of every question and circumstance. Both tended toward atheism, and both were radical reformists in morals, society, and government. Both rejected the ancient models of poetry. But Keats was sullen, suspicious, and cold; while Shelley was cordial, ingenuous, and simple-hearted. Keats dreaded, and Shelley longed to love, every man. Keats harped upon specific subjects, and thought in a limited sphere; Shelley at one time gloried in the fields and flowers and landscapes, at another was held in awe by mighty subjects of eternal moment. But it melts our dislike of Keats's irritableness into compassion for his misery, when we think of that young life, wasted by malignant disease, disappointed in every hope by continued neglect or insult,—when we see him departing from his native land, which he was never again to behold, dragging his weary body to Italy, and, to the last despairing, but gentle, lying down to die among the tombs and ruins of the Eternal City. “Keats, when he died,” says Leigh Hunt, “had just completed his four-and-twentieth year. He was under the middle height; and his lower limbs were small in comparison with the upper,

but neat and well turned. His shoulders were very broad for his size ; he had a face in which energy and sensibility were remarkably mixed up, — an eager power, checked and made patient by ill health. Every feature was at once strongly cut and delicately alive ; the eyes mellow and glowing, large, dark, and sensitive. At the recital of a noble action or a beautiful thought they would suffuse with tears, and his mouth trembled.”

Unfortunately for the prosperity of the Examiner, Tory principles guided a large majority of the English people, as well as of the Continental communities ; and in the year 1821 it had reached the end of its influence. Leigh Hunt, discouraged by the failure of his exertions in that direction, now determined to accept the invitation of his friend Shelley, who pressed him to go to Italy, where the latter was then residing. Shelley had conceived the project of establishing, conjointly with Byron and Hunt, a periodical of liberal bias, to advocate the ideas which were congenial to them all, to edit it in Italy, and to circulate it throughout Europe. Hunt embarked with his family in a vessel bound for the Mediterranean in November, 1821 ; but, being disabled by a storm in the Channel, the ship was obliged to put in at Plymouth. There Hunt remained, taking lodgings for the winter, until May, 1822, when he again sailed, and arrived at Genoa in the middle of the following month. His description of the voyage, his impressions on seeing for the first time the celebrated spots on the route, and his reflections while on shipboard, are full of interest ; but we cannot pause to revert to them. He staid in Genoa but a day or two, and set sail on the 28th of June for Leghorn, where he was to meet Byron and Shelley. He found the noble poet cosily domiciled at a delightful villa called Monte Nero, a short drive from the city, — the same house, indeed, which Smollett, the novelist, had occupied in his last days. Thence he went, in company with Byron, to Leghorn, where they met Shelley, and they all repaired to Pisa, the city residence of Byron. Hunt was provided with apartments in his Lordship's house. The three enthusiasts, wandering about the curious old city, gave themselves up to rapturous dreams of future renown, and eagerly discussed

projects which were to confound their enemies and astonish their friends. Their delightful companionship was, however, doomed to a most melancholy end by Shelley's death, the circumstances of which are too well known to demand repetition here.

"Shelley, when he died," writes Hunt, "was in his thirtieth year. His figure was tall and slight, and his constitution consumptive. Though well turned, his shoulders were bent a little, owing to premature thought and trouble. The same cause had touched his hair with gray. Like the Stagyrite's, his voice was high and weak. His eyes were large and animated, with a dash of wildness in them; his face small, but well shaped, particularly the mouth and chin, the turn of which was very sensitive and graceful."

Hunt remained three months at Pisa after his friend's decease; and thence went to Genoa with Byron. There they set about the work which had brought them to Italy, the publication of a periodical called "The Liberal." In the first number of this work appeared Shelley's last poem, an elegant translation from Goethe, called "The May-Day Night." At Genoa, Leigh Hunt occupied the same house with Mrs. Shelley, while Byron took a separate residence, the Casa Pallavicini. Here, owing to a broad difference of character, and dissimilarity of literary taste, the friendship between the editors of the *Liberal* began to cool, and in the end turned to absolute dislike. Hunt attributes this result to his own unwillingness to humor Byron's vanity, and to praise his works in terms sufficiently enthusiastic. Byron's friends, on the contrary, assert that his Lordship had, in the first instance, overrated the literary merit of Hunt; that he discovered him to be entirely incompetent to co-operate with him in his plans; that Hunt became jealous of the other's superior powers and fame, and that it was only at his earnest solicitation that Byron first entertained the idea of joint editorship. Hunt's description of his intercourse with Byron while in Italy is very entertaining. The noble poet, he tells us, sat up late at night writing "Don Juan," with a bowl of gin and water at his elbow. He did not rise till late, and then only to lounge about the garden whistling or singing, chewing tobacco to prevent his growing corpulent, or indulging

in jocular conversation with those he happened to meet. He wore a nankeen jacket, white vest and trousers, and a small velvet cap. Their difference of opinion did not prevent good-humored banterings and discussions; and they joked each other on the fact that there was only one book which both greatly admired, and that was Boswell's Johnson. Byron, in his jocular moods, used to imitate Johnson for sport, in his manner and conversation, as well as other men of note.

After the vain attempt to make the Liberal successful, it was abandoned, and Lord Byron went to Greece, Hunt remaining at Genoa. Hunt gives us a vivid portrait of that noble city, describing its lovely site, the appearance, peculiarities, and manners of its people, the mode in which it is built, and the splendor of its edifices; accompanying us through the stately cathedrals, the galleries in which hang Raphaels and Giulios, the opera-houses, and the palaces of the illustrious dead. In the summer of 1823 he removed to Florence, so full of attraction to one who cherished historical and æsthetic reminiscences. He took a pleasant villa about two miles from the city, in a small place called Maiano. Here had once lived Boccaccio, who made the vicinity the scene of two of his stories in the Decameron, and who revelled in its graceful and varied landscape. Near by, too, was the house which was once the property of Machiavelli; and at a short distance stood the village of Settignano, where Michael Angelo first learned to animate the canvas with his marvellous creations. A man could not but be happy among such memorials. He had, too, English neighbors to sympathize in his tastes, and to talk over home news with him; and in Florence he became acquainted with Landor, who was already eminent as a poet of nature, and whose interest in the historical attractions of Florence equalled that of Hunt himself. Lord Dillon also contributed by his cordial temperament and elegant erudition to make the days pass pleasantly.

Our author meanwhile labored as much as his health would permit, translated Redi's "*Bacco in Toscana*," and wrote various essays which he called "*The Wishing-Cap*," and which were the foundation of his larger work, "*The Town*." He attempted to establish a quarterly, which was to contain

selections from the best English reviews for the entertainment of English residents ; but the sensitiveness of the Tuscan government as to political articles, and their fear lest something revolutionary might creep into the new periodical, made the endeavor futile. He wrote also parts of another work which he called "Christianism, or Belief and Unbelief Reconciled." It afterward appeared, revised with additions, under the title of "Religion of the Heart."

After staying about two years among localities which enchanted him, Hunt started, in the autumn of 1825, on his return journey, going overland, travelling slowly in carriages. In this way he had fine opportunities for observing the varieties in Italian scenery, people, and manners, passing through Bologna, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Asti, Turin, Susa ; thence crossing from the Po over the Alps to Savoy, Chambéry (where he visited Rousseau's house), Lyons, and finally to Paris. He remained in the French metropolis two days only, in which time he hastily visited the places where the main incidents of the Revolution were enacted, the palaces, and the galleries, not forgetting to spend a good share of his time in searching among the book-stalls. On the 14th of October he reached England, having been abroad more than three years. It was, indeed, with a feeling of infinite relief that he found himself again in his own country. He had recovered tolerably good health, had seen the glories of Italy, and had become a wiser man by his sojourn abroad ; but meanwhile the want of regular and lucrative employment had told upon his means of subsistence, and made him uneasy and dissatisfied. To one who had been so long among the rich scenery of Tuscany, the healthy freshness of English landscape seemed a relief ; for, however much he admired the former, his choice was to live and die amid the latter. "The pleasantest idea," says he, "which I can conceive of this world, as far as one's self and one's enjoyments are concerned, is to possess some favorite home in one's native country, and then travel over all the rest of the globe with those whom we love ; always being able to return if we please ; and ever meeting with new objects as long as we choose to stay away."

Hunt's intimate connection with what was termed the

“Cockney School,” (to which, by the by, he claims that Chaucer, Milton, and Pope belonged,) placed him at some disadvantage, owing to the unpopularity of its leading representatives. The Tories, stringently orthodox alike in politics and religion, opposed vehemently a class of men who aimed their most powerful anathemas against the existing institutions of both; and the Tories, backed by the King and the influence of Wellington, as well as by Sir Walter Scott, Southey, Coleridge, and other equally popular literary celebrities, were the controlling party in all matters of opinion. Hunt had friends, however, who thoroughly appreciated him, and to the restricted measure of their ability encouraged his efforts to obtain a livelihood by his pen. Although he seems to have retained a cheerful disposition, he was exhausted by repeated and unsuccessful effort, while his health again became precarious. He took up his residence at Highgate after his return, and there wrote the series of essays now known to the world as “The Companion.” He also wrote, about this time, “Sir Ralph Esher,” which is a fictitious memoir of a gentleman at the court of Charles II. It is a very entertaining little book, and presents in a free and unconstrained style the manners of those times, and some of the historical characters. This latter feature is one which, whenever introduced, greatly enhances the interest of a work of fiction. The vicinity of London was the only place in which literary labor could be conveniently pursued; and so Hunt removed to Old Brompton, and took rooms with Mr. Knight, with whom he issued a small daily paper called “The Tatler.” This periodical was confined to literary and theatrical subjects, which contracted its circulation so far, that after a doubtful prosperity of three years it ceased. In 1833 his poems were collected, and issued by subscription. The liberal reform of 1832, and the benignant reign of William IV., had produced a marked change in public sentiment: Tory politics and High-Church prelates no longer dictated the censorship of every emanation from the press; and consequently the new volume was far from unpopular, and met with unexpected success. Meanwhile, the precarious state of Hunt’s own health, and that of his family, induced him to remove to the quiet town of Chelsea, where they could enjoy pure



air, freedom from bustle, and an easy access to the verdure of fields and meadows; while a proximity to the metropolis afforded every opportunity for increased comfort and convenient labor. Here he continued portions of his work, "The Town," contributed frequently to the Edinburgh and Westminster, and projected a periodical called "The London Journal"; besides which he wrote a poem entitled "Captain Sword and Captain Pen." The London Journal continued until 1836, and was, as we might expect, of an entirely literary character, being made up of essays, criticisms, quotations, and, rarely, political articles.

Hunt had always had a decided taste for the drama, and a strong desire to try his hand at dramatic writing; and at different periods of his life he had attempted unsuccessfully to produce a good play. While at Chelsea, he again essayed in this field, and completed a piece called "The Legend of Florence." He greatly enjoyed this occupation; and the product of his labor, though at first rejected by the managers, was finally brought on to the boards of Covent Garden in 1840. It met with decided success; the actors were delighted with it; Planché and Mrs. Kean, according to the author, were affected to tears by it; and, what was its chief victory, the Queen herself patronized its performance several times. He also wrote "The Secret Marriage," — a piece founded on a tale of Navarre, which did not please the managers, but nevertheless displays no small merit, — "Lover's Amazements," "The Double," "Look to your Morals," and "The Palfrey." It was while residing at Chelsea that he formed an acquaintance with one whose later works have elevated him to the first rank of philosophical essayists, and whose productions had then made his name well known as a rising writer. We refer to Thomas Carlyle, "whose eyes," says Leigh Hunt, "are the finest, in every sense of the word (and I have seen many fine ones), which I have seen in a man's head." Hunt considers him a most eloquent man, with a kind and philanthropic heart, and a brain on fire at the wrongs and sophistries of mankind. His view of Carlyle's manner of attacking worldly evils is, that it is more rough and unforgiving than the author's nature would lead one to suppose; and he says,

"I believe that what Mr. Carlyle loves better than his fault-finding, with all its eloquence, is the face of any human creature that looks suffering and loving and sincere."

An application was made by the friends of Leigh Hunt to Viscount Melbourne, the Premier, for a pension, on the ground that a Liberal ministry could afford to assist one who had so long contended in behalf of the now dominant doctrines. But, although the well-known courtesy of his Lordship forbade a blunt refusal, nothing further was gained from him than a bland and indefinite promise. Hunt thinks it was because the Minister considered it unbecoming in a sovereign to grant a pension to a person who had been imprisoned by his predecessor for a libel against the crown; and this was undoubtedly a proper ground of refusal. His friends, failing in this project, set about another method for relieving his poverty. An amateur theatrical performance was given at Birmingham and Liverpool for his benefit; Ben Jonson's play of "Every Man in his Humor" was enacted; Charles Dickens took the part of "Bobadil," and personated it admirably; Forster and Jerrold helped to fill up the rôle; Sergeant Talfourd and Sir Edward Bulwer composed an appropriate address for the occasion; and the affair terminated with applause to the distinguished actors, and substantial profit to the recipient of the testimonial. He removed from Chelsea to Kensington, where he wrote "Imagination and Fancy," "Stories from Italian Poets," and "The Jar of Honey," and completed "The Town." He also wrote at this time the main part of the biography which is now before us. In 1849 he revived the London Journal for a while, but it failed from the usual cause, — want of funds. He was much pleased to find that his works had been republished in America, and enjoyed a good degree of popularity here; and he also had the satisfaction of seeing several of his dramas successfully reproduced in the principal theatres of the metropolis.

In the autumn of 1832 he lost a son of great merit, who promised to become eminent as a poet, and whose last words were, as his father says, "poetry itself." "I drink the morning," said he, as he drank some water which refreshed him.

The latest literary labors of Leigh Hunt were devoted to the

revision and extension of his book entitled "Religion of the Heart," in which are set forth his theological opinions and his conclusions from a long experience. It is in a genial, hopeful strain. It was eminently a work of love, not written for gain, but put forth when age had ceased to crave lucre, and with the evident intention to do good. It was his dying legacy to his children and to the world; and such is the calm and loving tenderness with which he treats every subject that passes in review before him, that one must be drawn toward him, with all his faults of self-conceit and eccentricity. His wife died in 1857; and in his closing pages he pays her a pathetic and appreciative tribute of affection. He describes her as generous, "free from every kind of jealousy, superior to illusions from the ordinary shows of prosperity." She had through life borne with him the vicissitudes of fortune without a murmur, and even cheerfully, and, when thoroughly sick and exhausted, never uttered a complaint. She was quite remarkable for the use of her pencil, received compliments from Mr. West for her proficiency in that respect, and was particularly accurate in the delineation of the human profile.

Our author himself had but just given the final touch to his Autobiography, when he, too, was summoned to the other world. He died, at the age of seventy-five, on the 28th of August, 1859, two years after his wife's departure. "So gentle," says his son, "was the final approach, that he scarcely recognized it till the very last, and then it came without terrors." His health had been failing gradually for some years; and so his friends were surprised neither by the approach nor by the quietness of his death. He had employed his last hours in assisting in the preparation of the "Shelley Memorials," designed to vindicate and to celebrate the character of his early and best-beloved friend. His memory, his clear, quick mind, his kindly temper, his love of humor, his attachment to books, remained vivid to the last day of his life. Sickness, which had enfeebled his body, had fortunately spared to him the use of those faculties which to him were peculiarly precious. He had lived to see the political reform of which he had been an earnest and a consistent advocate gradually on the ascendant; he had survived most of his contempora-

ries ; he had attained a place among the celebrated writers of his day. These few words of his son show that to the last he retained an interest in the world without, and that his affectionate nature was alive almost in death : " His failing breath was used to express his sense of the inexhaustible kindness he had received from the family who had been so unexpectedly made his nurses ; to draw from one of his sons, by minute, eager, and searching questions, all that he could learn about the latest vicissitudes and growing hopes of Italy ; to ask the friends and children around him for news of those whom he loved ; and to send love and messages to the absent who loved him."

In personal appearance, Leigh Hunt was tall and straight, while his eyes were black and very brilliant. His hair, early in life, was dark, but changed to pure white as he grew older. His complexion was dark. His face was decidedly intellectual, and withal indicated by its genial expression that he had a great heart. He had to a large degree that power of attracting the affection of others by a winning sympathy and a cordial manner, which he so enthusiastically attributes to his friend Charles Lamb. He was ever thinking, talking, and writing of his friends, always anxious to please them, and his chief enjoyment seems to have been in their companionship. The three salient traits that appear in his works and in his record of himself are amiableness, self-esteem, and a sprightly and almost romantic imagination. To the first he owed his chief happiness in life ; the second enabled him to keep up a stout heart against disappointment and opposition ; the third gave him the power and the will so to write that he has cheered many a weary soul, and filled many a winter evening with entertainment and instruction. His philosophy of life was, to look on the best phase of every subject and circumstance, never to despair, to meet rebuffs with a cheerful countenance, and to endure misfortune with fortitude, hoping for and living in a better time to come. In this way he survived political persecution and critical denunciation, bore sickness with patience, was melancholy without being misanthropic, was cheerful in the midst of poverty, made a happy home in a prison, and finally died, at a good

old age, contented, calm, and looking back with complacency on a varied, but, on the whole, a successful career.

There was, nevertheless, blended with this enviable disposition the alloy of partisan bigotry, a delight in making *Tories smart*, the exhibition of a bitter and malignant spirit toward those from whom he differed. There was an almost insufferable self-conceit, which magnified every action of his own into a virtue, and made his every effort, in his own esteem, an effort of rare genius. There was a want of respect for the opinion of wise men, when their wisdom did not mingle with his channels of thought. There was too much of that reckless, radical, levelling spirit, which denies respect to the powers that be, which presumes that existing institutions are evil from their mere existence, which, though it can propose nothing better, is determined to pull down at all events. Undoubtedly, according to American ideas, Leigh Hunt was right in advocating a reform of the ballot, a restriction of executive power, the limitation of aristocratic influence, and a broader toleration in religious matters. The only question is, whether his method was reasonable and judicious; whether it furthered the cause of the people to call the Prince Regent a liar and a libertine; whether it promoted toleration to sneer at the prelates of the national Church; whether it diminished the prestige of the nobility to denounce, in public prints, and with malignant emphasis, the corruptness of individual peers. It was a weakness of intellect, added to an enthusiasm which could brook no check, and which, unsustained by that philosophical calmness with which he viewed the vicissitudes of domestic fortune, failed of the desired result.

One of the best editions we have seen of Hunt's prose works is that issued in 1854, by W. P. Hazard of Philadelphia, in four volumes. The first volume is entitled "The Italian Poets," comprising biographical notices of Dante, Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, and prose translations of portions of their works. The biographical notices are written in his usual easy and colloquial manner, and are richly entertaining. The translations are not so good, and can give but a faint idea of the authors. The second volume comprehends the sprightly essays which are known as "The Indicator" and "The Com-

panion." The third volume consists of selections from British authors, and is intended to satisfy the taste of old and young alike. "It is a book," says the author in his Introduction, "(not to say it 'immodestly,') intended to lie in old, forlorn windows, in studies, in cottages, in cabins aboard ship, in country-inns, in country-houses, in summer-houses, in any houses that have wit enough to like it, and are not the mere victims of a table covered with books for show." It begins with childhood, and ends "with the churchyard"; for the first selection is "The Schoolmistress," by Shenstone; then follow articles for minds farther and farther advanced in maturity, and the series closes with Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard." The last volume is also made up of selections from the most celebrated English poets, with short critical notices by Hunt, and with an introductory essay entitled, "What is Poetry?"

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ART. VII. — *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie, Exploration de ces deux Régions, avec l'Étude de leurs Antiquités, de leurs Populations anciennes et modernes, de leur Géographie et de leur Histoire. Ouvrage accompagné de Planches.* Par L. HEUZEY, Ancien Membre de l'École Française d'Athènes. Publié sous les Auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et du Ministère d'État. Paris : Firmin Didot Frères, Fils, et C<sup>ie</sup>. 1860. 8vo. pp. 496.

THE predominant passion of adventurers in these last years seems to be for climbing mountains. With every month some new volume from the English press, or some spirited letter in the London weekly journals, acquaints us with the discoveries and exploits of the "Alpine Club." The ascent of Mont Blanc and Monte Rosa has now become a common affair, hardly worthy of boasting or detailed statement, — as common as the ascent of Skiddaw and Helvellyn in the last generation. The ambition of mountain tourists now is to stand where no foot of man has stood before; to reveal in the Pyrenees and Alps peaks hitherto unknown, or to open to the science of civilized man the ranges hitherto beyond his quest.

Nor are the ancient mountains, famed in the songs of poets and in the histories of wars, and described by Herodotus and Strabo, left wholly unvisited by our modern travellers. Has not Parrot told us about Ararat what the ancient geographers were unable to tell? Has not the precise narrative of Ferrara confirmed the glowing verse of Lucilius Junior about the dangers and the wonders of *Ætna*? In the detailed statement of Höck, the *Ida* of *Crete* becomes as well defined as the *Ida* of *Troy*. *Ulrichs* has illustrated *Parnassus* and the oracle at its foot. The exalted summit which *Hera* touched in her flight over sea and land from *Olympus* to *Lemnos* is now, as the Holy Hill of *Athos*, the centre of curious and religious pilgrimage. Englishmen, who have never visited the ruins of *Iona*, and perhaps have never heard of the Isle of *St. Cuthbert*, on their own shore, take pains to seek this remote monastic swarm; and travellers from *Florence* to *Rome* occasionally leave the beaten track to climb the sides of *Soracte*, that summit of doubtful gender and doubtful religion, of *Apollo* once, and now of *Sylvester*.

Nor has the *Olympus* of *Thessaly*, the home of gods and heroes, been neglected by modern topographers. *Holland* describes it as he saw it admiringly, and *Leake* as he carefully measured it. The epithets of *Homer*, *Virgil*, and *Horace* are all justified by the present appearance of the mountain. But the most full and accurate description of it is that which has been recently published under the direction of the French government, by *M. L. Heuzey*. All that we know of *M. Heuzey* is, that he was once a member of the French School of *Athens*. Whether he has before appeared as an author there is nothing in his book to tell us, and the dictionaries of biography are silent concerning him. We cannot learn even whether he holds an official position, or whether his journey was undertaken at the expense and suggestion of the French government. With very slight preface, he at once commences his scientifically constructed narrative, going round the mountain, across it, along its sides, under its shadow, following the course of the rivers, and the line of the sea, visiting all the towns, villages, convents, castles, and ruins of every kind, and giving, along with the present aspect of the region, a summary of its history from

the earliest time to the present. Legends, whether classical, romantic, or monastic, are sparingly used, often enough to sustain the interest of the reader, but not often enough to impair the scientific character of the work. The style of the narrative is chaste, easy, and clear, and there is the evidence, though not the parade, of adequate learning and investigation. The numerous inscriptions copied are given in fac-simile in the Appendix, and the most striking monuments are illustrated by finely executed plates.

M. Heuzey's account of Olympus and its surroundings makes a very valuable monograph, and will doubtless supersede as authority all previous descriptions. In some particulars he differs from the statements of Colonel Leake, especially in regard to the height of the mountain. M. Heuzey adopts as correct the height given upon the English charts, of 9,754 feet above the level of the sea. In the description of ruins and the sites of ancient cities he is especially exact, and his reasoning here is often very ingenious. To the manners and customs of the present inhabitants, and even to the condition of the monasteries, he pays comparatively little heed. This, however, is not from indifference or from want of observation, since the second half of the volume shows that he is as close a critic of men and manners as of sites and relics. The plan of his work would not allow much detail upon the Thessaly of to-day. Nevertheless, we learn always the size of the towns, the condition of the roads, and the general state of commerce and tillage. He usually prefaces his discussion of an historical question by a notice of the present condition of the town upon the site to which his inquiry is directed.

We do not propose to say more upon M. Heuzey's description of Mount Olympus and the territory around it, but to confine this article to a notice of the second half of his volume, which treats of a region comparatively obscure and rude. This part of the volume is the more curious and valuable. If, in the time of the Roman satirist, few were able to visit Corinth and report upon its pleasures and its splendors, fewer still had the inclination to land on the inhospitable shores which skirt the southern side of the Ambracian Gulf. The region was never attractive to travellers. The Greeks generally gave the Acar-



nanians a bad name, and treated them as a troublesome race, to be shunned, hunted, and oppressed. They were to the other races what the Highlanders were to the English of the last century, or the Montenegrins to the Turks of the present century. Acarnania is a fresh field for discovery, and M. Heuzey can congratulate himself that his revelations of this region tell the world something which was not known before. Here is a region of which Homer makes no mention, and in which the Roman Itineraries lay down but a single road. The Frenchman is privileged to show that this neglected land has poetry and beauty, and that there is much to see, if not on its highways, on its many by-ways.

M. Heuzey's description of the physical features of Acarnania is singularly graphic. It is a land of strange contradictions. Accessible from the sea on two sides, and for two thirds of its extent, it has scarcely any foreign commerce; and with fertile plains, it has almost no agriculture. In one part of the land, where rains are abundant, there are yet no springs, and the highways in another part are just where we should not look for them. The richest treasure of the soil is what it produces spontaneously, and what in other lands would be rejected as useless. It is difficult, indeed, to give the boundaries of Acarnania with accuracy, although its general shape is that simplest geometrical form of the triangle. It is the most westerly province of Modern Greece, about ten days' journey from Athens, over bad roads, infested by robbers. No sane Athenian ventures farther than Delphi, regarding all beyond that mystic locality as barbarous and fearful; and Delphi is scarcely more than half-way to the Acheloüs, which forms the eastern limit of the Acarnanian triangle. The modern name of this classic stream, "Aspro-potamo," if less dignified than the ancient, expresses very fitly the character of its current. The western side of the triangle is washed through all the length of a deeply indented coast by the always rough waves of the Ionian Sea, vexed here by the counter currents of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic. Opposite in the sea, and separated only by a narrow channel, is the island of Santa Maura, the ancient Leucadia; and the white rock of Apollo, "dreaded by mariners," (*formidatus nautis*,) and of Sappho's fatal leap, is plainly visi-

ble from the mountains of the mainland. Over against the southern shore of the triangle is the smaller island of Ithaca, the home of Ulysses and Telemachus. The northern shore, which makes the base of the triangle, borders in most of its length upon the Gulf of Arta, that *Ambracius Sinus* at the entrance of which was fought the decisive battle which made Augustus master of the world. Between the Acheloüs and the gulf, in the northeast corner of the land, the mountain Gavrovo stands as a sentinel guarding the entrance.

The whole territory included within this triangle, embracing the ancient province of Amphilochia as well as that of Acarnania, does not probably exceed two thousand square miles. These provinces are represented to some extent by the modern division of the land into the "Valtos" and the "Xeromeros." The Valtos occupies the northeastern division, bordering upon the Gulf of Arta. With the exception of a small plain of a few miles in extent, the whole country is a mass of mountain ranges, separated by dangerous ravines, and cut transversely by deep chasms, made by the mountain torrents. The successive ranges rise from the sea like a series of gigantic steps, and the only practicable communication is over the summits of the highest range. In most countries the roads follow the course of streams. The Simplon highway takes the valley of the Rhone, and the Splügen the valley of the Rhine, to climb the hills more easily. But in the Valtos of Acarnania, the best roads and the only roads keep to the highest ridge, and go over the peaks. The aim of the traveller is to get as speedily as possible above the line of the watercourses. This style of travelling on the mountain-tops is called by people travelling *ζυγὸ ζυγό*. The difficulty of crossing the steep and deep chasms below is greatly increased by the thick woods which choke the pathway. Every defile is barricaded by *chevaux-de-frise* of bushes and boughs, through which water, but not man, finds a passage. The present aspect of the country verifies what Thucydides says of Amphilochia, that it is a country where the woods block up the roads, and where the ravines have no outlet.

The Xeromeros, on the contrary, is comparatively an open region. It has woods and rocks enough, and hills high enough

to be called mountains. But most of the country is a succession of broad and elevated plains, resting on a limestone foundation. The line of the coast is sufficiently precipitous to make approach dangerous, and to warn commerce away. The name of the province indicates that it is wanting in water; yet this is because there are no springs, and not because the moisture of clouds is lacking. In the Xeromeros, vegetation is not parched and withered in the warm season, as in other parts of Greece. There are evergreen trees and almost perennial flowers. But there are no fountains and no streams. The porous rock drinks in the rain, but will not give it back. The torrents lose themselves in unfathomable gulfs. No well, however deep, finds any supply, but down in the abysses vegetation flourishes where man finds no access. The whole country rings hollow to the tread of animals and men, and the brittle and friable rock is continually wearing away. It is marble in an immature stage, without the fineness of grain, the consistency, or the beauty of the Grecian marble. At the same time these waters, which seem to disappear, are not lost to the people. Gathering themselves far beneath the surface, they come again to light in the low places in the form of pools and lakes, at which animals come to drink, and from which the people find supply. The full lakes of the Xeromeros are fed by subterranean rivers. The Acheloüs flows in its whole course of near a hundred miles through a plain of great fertility.

In ancient days, as the Greek writers aver, the plains of Acarnania were covered with flocks, herds, and teeming harvests. Xenophon tells us that in his time the crops were so abundant that the people were always dreading invasion in their season of ingathering. The fertility still remains, but it has no longer such fruits. Only in a few gardens are the citron and orange found, and the vine and olive, in their sparing culture, only prove the capacity of the soil. The wealth of the land at present is in its forests of oaks of different kinds. There are, indeed, valuable shrubs, — the strawberry-tree, the evergreen *φιλύκη* mentioned by Theophrastus, and the heath, the ancient *ἐρείκη*. But from the *oaks* come the nourishment and increase of the land. Two species of these oaks are ever-

green, and one of them, the *ἀρία*, the laurel-leaved, loves, like the American arbor-vitæ, to hang over the brink of chasms and cascades. The most valuable variety of oak to the people is the *βελανιδία*, a term which M. Heuzey translates by the French word "*vallonée*." The value of this tree is precisely in the part which seems most worthless, not in the wood, not in the fruit, but in the cup which holds the fruit. This acorn-cup is used in Europe as a substitute for bark in tanning the finer kinds of skin. The extraordinary value of the tree comes from the fact, that, while its fruit is abundant and unfailing, it requires no culture or attention, growing spontaneously, and preferring rather a sterile soil, where the undergrowth is slight and there is no hinderance to the annual gathering. The tree has not even to be shaken, and the acorn in dropping disengages itself from the cup. The harvest of this oak is free to all the people, and no one has private ownership in this public treasure. The government only sets upon it an export duty, and so finds interest in making the gathering as large and as general as possible. In the season of this harvest, men, women, and children, the youngest and the oldest, surrender themselves altogether to the work of collecting these acorn-cups. Villages, fields, and flocks are deserted. The families encamp in the oak-groves until the supply is exhausted, and every one is seen with a sack upon the shoulder, hunting in the grass for this cheap treasure. It is said that some families make a thousand drachmas, or a hundred dollars, by a week's industry under these oak-trees, and that the produce of this short season supports them through the rest of the year.

Another use of the fruit of the oak in Acarnania is in the raising of swine. The Odyssey tells us that the shepherds of the Ithacan king had twelve herds of swine which they fed on this dreary shore; and the spectacle may be seen now, of swineherds, driving their unruly brutes from the highlands to the lowlands, with the changing season, to feed upon the sweet acorns which fall in the groves. Some of the oaks drop their acorns late into the winter. The swine of Acarnania are small, black, bristly, and plump, and not very manageable when irritated. They are exported to the Ionian Islands, to Italy, and to Malta. Sometimes the men share with the swine this rude

food. The poor herdsman who follows them gathers in his bag the acorns which they leave behind, and illustrates in his daily habit the despair of the prodigal in the Scripture story. In Italy, the poor, in autumn, live mainly upon roasted chestnuts ; and in Acarnania, as M. Heuzey affirms, they roast the bitter acorn and mix it with their corn in making bread. This, however, is only a perpetuation of the ancient custom of the Pelasgi.

The Acarnanians are rather a pastoral than an agricultural people. In sheep and goats they abound, and some villages can number no less than ten thousand head. The pasturage is always abundant, since snow rarely falls upon the lower mountains, and the sod is never dry. There is nothing to arouse the spirit of agricultural industry, while the people can thrive from the easier produce of their flocks and forests. The mineral wealth, too, which is probably of some value, is not cared for. Fires in the ground, lasting for months, prove that there is coal if they would search for it ; and near the village of Aetos is a pool, the mud of which is a natural dye-stuff, turning to black all woollen cloth put into it. This may be a chemical quality of the decomposed wood of the oak, or it may result from some metallic principle in the soil.

The race of men inhabiting Acarnania is, if we may trust M. Heuzey, the most genuine of all races that claim to be Greek. From the Gulf of Arta to the mouth of the Achelôüs, all the people, with the exception of a community of nomad Wallachs, are of pure Grecian blood, lineal descendants of the ancient dwellers on the soil. In the kingdom of Greece, Albanian interlopers claim now to be heirs to the glory of Lycurgus, Pericles, and Alexander ; but the true heirs to the Hellenes are to be found among these barbarians of the West. Their rude Romaic idiom, with all its corruptions, has features of the ancient dialect which the restored literary language of Athens still lacks. The word *βουκόλος*, which the herdsmen of the Morea and the Archipelago seem to have lost, is yet familiar on the tongues of the Acarnanians, ignorant as all of them probably are of the verse of Æschylus. The changes in their vocabulary are mostly in the introduction of Italian words and phrases, borrowed from the Venetian conquerors

of the Ionian Islands. Intead of *πρωτῖ*, for instance, the Acarnanian uses the Italian *buon'ora*.

It is in temper and position, rather than in manners and customs, that the Acarnanians are peculiar; and in respect to character and position there is a marked difference between the inhabitants of the Valtos and the inhabitants of the Xeromeros. The inhabitants of the Valtos have their dwellings exactly where a traveller would be least likely to look for them,—in the shade and seclusion of the deepest thickets. There are no villages on their hills, and no houses anywhere in sight from the roads. Only the odor of smoke among the trees, and the barking of dogs as the traveller approaches, reveal the existence of any of their miserable cabins; and when the neighborhood of these is discovered, they cannot be reached except by winding, obscure, and dangerous paths. The name of the cottages, or *kalyves*, (*καλύβαι*, the ancient classic name,) indicates at once their hiding from sight. They are constructed of branches and thatched with leaves, so that at a little distance it is impossible to distinguish them from the enveloping forest. At the first appearance of a stranger, the children run in affright, and the women, and even the men, hasten to hide themselves behind their houses,—half timid, half threatening. It is not easy to disarm their suspicion. But when perseverance and a gentle address have reassured them, they are eager in good offices, and vindicate the reputation of the mountain tribes for hospitality. A mountaineer of the Valtos asks no pay for the simple fare which he sets before his guest; and even refuses with dignity any offer of money. If he has borrowed from Italy the *buon'ora*, he has not borrowed the *buono-mano*. The *πανδόςκος* of Syra or Argos is not content without a bounty in addition to his charge; but all that is asked in the houses of the Valtos is the name of the guest, that he may be recognized if there should be another meeting.

It must not be inferred from this disinterested hospitality that the peasants of the Valtos are sociable or gregarious. No people can be more solitary in their habits. They have no villages, and in their hamlets the houses are usually far apart, separated by precipices, torrents, and forests. Neighbors are

more likely to be foes than friends, and are often in deadly feud. Visits between families are infrequent; the peasant does not wish to have even the companion of his toil or his brother in war a witness to the secrets of his household. The exception to this unsocial antipathy, however, is the strong tie which binds the members of the same family together. The adult children of the house do not depart when they marry, or seek their fortune away from the home of their father. They remain under the same roof, only building on to the main house a compartment of their own. Many of the dwellings of the Valtos, indeed, are clusters of separate cabins built around one centre, and communicating through the doorways. A man of the Valtos wants no neighbors but the kindred of his flesh, and a family is dispersed only by the death of the patriarch, or when it is too large longer to remain together. This habit of isolation greatly impairs the national spirit of the people and their capacity for mutual defence. Some years ago, when the power of the king was absolute, an attempt was made to consolidate the mountaineers. By a public decree, more than three hundred scattered families were brought together in the town of Syndekno, where abundance of water, a fertile soil, an excellent air, a municipal administration, and a guard of gendarmes, seemed to offer them every inducement to live in an orderly community. Houses were built, and the new life was begun. But the centrifugal temper of the people was too strong; and when the revolution at Athens changed the character of the monarchy, the first use that they made of their political freedom was to break up their village and return to their former haunts in the forest. The three hundred families of the commune of Syndekno now occupy a space of fifteen miles in extent, and all society among them has ceased.

In choosing a place for his cabin, the peasant of the Valtos is mainly guided by his love for pure air and fresh water, which are his especial luxuries. Living on the rudest food, he is yet fastidious in the quality of the fluid which he inhales and imbibes. He cannot drink from a muddy stream, nor can he abide mists and vapors. It is a penance for him to go down upon the heated plain, and gather his corn in the torment of

miasma and mosquitos. In the season of harvest, the women and children are often left solitary for days in their huts. Yet they seem to have no fear, and to await the return of their lords with a stoical contentment and submission. In the absence of the master, the oldest boy, even of tender years, is a sufficient protector. An instance which M. Heuzey mentions, where a boy of eight years enters at nightfall, orders his mother to prepare supper for him, and is addressed by her respectfully as "My dear master," strikingly repeats the scene of the young Telemachus with the obedient Penelope. This child was already a goatherd of the mountains, and brought back, as his day's spoil, an armful of wild pears for the evening feast of his family.

The children of the Valtos peasants are children of nature. They grow up without education or training. The boast of Eastern Greece, that every child is in its schools, has no place in this western region. In forty houses you will not find five men who can read and write. A schoolmaster, peculiarly exposed to quarrels, is likely to be murdered before his teaching has borne much fruit. The literature of the people is confined to the prayers which they repeat mechanically, to a few stories which they tell around the fire, and to the monotonous songs which they rehearse in Arab fashion, as they plod along on their journeys. Yet the people are precocious in their intellectual as in their physical development. They become cunning and wary in learning to thread the intricacies of their woods, and quick in their powers of perception. The boy of ten years knows how to handle his gun, to choose his way in the forest, to judge the character of the man he meets, and to maintain his own honor. The training of the people is that of a tribe of partisan warriors.

From the earliest time, the inhabitants of this region were a race of fighting men famous for their subtilty and strategy, their surprises and their ambuscades. The nature of their country was favorable to this kind of warfare; and Thucydides, in his third book, tells of the catastrophe of the Ambra-ciots, rushing into Amphiloichian ravines and ambuscades. M. Heuzey conjectures that the name of the people may have been derived from this peculiarity, and not from that of the



Argive hero. 'Αμφίλοχος means "one who sets snares," — who attacks in a roundabout manner. It is the glory of the mountaineers that they resemble their ancestors in this, — that when they open the tombs they do not find coins and medallions, but only black drinking-cups and rusty lance-heads. At intervals they have been willing to sell their service to the Turkish rulers as a mountain police, but always with the reservation of their rights and their pride. They could even force the government to accept their service, by threatening to come down upon the villages as *wolves*, if it would not employ them as guards. To destroy them in their own fastnesses has always been an attempt utterly futile. They have not waited to be captured, but have burned their cabins, finding refuge in the caves and chasms where no pursuing foot would dare to follow them.

Yet the men of the Valtos, though keen as savages in their way of warfare, are not a deceitful race. M. Heuzey avers that they are singularly frank and truthful, and relates an instance of the importance attached to the word once given. A peasant had promised to bring to him an inscription, and on the next day he saw the man coming, all out of breath, carrying an enormous stone, which he had brought nearly a mile. "If I had known it was so heavy," said he, "I would not have told you of it." "But why did you not go there with me? why burden yourself with such a weight?" asked M. Heuzey. "Because I did not want to appear as a liar," — *Nὰ μὴ βροῦμαι ψευστής*, — was the answer. There are very few parts of Greece, we imagine, in which conscience is tender in that direction. Excessive regard for plighted faith is not more a virtue of the modern Hellenes than of the countrymen of Aristophanes; and what Paul quotes from Epimenides concerning the Cretans is not very wide of justice as a general formula for the mass of the Greek nation.

The men of the Valtos are loyal to their leaders. Recognizing no right of control in time of peace, they readily follow in warlike expeditions certain captains who lead them by hereditary right. The chiefs, living apart like the peasants, have each a band of retainers, upon whom they can call with confidence and count with certainty. The distinction of the resi-

dence of the leader is mainly that it is larger, more solid, and more conspicuous than the houses of the peasants, situated where he can overlook the woods in which are concealed the homes of the retainers, and can make signal to them if they are needed. The magnificence of his dwelling consists of a square of white walls, furniture of dirty boards, and a guard of poorly-clothed *pallikars*, kept in the service rather by a feeling of reverence than by any liberality of pay.

The peasant of the Valtos is by preference and by pride a soldier, disdaining the lot of a tiller of the soil, and ready to sacrifice any chance of profit in peaceful industry to the excitement of guerilla warfare. Drill he does not like. The strait uniform of European soldiers fatigues and disgusts him. The Greek vest and fustanella are his ideal of beauty and comfort in a soldier's costume. The long Albanian gun, which misses fire at every third discharge, is his serviceable weapon; and even in labor he keeps this ready to his hand. The weapon and the costume are alike associated with the military traditions of the land, — with victories over the infidels, and the defence of homes against invaders.

The golden age of the Valtos, to which the mountaineers delight to look back, is that period before the Turkish invasion which they call the "period of Spain." There is no evidence that either Spain or Spaniards ever had any right in the land, and the phrase is probably an incorrect description of the time when the Neapolitan family of Tocco, vassals of Spain, had dominion in the Ionian Islands and in this part of Greece. They point to the ruins which remain in the land, — to vestiges of former wealth and culture, — as a proof of what it was in this golden age. One of their legends tells how the Sultan and the king of Spain, playing at cards together, instead of silver and gold, made the stake of the game to be the cities and provinces of the Valtos. The Sultan won; but when he came to the possession of his prize, the king answered, "I staked the land, the trees, the rocks, of the Valtos, but not the *men*," and took away with him to the country of the Franks the whole population, leaving to the infidel ruler a deserted territory. Only some scattered mountaineers remained in the fastnesses, and from these the present race is descended.

The site of the Valtos which has the most distinguished traditional fame is the village of Phloriadha, situated on the ruins of an ancient Hellenic fortress. So splendid was this that, according to the legend, when the villagers danced in the market-place, the gold upon their garments dazzled the eyes of those who looked on from the other side of the valley. The national songs celebrate the richness and glory, the plethoric purses and well-stocked girdles, of the men of the once favored city. It is now the most miserable of hamlets, with a dozen huts, and a few families squalid in poverty and pining in famine and fever.

The only *artist* whom M. Heuzey seems to have found in the Valtos was a sculptor in wood, skilled in ornamenting with figures and bas-reliefs, in the ancient Byzantine style, the cups and pipe-bowls which he carved from the larger roots of the heath-tree. This native genius, working at his own pleasure, and not for hire, only obeyed in his designs the traditions of his land. His originality was unconscious imitation. Even in the woods, and leading a wild life, he was attracted to those grotesque and distorted forms of which, not the scenes of nature around him, but the legends of his faith gave him the type. It is singular that the ancient Byzantine art should have its modern representative in one of the wildest regions of Europe.

This description of the men of the Valtos must be greatly modified when we speak of the men of the Xeromeros. In comparison with the mountaineers, the men of the plain are civilized ; and their broad and fertile domain seems to them to be to the rocks and ravines of the northern region what Canaan was to Sinai, and Eshcol with its grapes to Edom with its caverns. In the song which they sing in their dances, the opening lines contrast Arta and the Valtos, fit only to be turned to rock and swallowed up, with the Xeromeros, blessed of Heaven, the land of good wines and pretty maidens.

Ἡ Ἄρτα πέτρα νὰ γένη, καὶ ὁ Βάλτος νὰ βουλιάξη.

Τὸ δόλιο τὸ Ξηρόμερο, ὁ Θεὸς νὰ τὸ φυλάξη,

Ποῦ ἔχει τὰ γλυκὰ κρασία καὶ τὰ ὄμορφα κορίτσια.

To the men of the Xeromeros the men of the Valtos are savages, wolves, one-eyed monsters. As the Jews had their

proverb about the Nazarenes, so the southern race of Acarnania have their proverb, — *Βαλτίνος καὶ καλὸς γίνεται*; “How can a man be of the Valtos, and yet be good?”

This conceit of the more civilized Acarnanians is but partially justified by their manners, and the race of the plain seems to be essentially the race of the mountains, somewhat tamed and softened. They have the same warlike, bold, restless spirit, the same ready hospitality, the same frankness and love of truth, even in larger measure. The *φιλοτιμία*, which is their special characteristic, is accompanied by a generous and gentle courtesy, which will not abuse the spirit of rivalry. They have an open countenance, fine features, tall stature, and easy and dignified deportment. Unlike the men of the Valtos, they are gregarious, live in villages, and are fond of society. Their houses are built on the slopes of hills or on terraces, are open to the sun, two stories in height, and tiled with white stone. A love of show appears in their construction. Every one is a landholder, and, as the territory is large in proportion to the population, every one has land enough. There is rather a lack of labor than a lack of land. Nevertheless, the southern Acarnanians are a military, and not an agricultural people. The old families are mostly descended from ancient warriors, and they choose to hire the service of peasants from the neighboring Ionian Islands rather than work with their own hands. With every season, a fresh company of farmers cross from Cephalonia and St. Maura, bringing with them spades and hoes to create harvests for the owners of the soil. Some of these farmers are paid by the day; others divide the products with the owners; others, still, hire portions of the land and cultivate it on their own account. These emigrant farmers are not treated by the proud Acarnanians as menials or as servants, but are received as equals, and welcomed as guests. The different taste of the land-owner does not make him unjust to the tiller of the soil. Not only is the profit mutual, but the courtesy and good feeling are mutual. As Israel, remembering that he had found home and welcome in Egypt, must treat Egyptians with kindness if they should come into the land of promise, so the lords of the Acarnanian plain must remember that the islands beyond had given them refuge

in their need, and must return the ancient kindness. The surplus labor of the islands finds ample opportunity in these large fields, which yield such abundance.

In the Valtos there are no schools and no teaching; but in the villages of the Xeromeros there are almost always schools of some kind, private or public. The scattered population, losing this advantage, have a sort of traditional education, in the oral accounts of their history handed down from father to son. They mark five epochs in their annals, reckoning backward from the last Greek Revolution; to wit, the epoch of the Alabanda, the Russian insurrection of the last century; the epoch of the Venetians; the epoch of the Turkish conquest; the epoch of Spain or of the Frank dominion; and, finally, all previous time, which is to them the time of Hellenic rule, the age of their highest traditional glory, when the land was covered with cities, and the men were a race of giants, lifting by main strength into their places the huge rocks which still remain in the ruined temples, castles, and walls.

M. Heuzey found in the life of the Xeromeros the finest illustration in Modern Greece of the manners of the Hellenic people, as pictured in the fourteenth book of the Odyssey. All the spirited details of this scene of domestic confusion appeared as often as he knocked at a peasant's door and sought hospitality. The same familiarity between high and low, the prince, the swineherd, and the beggar, appeared in the easy equality with which all classes sat down around the common table, every one helping himself with his own hands to the viands before him.

*“Οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείαθ' ἐτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἱαλλον.”*

And after the meal the interminable stories and the infinity of questions recalled still more vividly the Homeric description. The Greeks are everywhere a race of story-tellers, far more so than the Arabs, to whom this habit is generally supposed to belong by eminence. They are more loquacious and they listen better than their Semitic neighbors. The price of hospitality in Acarnania is that the guest shall submit to be questioned, and shall listen patiently to the stories which his host has to relate. These stories, frequently of personal adven-

ture, are sometimes rather startling. The tale of Ulysses, in the thirteenth book of the *Odyssey*, of his having murdered the son of Idomeneus, was more than paralleled by a confession which M. Heuzey heard from one of the most respectable inhabitants of Acarnania, who had welcomed him to his house. Hardly had the first salutations passed when the entertainer informed his guest that he was an Ionian of Cephalonia, who had left his native island to escape being hung; that he had killed his uncle and two cousins in a fit of anger; and yet that, after all, he was *not a bad fellow*. Such a story, of the act of an alien, cannot be fairly used to describe the moral standard of native Acarnanians. Yet this man, in spite of his crimes, was rich, popular, and in an honorable position. No one seemed to think him the worse for his deeds of blood.

The native Acarnanians of the Valtos and the Xeromeros are not the only people in the land who deserve notice. There is a race of Karagounis, or wandering Wallachians, who come every winter and encamp with their flocks on the plains of the province, whose curious manners are not to be overlooked. They are an offshoot from the larger Roumanic tribes, which inhabit the principalities of the Danube, and they have strayed thus far from their proper abode to enjoy the freedom of a constitutional Christian kingdom. They are allowed to lead in the country a nomad life, on the single condition that they shall not cross the frontier or enter the Turkish domain. They can pasture their sheep in the public forests and the wild plains along the Acheloüs, and the only tax required of them is a tax upon each head of their flocks. Their name, Karagounis, comes from the black caps which they wear, since in the Romaic tongue the word *kara* means black, and the word *gouna* is applied to the rude cape thrown over the shoulders, and used to cover the head. Another name by which they are known, *Ἀρβανιτόβλαχοι*, is derived from their ancient place of encampment on the Albanian frontier. The name which they prefer, and which they claim with true Wallachian pride, is that of "Rouman"; and if the purity of their vowel sounds is to be the test of purity of blood, they have more of the Latin blood than the Wallachs of the larger province. Most of them are able to speak three languages fluently, the Rou-

man, the Albanian, and the Greek; and this ability fairly distinguishes them from another nomad tribe of Acarnania, the Sarakatzanes, to whom Greek is the native and the only language. In other parts of Greece the Wallachs are stationary, live in towns, occupy themselves with agriculture, and have even become merchants and public functionaries. In Acarnania, on the contrary, the Wallach is a true Bedouin, shifting his abode with every season, and unable to fasten his interest or his attachment to any place. The tribe have a superstitious notion that, if one of their number should fix his home upon any one spot, should buy a field and build a house, he would fall sick, his flesh would rot away, and worms would feed upon him. The separate groups of these Karagounis comprise from fifty to a hundred families, the name for each of which groups, including their flocks and tents, is *στάνη*, a park or sheepfold. In the whole province there are a dozen of these *stanae*, making a population of some eight hundred families in all. In travelling, they use for dwellings black tents, like those of the Arabs of Palestine. In their longer abode, they construct huts of branches and leaves, some of which are large, divided into compartments, furnished with rude utensils, and even ornamented. Great dogs guard the doorway of the cabin. The chief of each group holds his office by hereditary right, by the influence of wealth, and by the superstitious fear of the people. He is the richest of the tribe, owning sometimes half of all the flocks. He claims to be descended from mighty men, — “*atavis edite regibus*”; — and the Greek name, *Skouteris*, by which he is known, seems to show that his ancestors were officers of the Byzantine Emperor. He is the umpire in disputes, the commissioner to the authorities of the province, the mediator with robbers; he makes the bargains for pasturage, fixes the day when the migration must commence and cease, and stands as the centre and head of all affairs in the tribe. He is supported by a tax upon the families, according to their property, — a tax which he himself assesses and collects, and which none refuse to pay. Any additional expense to which he is subject is at the charge of the community.

The wealth of the Karagounis is in their sheep and goats.

A few raise horses and mules, enough for the transport of goods, but the majority are shepherds, proud of their occupation, and devoted to it with an intense love. The Karagouni enthusiast is unwilling to leave for a moment the sound and the sight of his flocks. He sleeps always in the open air, in the snow or in the rain, with one eye and one ear open, ready to start upon the least sinister sound or motion. The tinkling of the sheep-bells is his lullaby, and if it dies away upon his ear, he mechanically changes his place, though half asleep, and goes to lie where he can hear it more distinctly. Unlike the genuine Acarnanian, he has no warlike tastes, nor from his gigantic size, his broad breast, and his Herculean shoulders is it to be inferred that he is a dangerous foe. He is a bearer of burdens rather than of arms. The Karagouni woman is hardly inferior to the man in strength, in endurance, and in ability to meet privation. Her industry is incessant, and as she returns from the fountain, bearing on one shoulder the bag of washed clothing, and on the other a barrel of water, she plies the distaff upon the way, to lose no time. M. Heuzey saw a young bride already busily at work in her weaving, on the morning after her marriage. The dowry of a Karagouni bride, indeed, is all in the stuffs woven by her own hand, and her honor lies in her skill as a weaver.

The Karagounis are very careful to preserve their purity of blood. No daughter of the tribe can marry any Greek, however tempting or high his position. A Greek woman may by marriage be adopted into the Karagounis, but the counterpart to this is not tolerated. The marriage customs of the people quite distinctly show their descent from Roman ancestors. The man *buys* his wife by a bargain like that of the *coemptio*; the scarlet wool, and the apple planted upon the roof of the bridegroom's house, recall the Roman marriages, in which the *wool* was the sign of domestic labors, and the *apple* of love and maternity; the anointing of the threshold when the bride descends shows that she is now *uxor* or *unxor*; and the rush for morsels of the bride-cake is only the former *confarreatio*, slightly varied. The first joy of the marriage festival is all pagan, and the religious rites come in only after the bride has been conducted to her husband's house, has passed a night



there, and has been recognized as a wife. On the following day the priest comes to give the nuptial benediction and recite the prayers, and the feasting commences again, to last for two days longer. The woman is virtually a slave in the house of her husband; until a child is born to her, she must be dumb in his presence, must obey every order, and must never presume to address him directly.

These wandering Wallachs are permitted in the country on account of the revenue which their taxed flocks bring. But the feeling between them and the Acarnanian peasant is anything but kind and cordial. They are hateful to the sight of the owners of the lands, who naturally dread the incursions which their unmanageable flocks may make from the public domain upon private estates. In the popular imagination, these vagabonds are infidels, compelled to this migratory life for the punishment of some former crime. The conduct of the Karagounis helps somewhat to justify this charge. They are cunning to seize every chance of pilfering from the fields of their civilized neighbors, and are by no means heedful that the shepherds shall deliver the sheep from the temptation of the green wheat. The Greeks are proverbially "artful"; but the Greek race of Acarnania is no match for these experts in deception, who are perpetually on the watch, who move by night as well as by day, and whose stratagem is ruled by an infinite patience. The Karagounis have the advantage of their Greek neighbors, too, in their solid union and their common interest. They have no divisions, and obey their chiefs implicitly. The Greeks, on the contrary, have no unity. Each family has its own interests, and there are bitter rivalries in every village and neighborhood. The contempt which they put upon the nomad race does not prevent this race from thriving after its manner, any more than the contempt for the Jews in other lands hinders them from getting gold and influence.

These few notes may serve to give an idea of the present condition of the outlying province of the Grecian kingdom, so visible and yet so unknown, "so near and yet so far." But a traveller in this province is surprised to find that here the remains of the ancient civilization are more abundant and better preserved than in any other part of the classic land. Every-

where the grand *ruins* show the traces of the strong, active, and able race which once built cities and led a crowded life where are now these thick forests and neglected plains. The mould of ages has here rather protected than destroyed the monuments of early times ; and in these woods the gateways and turrets of castles are still standing, as strong as when they were first fixed in their places. From Argos Amphilochicon, where the whole line of the ancient wall is visible, and where M. Heuzey measured the front of the four great towers, each nearly twenty feet square, to Œniades at the mouth of the Acheloüs, where the Cyclopean walls still testify to the strength of the Macedonian fortifications, the whole country is diversified by the sites and relics of ancient cities. Along the valley of the Bjakos (the ancient Inachos, as M. Heuzey believes) is a line of fortresses, some of which have walls six feet in thickness, and have witnessed the strifes of twenty centuries. The long contest of the Ambracians with the Amphilochians, so splendidly described by Thucydides, can be studied on the spot from its monuments. In the southern Valtos, near the small village of Karavassaras, now the capital of the province, are the Cyclopean walls of a once considerable city, which M. Heuzey decides to be the ancient Limnæa. Here there is a striking refutation of the oft-repeated charge that the Greeks did not understand the use of the *arch*. Vaults and doorways, which evidently are earlier than the Roman invasion, show a knowledge of this kind of structure as positive as that left in the great sewer or the triumphal monuments of the city of the kings and the Cæsars. The Grecian arch is less finished, and often lacks the keystone ; but its shape is the same, its curve is as regular, and it has resisted as successfully the shocks and decay of time.

In the defile of Xerokambos is another curious ruin, which proves that the Greeks occasionally made use of cement in their constructions. In most instances, their stones were bound by no artificial tie, and were so nicely chiselled and squared that mere juxtaposition was quite sufficient. But in the cistern of the fortress of Peleginriatza, the stones are all joined by a very hard cement, making the reservoir perfectly water-tight. On the external surface of the wall of this cistern, not only are

the blocks beautifully bevelled, but there are projecting blocks from each separate course, arranged in the form of steps, by which one could ascend from the ground to the top. On the top of the cistern was a roof of tiles, as the fragments scattered around still conclusively show.

Stratos, the greatest city of Acarnania, according to Thucydides, justifies its former renown in the remains of its towers, its temples, and its theatres. A double line of fortified wall guarded the inner enclosure; and the fluted columns of more than one house of the gods bear evidence that the people were religious. M. Heuzey gives two funeral inscriptions which he found on this site. From the ruins in the defile of Aetos we can easily understand how Agesilaus could find such difficulties in driving back the handful of mountaineers which defended the pass against him. In the region of Vonitza, in the northwest angle of Acarnania, mediæval ruins are profusely mingled with Hellenic remains, and modern villages, often bearing the names of Greek saints, use the ancient walls and materials. We shall not attempt even to condense M. Heuzey's researches in Agios Vasilios, which he decides to be the site of Thyrrheon, where the Acarnanian League was sometimes accustomed to meet; or in Agios Hiliias, which he believes to be the site of the Heracleia of Acarnania, while he supposes the chapel where he found painted tiles to be on the spot of an ancient temple of Apollo; or in Agios Petros, the successor to Anactorion, the commercial port of the province, near which was fought the battle of Actium; or in Kandila, the ancient Alyzia, sacred to Hercules, whose honor is attested in the beautiful bas-reliefs still remaining; or in the long valley of Dragamesti, rich at once in present possessions and in ancient monuments; or in Palæo-mani, and Matropolis; or in Cœniades and the surrounding region, in the description of which so many interesting questions of architecture are discussed. In his account of ancient monuments, M. Heuzey shows himself to be a sharp observer, a sagacious judge, and a critic without prejudice.

The volume from which we have drawn most of these details is one of those fruits of travel which have done much in these latter years to give France its eminent place in works of this kind. It is a region almost unknown to modern geographers

and tourists which the perseverance of this scholar has opened. What M. Langlois has done for Cilicia and the Cydnus, M. Heuzey has done for Acarnania and the Acheloüs. Archæologists now, in visiting Greece, will not be content to omit from their survey a part which is so rich in historical monuments, and so free from the ordinary annoyances of Grecian travel. Some particulars M. Heuzey has neglected to give, which we should have been glad to know. He has not even estimated the numbers of the Acarnanian people, or the value of their trade, or the character of their worship. There are many things yet to be learned in that hospitable land, by one who can master the dialect and will mingle freely with the people. We have yet to find confirmation of the averment of Pliny, that there are mines of iron under the soil, or of the later conjecture, that copper is in the rocks, and coal in the hills. The curious windings of the Acheloüs, the father of waters in ancient Hellas, are yet to be minutely described, as is also that singular structure of coast, by which the land slopes inward, and the highest mountains are nearest to the sea.

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- ART. VIII. — 1. *Select Remains of the* REV. JOHN MASON. 12mo. pp. 252.
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Boston : American Tract Society.

THE line which divides the races of men into civilized and barbarous or semi-barbarous is distinct and universally recognized. The Christian nations are unlike all the others in their intellectual, political, social, and moral life. Nor can there be a reasonable doubt as to the cause of this difference. On the one side are found the Christian teacher, a Christian literature, and Christian institutions ; on the other, the instruments and elements of civilization are not known. The Bible lies at the basis of the one form of society ; the Koran, the Shaster, or an unwritten Fetichism, is the foundation of the other.

As Christianity is not the product of the human mind, but a system revealed through the writings of a limited number of inspired men, there is a manifest necessity for some provision by which it may reach the eye and the ear of each generation and of each individual. For the purpose of teaching by the ear, a class of living instructors is provided. For the purpose of teaching through the eye, the Church was for ages dependent upon the slow process of writing, and consequently on a very limited multiplication of copies of the Scriptures and religious essays. This, however sufficient for the days of her pupilage, and however adapted ultimately to the purposes of a hierarchy who regarded the Church as their heritage and ignorance as the mother of devotion, was not sufficient for the purposes of the Head of the Church. Truth — the peculiar, sublime revelations contained in the Christian Scriptures — must go forth to the ends of the earth, accompanying every life-giving breath of heaven and every quickening beam of the sun. The prayer of the Apostle must be answered, that “ the Word of the Lord may have free course and be glorified.” Its inspiring power

must be felt alike in the palace and in the hut. The people must be instructed in the character and will of their God and Saviour. The invitations and promises, the warnings and reproofs, of the Word of Life, must reach every human being. The command of the Master is, "Preach the Gospel to every creature"; and where the means of preaching it to the ear are not possessed, it must be preached to the eye.

But for this end the press had become indispensable. The wants of the world called for this boon from the "Father of lights," from whom "every good gift cometh down." And, as if to mark the chief design of its beneficent donor, the first product of the press, when, in 1450, Gutenberg, Faust, and Schöffer had brought it to sufficient perfection to print a large book, was the Latin Bible. But, like every other gift of Divine Goodness, the printing-press has been perverted; becoming the instrument of error as well as of truth, of evil as well as of good; employed alike by the Reformers and the Encyclopedists, the friends and the foes of Christianity.

It was probably in the middle of the seventeenth century that the first institution was organized to publish and distribute religious books, not for private profit, but with reference solely to the public good. In 1647 the British Parliament incorporated "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," a subordinate design of which was the preparation of a Christian literature. In 1798 the London Religious Tract Society was instituted, — manifestly a result of the successful efforts of Hannah More and her associates to prepare and distribute among the poor of England a series of attractive religious essays. These "Cheap Repository Tracts," followed by "The Village Tracts" of Rev. George Burder and the Rev. Samuel Greathead, and then by the London Tract Society, formed an epoch in the history of this great branch of Christian enterprise. In every Protestant state of Europe, in Asia and Africa, tract societies have, since that day, been organized. To furnish a basis on which to found a conjecture of the work accomplished by these institutions, we may state what have been the definitely ascertained issues from the three leading societies. The London Tract Society has issued, in 114 languages, 6,350 distinct publications of various sizes; making a total of

819,000,000 copies of books and tracts in sixty years. The two American Tract Societies have together issued, since 1814, 3,512 publications, amounting to 260,477,394 copies.

In 1814 the American Tract Society was formed, and was incorporated in 1816, under the title of the New England Tract Society; the name being afterwards changed. In 1825 it formed a connection with a kindred institution just formed in the city of New York. It may be needful for the better understanding of subsequent events to state here, that the Society in Boston, in forming this connection, retained its charter, continued to collect its funds within its own district, embracing the four Northern New England States, and distributed the publications of the New York Society within that district; — having its representative on the Committee of Publication in New York; directing the course of all its own funds; simply accepting the publications of that Society, and making it the channel of contribution to foreign lands, and of sustaining colporteurs, or book-hawkers, throughout the United States. Nothing could be more harmonious than the relations of these two institutions for a series of years. But this harmony was at length disturbed, as everything else in our country has been, by the increasing divergence of feeling between the friends and the opponents of slavery. The policy of the gentlemen in New York became, to say the least, so tolerant of Southern prejudices and dictation, as to reach a point at which separation from them by the Northern and Western churches became inevitable. They not only refused to publish a line that would reprove slaveholding, or expose its enormous wrongs; they not only expurgated antislavery sentiments from many of their books; but they assumed also the ground, which they have now abandoned without explanation, that the Constitution of the Society forbids the publication of anything to which “all Evangelical Christians” would not give their assent. When this principle was indorsed by the majority at the annual meeting of the Society in 1859, in reference to the subject of slavery, the Boston Society determined to dissolve all connection with it, and to resume the work of publication which it had intermitted since 1825.

We have taken frequent occasion in our book-notices to

express the interest with which we regard the present operations of this Society. It is at once an index and an instrument of the Christian civilization of our country, an honor to the nation, and a strong bond of union between inhabitants of the Eastern and Western sections of the Republic. But we are particularly interested in observing it as testing and illustrating, during the brief course of its separate action, some principles of great importance in the sphere of Christian philanthropy.

Confining itself to a strictly Christian, or exclusively religious literature, and to the limits recognized by the denominations it represents, it has entered upon the noble work of presenting the precepts and instructions of Christianity in the most attractive form consistent with fidelity to the pure and unworldly spirit of that heaven-descended system. Already an admirable series of juvenile books has been issued; the substance and the form of which secured for them an immediate and extensive demand. While it is evident that no one mind, nor any combination of minds of the same type of thought, is competent to mould the literature of a people, or of any class of readers, yet it becomes every Christian man, by personal and associated effort, to do something in that direction.

Through its officers, this Society, now rejuvenated, has set itself in earnest to this sublime task, — to do its part in this noble work. It has undertaken, so far as in it lies, to employ the press for its highest purposes; to expel a corrupt literature, not so much by opposing it, or its evil promoters, as by elevating the public taste, especially the taste of the young. Avoiding the folly of discarding all fiction, its directors have undertaken to discover the legitimate uses and true limits of imaginative writing, and to employ it accordingly. The imagination is a part of man's original constitution, and may be made most conducive to nourishing the highest form of character and life. Shunning all extravagant representations of men or things, and all false ideas of the sources of happiness; declining to cater for the indolence that merely seeks excitement without voluntary thought; treating with reverence the immortal nature of man, even in the first stages of its development; keeping in the author's, even where not



presented to the reader's notice, the grandeur of the human spirit and its destiny; aiming to cast a healthful sunshine over life, and yet to recognize its sternly disciplinary features, to unfold the grand but hidden powers of the soul, to present a lofty standard of character, to show the true end of life, to present the great Pattern God has given us, to hold Christ up as the Saviour by sacrifice, by example, by teaching, by intercession, and government, — these are the aims it proposes to itself. It has already begun to issue a valuable series of publications designed "to lead through nature up to nature's God" by exhibiting to the youthful reader the manifestation of the Divine attributes in the mechanism and uses of the material universe. The form of the books corresponds with the contents, good taste marking all the issues from this Society; and freshness and brightness are stamped on all the products of their press. It has already tested the European method of charitable publication, as contrasted with that pursued by the prominent institutions of our country.

When tract and Bible societies commenced their operations, it was natural that their founders should make the cheapness of religious books a prominent object. Hence "selling at cost" was, and still is, the ideal with many. But there is at wofold illusion in this. No society does sell at cost; and it were not a desirable policy if it should do so. When a book is sold at retail for one dollar, and at wholesale for eighty cents, or twenty per cent discount, either the dollar must bring a profit or the eighty cents a loss; for the book did not cost both eighty cents and one dollar. To this it might be answered, that the aggregate products of the sale of a large number of the books equal their aggregate cost. Before we can accept this explanation, however, we must see the method of computing the cost of publishing; for there is room there for making very many erroneous calculations. But we chiefly would insist on knowing how the Society in New York came to have a capital so large as it now has, if it has in the aggregate made no profits, or made no investments in bricks of what was given to be distributed in books. The Society owns a building, stock, and machinery estimated at \$478,890. Of this amount, \$75,852 must be excepted from

the fund for distribution, because this sum was given, by those who had a perfect right so to do, not to publish tracts, but to purchase a house and machinery. This leaves \$403,038, both to be accounted for, and also to affect the cost of books, since the interest of this sum, which in New York is more than twenty-eight thousand dollars, should be reckoned in estimating the cost of books. But if that money has not been made by profits on sales, then benevolent men must have given it to secure the circulation of books. If so, it has not reached its destination ; for it is now there in Nassau Street, turned into bricks and machinery, and not scattered abroad in the form of books among the people. To us there seems to be scarcely room to doubt that a large part of that more than four hundred thousand dollars is the result of selling books *above cost*. We speak, then, of an illusion, because the gentlemen who superintend this work are above the charge of an intentional misrepresentation. And the more we examine the subject, the more difficult it seems to us for a publisher to say exactly what any book costs him. Whoever is interested in pursuing the subject may make his own calculations. He pays two hundred dollars for the copyright of a book ; his plates cost five hundred dollars. Now what part of that five hundred dollars shall be charged on each copy ? To settle this accurately would require elements in the calculation which he does not possess, such as these : how much will the plates be worth as metal when the book ceases to be in demand ? and how many copies are going to be sold ? The latter question is essential, because, if only five hundred copies are to be sold, each copy must be assessed one dollar for the plates alone ; if a thousand are to be sold, it reduces that part of the cost of each copy to the amount of half a dollar ; and so on, in proportion.

But, putting this difficulty aside, we must inquire, Where is the propriety of organizing an institution on the principle of soliciting money from the poor to sell books cheaply to the rich ? Let us put a strong case, to test the principle. A millionaire enters your depository, and inquires for a book. He is surprised at its cheapness, and inquires how you can afford to sell it so much below the ordinary prices of the trade. The

reply is, "When our agent made a collection of moneys for us last week, one poor woman gave us ten cents; another, five; and by this means we can afford to sell you this book at so low a rate." Nor can this description be inapplicable to the case, except on one of two conditions; — either that a distinction be made between selling to those possessed of a competency and selling to the poor, or that commerce and charity be so separated that the money given by benevolence be sacredly returned in grants to the needy, and not used in cheapening books for promiscuous purchasers, — neither of which courses is pursued by the societies we have named.

Now a fundamental principle adopted by the Boston Society is this very separation of business from benevolence, of commerce from charity; and the application to each of its own peculiar rules and methods. Nor does it require a very practised eye to discern an important difference in the form of the financial statements made, on the one hand, by the Bible Society and the New York Tract Society, and, on the other, by the London and Boston Tract Societies. That the money of all these institutions is honorably expended, we have not the shadow of a doubt. It is not men we are now examining, but systems, — methods of charity. But the financial reports of the two former societies are very unsatisfactory.

Assuming the appropriate work of a religious tract society to be the gratuitous distribution of books to the needy at home, and the expenditure of funds to print and distribute them in foreign lands, we find the New York Society reporting \$934,572 given, in return for \$2,160,715 received as donations and legacies in thirty-two years.\* Here is less than 43 per cent returned in the legitimate results of their operations, as we regard them. On the other hand, the Boston Society in four years has received \$145,996 in donations and legacies, and has given away \$93,671; making a return of more than 64 per cent. And since it has begun to make colportage a purely commercial operation, and to consider its expenses as chargeable to business, the result is that charity pays none of the expenses of business. The Boston Society appears to us

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\* See Report for 1857.

also to have taken the most eligible position in reference to the whole body of book makers and venders. That the trade should look very unfavorably on an institution designed to interfere with their interests by underselling them, is not unlikely, whether justifiable or not; but when it is understood that publishers and printers are to be called upon to contribute money to aid an institution in depressing the prices of the products of their industry and skill, we see not why they should not hesitate to contribute, and look with dissatisfaction on others contributing to such an end.

It may be said, "These are selfish, personal interests set up against a great public benefit." Is that the case? We reply, that seeking an honest livelihood is not selfish; and Christianity does not demand a form of charity that discourages it. We admit that any number of benevolent men have an entire right to say, "We will organize a society for the purpose of making good books cheaper than they now are." But when these persons come to see certain evil results which were not anticipated, they should pause and examine their position, and inquire whether they are not injuring the trade, as well as arraying this body of men against them. If they are, one of two courses is before them: either they must frankly avow themselves reformers of the trade, and then cease to ask the publishers to contribute, or they must confine themselves to issuing only such books as the trade are not likely to publish. But are there not very serious objections to a society professedly unsecular or purely religious in its objects making the reformation of prices a prominent part of its policy? Is it not constructively a conspiracy, somewhat resembling a "strike," to organize an institution in which, by making a common purse to sustain the various agents employed, you may compel men of that trade to forego a living profit? Is not the whole movement, however well intended, however limited in its operations, yet in its nature in entire antagonism to the very existence of commerce?

The Society in Boston have adopted the policy at present pursued by the London Tract Society; the history of which is very instructive on the question before us. From 1799 to 1824 that institution undertook to "sell at cost." In that

quarter of a century they received £ 32,405 from charity, and gave to the needy £ 12,247 ; thus making it cost nearly two pounds to give away one. In 1824 they adopted the policy of separating business from charity, selling their books at profitable rates, and giving away books to the needy as far as charity would pay for them. Instead of paying three dollars of charity's money to give away a book worth a dollar, they have reached the following result. From 1824 to 1859 they received £ 234,504, and gave away in gratuities £ 259,096. Thus, as we see, the manufacturing and commercial department pays all its own expenses ; charging not a farthing to charity for twine or insurance, for clerks or colporteurs, for secretaries or rents, nor even for the cost of collecting the very funds of charity ; paying all the expenses of both departments, and then itself contributing to the charitable fund £ 24,592, or \$ 122,000, being more than one tenth of the sum which was contributed by the public ; — while the New York Society, acting on the opposite policy, has been locking up four hundred thousand dollars in bricks and machinery, and paying back to the needy less than one half of the two million dollars put into its hands by the benevolent, solely for the purpose of gratuitous distribution.

What are the results of the wiser policy, as shown by the four years' experience of the Boston Society ? First, as the distribution of the books is one great end of the institution, it has opened a new and wide channel for this religious literature through the book trade. Secondly, it has secured extensively the favor of book and newspaper publishers. Thirdly, this has involved a very rapid increase of business and profits. Already it has established commercial connections with Canada and the Pacific States, South America and Australia, and is constantly forming new connections with publishing houses and booksellers throughout the loyal States. In this it has departed entirely from the old practice of establishing depositories and making consignments ; the result of which for years has been a great accumulation of damaged books on booksellers' shelves, or in depositories, or returned to the Society ; of books lying long unpaid for, and interest lost, together with the cost of rent for the depositories ; the Bible Society

making an allowance last year of \$18,000 on this account. Every increase of the Boston Society's business has been a *bona fide* response to an order, and already the government of Canada has become a standing customer, sending regularly and often for their books to distribute through the public schools of the country.

The following figures may indicate the progress in the business department:—

Before the separation from the New York Society the Boston Society received in four years, from sales, . . .	\$150,815
In four years after the separation, . . . . .	180,000
Before the separation they circulated in four years, in books, . . . . .	168,000
Since the separation, . . . . .	270,000
Just at the time of the separation they were circulating religious newspapers per year, . . . . .	1,444,000
They are now circulating at the rate of (copies per year), . . . . .	3,000,000

The profits on the business have secured a striking diminution of the tax on charitable funds. Some have complained of the present state of separation as increasing the cost to charity, by requiring the support of two administrations. These persons forget one fact, and are unaware of some others. They forget that there were two administrations before the separation, and would be if there should be a return to its former connection; and they are not aware that before the separation the Boston administration taxed charity to the amount of \$26,804 in four years; but since the separation, has taxed it but \$23,000. They are not aware that this Society has reached one point gained by the London Society, that of paying all expenses from profits; and is steadily advancing to the other, of adding to the charity fund from its profits in trade.

Another fact in point is, that there has been steadily an increase of the charitable work done by the Society. Before the separation there was received into the treasury in four years, from donors and testators, the sum of \$86,724; in the four years since the separation, the sum of \$135,000;—making this difference, that before the separation it required the sum of \$26,804 to collect and give away \$53,086; since the separation it has cost \$23,000 to collect and give away \$111,000.

We further congratulate the Boston Society on its position in regard to the colporteur system. In countries where the people generally have no access to religious books, men may properly be employed by tract and Bible societies to travel, and give or sell their books. But in this country there is a better way. We have for many years watched the operations of this system; at first with much sympathy and hope, then with distrust. Our first objection is, that the publication and circulation of books are a sufficient occupation for one institution; while the missionary work is distinct and peculiar, and, to be thoroughly done, requires the superintendence of officers devoted to that work alone. The colporteur system is also very costly. Let it, then, be regarded in either of these lights. If it is purely a missionary work, we object to it as being under the direction of a publishing and book-distributing institution. But if it is regarded as purely a book-distributing agency, it requires, first, money to make the books cheap, then money to give them away. There are two methods employed by the Boston Society, free from the objection of costliness. One is the employment of simple book-venders, without cost to the Society, who support themselves from the profits of their sales, like any other merchants, leaving some profit for the Society at the same time. Besides these, there are more than two thousand Home Missionaries; that is, a band of men organized and supported by the Eastern churches to labor in the frontier States; a band of two thousand tract-distributors, to whom a regular supply of books would be one of the most welcome aids in their difficult work; men selected by the churches for their learning and religious experience, instead of a body of men of inferior religious knowledge; men set apart by the churches to the guardianship of spiritual interests, instead of strangers; men who thoroughly know their field; men who can follow up the book by other pastoral ministrations, and make the book aid these ministrations. It is true, these laborers cannot be found in every place where our people are scattered. If, then, the colporteur had been sent only where the Home Missionary cannot go, that feature of the system would have been less objectionable. But when we hear of one colporteur for the

Bible Society, and another for the Tract Society, and another for the Sunday-School Society, even in the same county, or in the county where a faithful missionary is found, we must regard it as an unwise expenditure of benevolent funds. It is not to us a satisfactory answer to the objection of costliness, that the colporteur system combines book-vending and preaching; for even in that light, experience has shown that the temptation to the colporteur to sell the largest possible number of books takes him away from the track of the "sheep wandering upon the mountains," to labor near the denser neighborhoods where purchasers are to be found. Moreover, in order to equalize the expenditure of money on this mixed agency, there should be a division of every colporteur's expenses and salary; setting to the account of business and of missionary work their respective shares of the expenses, as determined by the time spent in each. Truly, the policy of asking a poor man to pay an agent to travel and sell a book to another poor man, still more to a rich man, cannot be defended. Just so far, then, as the colporteurs are engaged in the vending of books, there is both an unfair competition with other book-venders and an unfair use of charitable money. We mean by unfairness here, not to impeach motives, but simply to exhibit the objections to a particular system of Christian labor.

If these views are sound, they should be held up to the notice of benevolent men, that they may, as they must ultimately, modify the policy of every institution so far as it may be seen to be unwise. And every fair-minded person must welcome a candid examination of matters of so great public interest. Sudden changes in old usages are scarcely to be looked for. But no benevolent institution is so sacred that its donors may not state their objections to some features of its policy.

To pass to the more agreeable aspects of our subject, what a spectacle does this country prospectively exhibit! The rebels have appealed to God by the arbitrament of the sword to annihilate the Federal government and the unity of these States. We look confidently to God's ultimate response to the appeal. We fully anticipate his exorcising of the demons of insurrection, State sovereignty, sectional pride, and contempt for the



Puritan race. Then, what a field will open to the eye and heart and head and hand of Christian philanthropy ! Here will be three and a half million of Americo-Africans ; an annual influx of perhaps one million foreigners ; and thirty millions of American citizens to begin the new era of American history. Passing by all other agencies, see what the press alone must do. Newspapers, school-books, and other secular works, will be multiplied under the stimulus of self-interest. But who is to look after the spiritual welfare of these millions, doubling in numbers every twenty-five years ? How are they to receive the moulding of Christianity, by which alone they can be really fitted for the privileges and responsibilities of a free republic ? The increase of preachers and teachers has never yet kept pace with these marching myriads ; perhaps it never will. The Christian press has, therefore, a great part to act in the shaping of this people. As already remarked, no one institution, no institution directed by men of any special type of Christianity, can do the whole work. But there is room for each ; and more, it may be feared, to be done, than all combined will accomplish. What endeavor can possess more profound interest to a Christian heart than that of educating the six million children now in our land, — the sixty million to be here within less than a century ! We must again express the deep satisfaction with which we contemplate the plans and policy of this virtually young institution. To open to the young mind the religious teachings of Nature's volume, to show it how to read God in history, to cultivate taste in connection with the religious faculties and sensibilities, is to our view a most sublime work. The managers of this Society have started well ; may their career be prosperous ; and may all others who can, outstrip them in the generous rivalry of benevolence.

ART. IX. — *The Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George the Third. 1760–1860.* By THOMAS ERSKINE MAY, C. B. Boston: Crosby and Nichols. 1862–63. 2 vols. Small 8vo.

MR. MAY'S volumes cover one of the most important and suggestive periods of English history, and satisfactorily trace the progress of the English Constitution from the death of George II. down to our own day. In the discharge of his difficult task as the historian of events still fresh in the memory of many persons, he has made abundant use of the immense mass of printed materials relating to the earlier part of this period; and of many of the later Parliamentary struggles, his position as an officer of the House of Commons must have made him a constant and attentive witness. In respect to the fulness, accuracy, and freshness of his information on every branch of his subject, he must therefore be classed with the best historians of our age. At the same time, no well-founded exception can be taken to the fairness and impartiality with which he has treated the numerous important questions discussed in his pages. His diction, beside, has a clearness and force, and an occasional animation, which ought not to be overlooked in any statement of the merits of his work. As regards thorough acquaintance with his subject, great candor in judgment, and ease and dignity of style, Mr. May's History leaves nothing to be desired; and his labors are the necessary complement to those which have given Mr. Hallam the first place in this department of literature. In one respect, however, he is perhaps justly open to criticism. Instead of following the chronological plan adopted by Mr. Hallam, he has treated his general subject under fourteen different heads, each of which refers to some specific topic, such as the "Influence of the Crown," "The House of Lords and the Peerage," "The House of Commons," "The Press and Liberty of Opinion," "Liberty of the Subject." To such an arrangement there are certain obvious and valid objections, inasmuch as events which were closely connected with one another are separately considered, unless they happen to fall under the same division of

the History, and in some instances, as in the case of Wilkes and the North Briton, a single topic must be considered in several different chapters, and under various aspects. The difficulty of determining the exact condition of the country, and the relative amount of freedom enjoyed by the subject at any given period, is consequently much increased. On the other hand, it is certainly an advantage to be able to trace the development of the constitution and the growth of liberty in a single direction, without the necessity of traversing the whole of the broad field covered by our author's inquiries, in order to gather up all the detached notices relating to a single department of it. But waiving any further discussion of this subject, it is sufficient now to say, that for our present purpose the method and the order of topics adopted by Mr. May are the most convenient; and we gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded by the completion of his History to take a general survey of the progress of English liberty during the last hundred years. In the execution of this design it will occasionally be necessary to refer to topics which have already been discussed at sufficient length in this journal; but for the most part our remarks will be confined to those branches of the inquiry which have not heretofore been considered in our pages.\*

The first four chapters of Mr. May's work are devoted to the monarchical element in the government, as considered in its relations to Parliament and to the people. In these he traces with much fulness of detail the history of the various public transactions which have enlarged or diminished the influence of the crown, and describes the legislative enactments which have limited the exercise of its prerogatives during the minority or incapacity of the sovereign, or have determined the sources and amount of the crown revenues. In considering this part of our subject, it can scarcely be necessary to remind any intelligent reader that it was the constant endeavor of George III., throughout the greater part of his long and eventful reign, to govern as far as was possible without the aid of his constitutional advisers, and to gather around himself a body of supporters who should look to the king rather than to

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\* See North American Review, No. 177, Art. VI.; No. 182, Art. III.; No. 184, Art. IV.; and No. 186, Art. V.

his ministers as the source from which honors and emoluments were to be derived. He was by nature narrow-minded and obstinate ; and his early education, which had been much neglected, had not tended to enlarge his understanding or to render him less inclined to adhere to his first impressions of men and measures. Both from his mother, a German princess, and from his Groom of the Stole, a Scottish nobleman, he had derived notions as to the personal rights and authority of the sovereign very different from those commonly entertained in England. No sooner was he securely seated on the throne than he began to put his theories in practice by taking measures to break down that system of government by party, which, in spite of its liability to abuse, is one of the chief muniments of civil liberty. For this purpose he called to his aid a body of secret advisers, headed by his early friend and teacher, Lord Bute, and proceeded to undermine the powerful coalition-ministry of Newcastle and Pitt, which was in office at the time of his grandfather's death. At so early a period, indeed, had he determined to make himself the real head of the government, that he did not submit the draft of his first speech to Parliament to a cabinet council for revision ; and it was not without much difficulty that Mr. Pitt was able to persuade him to alter some of the expressions in it. Shortly after his accession an arrangement was made for the admission of Lord Bute into the Cabinet, as Secretary of State, in place of Lord Holderness, who retired with a pension ; and on the resignation of Pitt, a few months later, the wily Scotchman became the most important and influential member of the administration. Within a little more than a year after he entered the ministry, the Duke of Newcastle, the acknowledged head of the Whig party, was also compelled to resign, and Bute at once became First Lord of the Treasury. " Rapid had been the rise of the king's favorite," says Mr. May. " In thirteen months he had been groom of the stole, a privy councillor, ranger of Richmond Park, secretary of state, and premier ; and these favors were soon followed by his installation as a Knight of the Garter, at the same time as the king's own brother, Prince William. His sudden elevation resembled that of an Eastern vizier rather than the toilsome ascent of a British statesman." By the

breaking up of the ministry, and the elevation of Bute to the premiership, the king had gained a signal victory over one of the most powerful party combinations which had ever been formed in England, and the influence of the crown was considerably enlarged. But such was the unpopularity of the new minister, and his want of capacity, that he was soon compelled to withdraw from the dangerous position which he had gained solely by the personal favor of the king.

At the head of the ministry formed on the resignation of Lord Bute was George Grenville, a man of considerable ability, but of as obstinate a temper as the king himself, and zealously resolved to uphold the dignity and authority of Parliament. Among his associates were many of "the king's friends," as they were called, and at first Grenville was little more than the mouth-piece of that body. "The public looked still at Lord Bute through the curtain," says Lord Chesterfield, "which indeed was a very transparent one." But at length he made strong representations to his Majesty against the secret influence of the hated Scotchman; and after some ineffectual negotiations with Pitt, the king was compelled to yield to the demands of his minister, and Bute was induced to withdraw from court. This result, however, served only to give a temporary check to the growing influence of the crown, and in the end Grenville became a willing instrument to carry out the king's designs. Still his Majesty was dissatisfied, and two years after Bute's retirement he again attempted to get rid of his ministers; but in consequence of Pitt's refusal to take office, he was compelled to recall them, and to pledge himself that Lord Bute should not interfere in the management of public affairs, "in any manner or shape whatever."

A few weeks afterward a more successful attempt was made to displace them, and Lord Rockingham came into power, but on conditions even more distasteful to the king than those imposed by Mr. Grenville. Before accepting office, the new ministers insisted that Lord Bute's brother, Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, should not be restored to the management of affairs in Scotland, from which he had been recently dismissed, "and also that some of the particular friends of the Earl of Bute should be removed, as a proof to the world that the Earl of Bute should

not either publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, have any concern or influence in public affairs, or in the management or disposition of public employments." How faithfully the king adhered to his implied promise not to consult Lord Bute is somewhat doubtful; but it is certain that the court influence was more than once used against the ministers, who soon found that they must encounter what Burke happily calls "an opposition of a new and singular character,—an opposition of placemen and pensioners." At length, after holding office for less than thirteen months, they were summarily dismissed; and the feeble ministry of the Duke of Grafton came into power, to be followed a few years later by the more famous ministry of Lord North.

Throughout the period in which Lord North was nominally at the head of the administration, the king was virtually his own minister; and it is known that many of the worst measures of the ministry were forced on them by his Majesty against the better judgment of the premier. "The king," says Mr. May, "not only watched how members spoke and voted, or whether they abstained from voting, but even if they were silent when he had expected them to speak. No 'whipper-in' from the Treasury could have been more keen or full of expedients in influencing the votes of members in critical divisions. He was ready also to take advantage of the absence of opponents. Hearing that Mr. Fox was going to Paris, he wrote to Lord North, 15th November, 1776, 'Bring as much forward as you can before the recess, as real business is never so well considered as when the attention of the House is not taken up with noisy declamation.' " It was under these circumstances that Burke brought forward his celebrated scheme of economical reform for "the reduction of that corrupt influence, which is itself the perennial spring of all prodigality and all disorder," and that the House of Commons adopted Dunning's still more famous resolution, "that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." The passage of this resolution was the first successful step in a struggle which resulted two years later in the overthrow of the ministry. Once more the influence of the crown was checked, after reaching a height which threatened to de-

stroy entirely the balances of the Constitution ; and the king was forced to call to his counsels the victorious leaders of the Opposition. It formed no part of his intention, however, to retain them in office any longer than the immediate exigency required ; and of this, as well as of his personal ill-will toward them, the new ministers were fully aware. " Provided we can stay in long enough to give a good stout blow to the influence of the Crown," Mr. Fox wrote to one of his friends, " I do not think it much signifies how soon we go out after." Their tenure of office was even shorter than they had anticipated ; and on the death of Lord Rockingham, in a little more than three months after his acceptance of the seals, the ministry fell in pieces. Their successors, at the head of whom was Lord Shelburne, Fox's rival in the late Cabinet, were for the most part disposed to yield to the king's prejudices, and to carry out the policy which he had so much at heart ; but they were speedily driven from power by the memorable coalition between the Rockingham Whigs and the party of Lord North, and the struggle between the " king's friends " and their opponents was at once renewed.

The triumph of the Coalition was a heavy blow to the influence of the crown ; but their overthrow, by means of what Mr. May justly calls " a bold and unscrupulous plan," was a not less signal victory for the king. This victory was rendered secure by the subsequent success of the younger Pitt in his protracted contest with a hostile House of Commons ; and not only during the long ministry of Mr. Pitt, but even down to the time of his last attack of insanity, the king exercised a preponderating influence in the government which was seldom or never successfully resisted. It was seen in the persistent exclusion of Mr. Fox from offices which he would have adorned by his splendid talents ; in the personal interference of his Majesty in the details of administration ; in the sudden dismissal of the Grenville ministry in 1807 ; and in the failure of nearly every attempt to render justice to the Catholics ; and its apparent triumph forms one of the most striking features in the constitutional history of this reign.

During the last half-century the influence of the crown has relatively declined ; and, though it is in some respects greater

now than at any previous period, it is so far subordinated to the influence of Parliament, and is so much controlled by the press and public opinion, that no sovereign would venture to adopt the policy steadfastly pursued by George III., so long as he had the free use of his mental faculties. In only two or three instances since his time has any attempt to extend the influence of the crown beyond its legitimate bounds been successfully made; and the failure of George IV. to obtain a divorce from his unfortunate wife, or even to secure the enactment of a Bill of Pains and Penalties, showed very plainly how much that influence had declined since the time when George III. caused the defeat of Mr. Fox's India Bill, and retained Mr. Pitt in power, in spite of the adverse votes of the House of Commons. On one memorable occasion, indeed, William IV. made a successful use of his personal influence to procure the assent of the House of Lords to the passage of an important measure which they had twice before rejected, and to which a majority of the members were still strongly opposed. In the midst of the intense excitement of the Reform agitation of 1832, he commanded a direct application to be made to the Opposition peers, without the knowledge of his ministers, and by this means he insured the passage of the third Reform Bill through the upper House.\* Two years afterward he placed himself in opposition to the House of Commons by the dismissal of Lord Melbourne; but when the result of the general election showed that the country was averse to the recent change of ministers, and that the government could not be carried on by the Tories, the king yielded, and the Whigs

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\* The letter by means of which this result was produced is so suggestive, that it well deserves to be quoted in full:—

“MY DEAR LORD,—I am honored with his Majesty's commands to acquaint your lordship, that all difficulties to the arrangements in progress will be obviated by a declaration in the House to-night from a sufficient number of peers, that, in consequence of the present state of affairs, they have come to the resolution of dropping their further opposition to the Reform Bill, so that it may pass without delay, and as nearly as possible in its present shape.

“I have the honor to be, &c.,

“HERBERT TAYLOR.”

The Opposition were not slow to take the hint, and when the question next came up, the Duke of Wellington and about one hundred other peers rose and left the House.



were restored to power. Shortly after the accession of Queen Victoria, an instance occurred in which the prerogatives of the crown were once more used against its constitutional advisers in such a way as seriously to interfere with the harmonious working of the machinery of government. This was in the famous "Bedchamber Question," when her Majesty, acting under the ill-considered advice of Lord Melbourne, refused to dismiss certain ladies of her household, in accordance with the just demand of Sir Robert Peel, who had been intrusted with the duty of forming a new ministry. In consequence of the queen's refusal, that great statesman declined to undertake the conduct of the government, and the Whigs returned to office, although they were in a minority in the House of Commons.

In passing from the influence of the crown while the sovereign is in full health and vigor to its prerogatives during the minority or incapacity of the monarch, the only important topics which demand our notice are connected with the debates on the regency question, and particularly with those which took place on occasion of the king's second illness in 1788-89, and of his last illness in 1810. When George III. was attacked with insanity at the first of these periods, two distinct theories as to the rights and duties of the Regent were brought forward, — one by Mr. Fox and Lord Loughborough in behalf of the Whigs, the other by Mr. Pitt in behalf of the ministers. By the former it was maintained that the Prince of Wales had a natural and indefeasible right to assume the office of Regent, subject only to the decision of Parliament as to the time when he should begin to exercise its functions; by the latter it was asserted that the prince had no better right to the office than any other person in the realm, and that it was the duty of Parliament not only to decide when there should be a Regent, but also to select the proper person for the office, and to determine what powers should be intrusted to him, and under what restrictions he should be placed. It is perhaps needless to add, that the opinions of both parties were largely affected by a regard to their own interests, since it was openly avowed that the first act of the Prince, on coming into power, would be the dismissal of his father's ministers,

and the elevation of the Whigs. To such an extent, indeed, were the two parties influenced by this consideration, and to such extreme statements did the leaders push their theories, that a great authority of our own age, Lord John Russell, has not hesitated to say that "the doctrine of Mr. Fox, the popular leader, went far to set aside the constitutional authority of Parliament, while that of Mr. Pitt, the organ of the Crown, tended to shake the stability of the monarchy, and to peril the great rule of hereditary succession." The debates on the resolutions and bill brought forward by the ministry to meet the exigency are among the most important that occurred during the reign of George III.; and the struggle between the two parties was protracted for several weeks. But, supported by a large majority in Parliament and by the general sentiment of the country, Mr. Pitt was able to overcome all resistance, and his Regency Bill had passed through nearly all its stages when the sudden recovery of the king rendered further proceedings unnecessary, and the bill was dropped. The results already reached, however, had established certain important precedents, which were followed on occasion of the king's last attack, and which must be regarded as definitively settling the law on this subject.

Omitting any discussion of the topics embraced in Mr. May's chapter on the Civil List, we come now to his chapters on the two Houses of Parliament and their relations to the crown, the law, and the people. As he well remarks, no institution in the state has undergone greater changes than the House of Lords; and "in its numbers, its composition, and its influence, it is difficult to recognize its identity with the 'Great Council' of a former age." At the accession of Henry VII., the whole number of temporal peers summoned to Parliament was only twenty-nine; but so rapidly were the ranks of the peerage recruited, that, at the accession of George III., the number had increased to one hundred and seventy-four. Since that time, this body has increased with even greater rapidity; and, according to our author, "in 1860 the House of Lords consisted of four hundred and sixty lords, spiritual and temporal. The number of hereditary peers of the United Kingdom had risen to three hundred and eighty-five, exclu-

sive of the peers of the blood royal. Of these peerages, one hundred and twenty-eight were created in the long reign of George III., forty-two in the reign of George IV., and one hundred and seventeen since the accession of William IV. Thus two hundred and eighty-seven peerages have been created or raised to their present rank since the accession of George III., or very nearly three fourths of the entire number. But this increase is exhibited by the existing peerage alone, notwithstanding the extinction or merger of numerous titles in the interval. The actual number of creations during the reign of George III. amounted to three hundred and eighty-eight, or more than the entire present number of the peerage." This remarkable increase in the number of its members is not, perhaps, the greatest or the most important change which has been effected in the character or composition of the House of Lords. It is no longer a body composed exclusively of the landed aristocracy, or of men whose chief merit is their descent from a long line of titled ancestors; but its numbers have been swelled by creations on account of distinguished public services in the army or navy, or in important diplomatic missions, as the highest honor to the great lawyer or the more famous historian, and in some instances in recognition of the well-earned success of the opulent merchant or manufacturer. Peers thus created have all the hereditary privileges and immunities of the most ancient lordship. But by the union with Scotland and Ireland a new element was introduced into the House of Lords by the admission of representative peers; and in 1856 an unsuccessful attempt was made to change the character of the House still further by the creation of peers whose title should terminate with the death of the person thus elevated. This proposed innovation filled the peers with alarm; and, after a very learned and able debate, the House of Lords, by a considerable majority, referred the question of admitting Lord Wensleydale, a peer thus created, to the Committee of Privilege, who reported against his right to a seat, either under his letters patent or under his summons to attend. The issue thus produced between the crown and the House of Lords was compromised by making Lord Wensleydale a peer in accordance with the

usual forms, and by the passage of a bill for the admission of two additional Law Lords, without remainder to their heirs. With these exceptions, the Upper House is still composed of a body of hereditary legislators.

In considering the question whether the influence of the House of Lords has diminished since the passage of the Reform Bill, or is as great now as it was previously, Mr. May maintains that it was not injuriously affected by the adoption of that measure; and he adduces several instances in which the Lords have rejected bills that had passed the House of Commons. The most memorable instance thus cited is their rejection of the bill repealing the paper duties, which produced so much excitement in England three years ago, and for a time threatened to bring on a collision between the two Houses. But it is to be observed that the rejection of these bills only proves that the Upper House still exercises an independent legislative authority, and in each instance the Lords were supported by strong minorities in the House of Commons. The Reform Bill of 1832, by sweeping away forever a great number of nomination boroughs, and by creating new constituencies, diminished in a great degree the illegitimate influence which the peers had hitherto exercised over the decisions of the House of Commons; and even Mr. May admits that their inattention to business, and the smallness of the votes by which important questions are often decided in the House of Lords, have deprived that body of much of its political weight. Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to predict the result, if the Lords should again place themselves in opposition to the crown, the Commons, and the people, as they did in 1832.\*

How great must have been the corrupt influence of the

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\* In speaking of the number of peers present at the ordinary sittings of the House of Lords, Mr. May makes some remarkable statements. "On April 7th, 1854," he says, "the Testamentary Jurisdiction Bill was read a third time by a majority of two in a house of twelve. On the 25th August, 1860, the Tenure and Improvement of Land (Ireland) Bill, which had occupied weeks of discussion in the Commons, was nearly lost by a disagreement between the Two Houses, the numbers, on a division, being seven and six." It cannot be difficult to estimate the moral authority of such a vote in a legislative body composed of nearly five hundred members.

aristocracy on the House of Commons, before the passage of the Reform Bill, is well shown by a few striking statements cited by Mr. May, and which are worth repeating here. In 1780 the Duke of Richmond asserted, in a debate in the House of Lords, that not more than six thousand persons returned a majority of the Commons; thirteen years later it was alleged in a petition, that one hundred and fifty-seven members were returned by eighty-four individuals; that one hundred and fifty members beside owed their election to seventy individuals, and that of these hundred and fifty-four patrons forty were peers; and finally, in 1821, Mr. Lambton, afterward Lord Durham, stated that he was prepared to prove at the bar of the House "that one hundred and eighty individuals returned, by nomination or otherwise, three hundred and fifty members." According to another statement, cited by our author from Dr. Oldfield's Representative History, "two hundred and eighteen members were returned for counties and boroughs, in England and Wales, by the nomination or influence of eighty-seven peers; one hundred and thirty-seven were returned by ninety commoners, and sixteen by the Government; making a total number of three hundred and seventy-one nominee members. Of the forty-five members for Scotland, thirty-one were returned by twenty-one peers, and the remainder by fourteen commoners. Of the hundred members for Ireland, fifty-one were returned by thirty-six peers, and twenty by nineteen commoners. The general result of these surprising statements is,—that of the six hundred and fifty-eight members of the House of Commons, four hundred and eighty-seven were returned by nomination, and one hundred and seventy-one only were representatives of independent constituencies." While such was the state of the representation in the Lower House, it is not at all surprising that there was a constantly increasing demand for Parliamentary Reform, and that this demand was resisted to the last by those who had a personal interest in maintaining the corrupt system. The passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 is, indeed, the most important event in the history of the House of Commons for the last century; and the various measures for punishing bribery at elections, preventing the sale of seats, disfranchising revenue officers,

amending the law and the practice in regard to the trial of election petitions, disqualifying judicial functionaries, and for other purposes of a similar character, must all be viewed in their relations to this great measure, the passage of which, as we are inclined to think, prevented a revolution in England far more sweeping in its character than that which France had then just witnessed.

In other views of the matter, also, the passage of the Reform Bill has produced the most beneficial effects. It has elevated the character of the Lower House, and made it to a much greater degree than formerly a representative body ; it has promoted the cause of civil and religious liberty ; it has introduced into public life men who never could have entered Parliament in any other way ; and it has virtually transferred the chief weight in the government from the landed aristocracy to the mercantile and manufacturing interests. Its importance, indeed, can scarcely be overrated, whether we look at its probable effects on the future character of the government, or consider merely the general tendency of the recent legislation of Parliament ; for no one who is familiar with the subject can suppose for a moment that an unreformed House of Commons would have given its consent to the repeal of the Corn Laws, and to some other late enactments of lesser importance, or that the Lower House, as now constituted, will fail to represent with tolerable fidelity the general sentiment of the country.

On the other hand, no one can forget that it was by a House in which the majority was composed of nominees and placemen, that Wilkes was expelled and the rights of the Middlesex electors were invaded, that strangers were excluded from the galleries, and that any publication of the debates and divisions was strictly forbidden ; and though the rules in respect to the admission of strangers and the publication of debates were relaxed before the passage of the Reform Bill, they both originated in the same policy which upheld the system of rotten boroughs, and were continued in force long after the accession of George III. By the tacit removal of these restrictions, and by the extension of the right of representation to such places as Manchester and Leeds, and the disfranchisement of such

boroughs as Old Sarum and Gatton, the House of Commons has gained immensely in real dignity and influence. The Lower House has in fact become the chief power in the state, and by means of its exclusive right to originate all taxes, and its ability to stop the supplies, it exercises an effective control over the government. It is impossible, indeed, to make even the most superficial comparison between the relations of Parliament to the crown, the law, and the people, as they were exhibited in the reign of George III., and those relations as they have been exemplified in the reign of Victoria, without perceiving at a glance how much they have been modified in the interest of civil liberty and personal freedom.

Closely connected with the subjects which we have thus far considered is the history of party, and Mr. May has therefore wisely included in his plan a chapter on "Party," in which he traces with great ability the fortunes of the two great English parties since the accession of George III., describes the various coalitions which have taken place, and contrasts the bitter party conflicts of one period with the general fusion of parties at another. But into the discussion of this most attractive theme we cannot enter, and it will be sufficient for our present purpose to quote a part of what he says of the benefits of party, — benefits nowhere better shown than in the history of the Opposition in England from the accession of George III. to the passage of the Reform Bill. After speaking of the acknowledged evils of party, — the bitterness with which party contests are carried on, the false judgments passed on the conduct of eminent statesmen, the "vindictive animosity" with which they are pursued, the prevalence of ambition and self-interest over the highest obligations to the state, the exclusion of one half of the public men in the country from office, and the like, — he adds: "But, on the other side, we find that government without party is absolutism, — that rulers, without opposition, may be despots. We acknowledge with gratitude that we owe to party most of our rights and liberties. We recognize in the fierce contentions of our ancestors the conflict of great principles, and the final triumph of freedom." And he concludes his remarks on this topic by reminding his readers, "that an Opposition may often serve the country far better

than a ministry, and that where its principles are right they will prevail. By argument and discussion truth is discovered, public opinion is expressed, and a free people are trained to self-government. We feel that party is essential to representative institutions. Every interest, principle, opinion, theory, and sentiment finds expression. The majority governs ; but the minority is never without sympathy, representation, and hope. Such being the two opposite aspects of party, who can doubt that good predominates over evil ? Who can fail to recognize in party the very life-blood of freedom ? ”

The next branch of his subject, in which Mr. May traces the constitutional progress of England within the last century, is the freedom of the press and the liberty of public and private opinion. In no other portion of the broad field over which his inquiries extend has this progress been more marked ; and nowhere else have the rightful authority of the government and the vital liberties of the people been brought into more harmonious relations. Previously to the accession of George III. newspaper writers were in general men of narrow abilities and shameless character, who enjoyed immunity through the contempt in which they were justly held ; but when men of greater brilliancy and power began to avail themselves of this channel of communication with the public, fresh vigor was given to the means by which a corrupt administration sought to restrict the freedom of discussion. A long and often doubtful struggle between the government and the journalists ensued, which terminated in 1831 in the unsuccessful prosecution of William Cobbett by the Attorney-General ; and “ since that time,” as Mr. May remarks, “ the utmost latitude of criticism and invective has been permitted to the press, in discussing public men and measures. The law has rarely been appealed to, even for the exposure of malignity and falsehood. Prosecutions for libel, like the censorship, have fallen out of the constitutional system.” Only one other step needed to be taken in order to secure the entire freedom of the press ; and this was the removal of the various stamp and excise duties which operated as a severe check on the circulation of newspapers, and greatly enhanced their cost. After a protracted struggle, and by successive advances, the final victory was won,



by the relinquishment of the advertisement duty in 1853, and of the newspaper stamp duty two years later, and by the repeal of the paper duties in 1861. The "liberty of unlicensed printing" has been fully and fairly achieved, and now the periodical press claims to be the fourth estate of the realm, and wields an influence which can scarcely be overrated.

In the long struggle which terminated in this result there are two or three events of too much importance to be overlooked in any survey of the history of this period. The first of these is the prosecution of Wilkes and the printers of the *North Briton*, No. 45, on the charge of printing and publishing a seditious and scandalous libel. In this famous paper the writer animadverted with much severity on the king's speech at the prorogation of Parliament, and on the treaty of peace recently concluded with France; but it is now generally conceded that he kept within the bounds of a legitimate criticism, and that in all his strictures he treated the speech, in accordance with the well-established theory that the king can do no wrong, as the production of the minister, and not of the sovereign himself. "The forty-fifth number was innocent," says Lord Macaulay, "when compared with those which had preceded it, and indeed contained nothing so strong as may in our time be found daily in the leading articles of the *Times* and *Morning Chronicle*." The ministers, however, were determined, if possible, to crush their audacious adversary; and accordingly, under the authority of a general warrant issued by Lord Halifax, one of the Secretaries of State, he was arrested and conveyed to the Tower, from which he was released by order of Lord Mansfield, on the ground that his arrest was a breach of his privilege as a member of Parliament. Subsequently he was brought to trial in the Court of King's Bench, and judgment was obtained against him, both on account of the publication of the *North Briton*, and on account of a scurrilous "Essay on Woman," which he had printed for his own amusement, but not published. The printers were also convicted and fined; and so zealously did the government wage war against the press, that, according to Horace Walpole, "two hundred informations were filed against printers,—a larger number than had been prosecuted in the whole thirty-three

years of the last reign." Such an immoderate use of the vast machinery of criminal prosecution could not fail to react in favor of the unhappy printers; and though the government sometimes obtained a temporary advantage, it is certain that the prosecution of Wilkes, and the discussions growing out of it, contributed in no small degree toward the amendment of the law.

Scarcely, indeed, had the popular excitement occasioned by these transactions subsided, when the appearance of the letters of Junius in the Public Advertiser again drew attention to the political influence exercised by the press, and to the defects in the law of libel and in the administration of justice under it. It is the fashion of the day to depreciate the talents of this celebrated writer, and to speak lightly of his services in the cause of public liberty; yet it is not the less true that he is still unrivalled in a department of literature in which he had no equal in his own age, and that his writings indirectly prepared the way for the revision of the law of libel. As his name was unknown, no prosecution could be commenced against him; but on the appearance of the famous letter to the king, criminal informations were immediately filed against the printers and publishers of the paper, and Almon, the bookseller, was also put on trial for selling another journal in which the letter had been reprinted. Almon was acquitted; but in the trial two rules were laid down by Lord Mansfield, which, when logically carried out, were altogether subversive of the liberty of the press. "By the first," says Mr. May, "a publisher was held criminally answerable for the acts of his servants, unless proved to be neither privy nor assenting to the publication of a libel. So long as exculpatory evidence was admitted, this doctrine was defensible; but judges afterwards refused to admit such evidence, holding that the publication of a libel by a publisher's servant was proof of his criminality. And this monstrous rule of law prevailed until 1843, when it was condemned by Lord Campbell's Libel Act." By the second rule it was held that the only issue which a jury had the right to try was the question of publication, and that the guilt or innocence of the alleged libel was a mere question of law to be decided by the court. With his accustomed adroitness,

Junius at once availed himself of the opportunity afforded by this ruling to address to the Chief Justice a very elaborate and carefully written letter, in which he attacked the new doctrine with great severity, and poured out unmeasured scorn and contempt on its author. This statement of the law also formed the subject of animated discussions in both Houses of Parliament, in which Burke, Dunning, Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, and others took part in opposition to Lord Mansfield's doctrine. The subject was again brought forward in the following year, and the discussion was afterward frequently renewed, until finally, in 1792, more than twenty years after the commencement of the agitation, Mr. Fox succeeded in carrying his Libel Act through both Houses after a protracted struggle. By this law, which was in the nature of a declaratory act, and which was passed in opposition to all the judges and crown lawyers, the right of the jury to try the whole issue was placed on a solid foundation, and one of the chief obstacles to the entire freedom of the press was forever removed.

Closely connected with the right of the press to criticise men and measures without fear of forcible repression or of an arbitrary decision by some partisan judge, is the right of the people to form associations for political purposes; and in this respect also a marked progress has been witnessed. In the earlier part of the reign of George III. the general discontent which was excited by the expulsion of Wilkes from the House of Commons, and the memorable contest between that body and the Middlesex electors, and by other unpopular acts of the ministry, led to the assembling of numerous public meetings, and the organization of numerous societies, designed to promote Parliamentary or economical reform, or for some other political object. For a time no serious attempt was made to interfere with their operation, and through them public opinion found frequent and sometimes effective expression; but when the French Revolution broke out, many persons were seized with a sudden paroxysm of fear, and soon little regard was paid to the liberties so recently won. "Instead of relying upon the sober judgment of the country," says Mr. May, "ministers appealed to its fears; and in repressing seditious practices, they were prepared to sacrifice liberty of opinion.

Their policy, dictated by a crisis of strange and untried danger, was approved by the prevailing sentiment of their contemporaries, but has not been justified in an age of greater freedom by the maturer judgment of posterity." In order to counteract the influence of a few insignificant persons, who had become enamored of what were called "French principles," and had organized the London Corresponding Society, with affiliated societies in different parts of the kingdom, to disseminate their new doctrines as to government and property, "voluntary societies were established in London and throughout the country, for the purpose of aiding the executive government in the discovery and punishment of seditious writings or language." "These societies," says Mr. May, "supported by large subscriptions, were busy in collecting evidence of seditious designs, — often consisting of anonymous letters, — often of the reports of informers, liberally rewarded for their activity. They became, as it were, public prosecutors, supplying the government with proofs of supposed offences, and quickening its zeal in the prosecution of offenders. Every unguarded word at the club, the market-place, or the tavern, was reported to these credulous alarmists, and noted as evidence of disaffection." But the attempts to restrain the liberty of opinion did not stop here. Individuals in the middle and humbler walks of life were subjected to frequent prosecutions; and in 1795 two new laws were enacted of the most dangerous tendency. By the first, which was known as the "Treasonable Practices Act," proof of the commission of overt acts was to be dispensed with in trials for treason, the definition of that crime was somewhat enlarged, and "to incite the people to hatred or contempt of his Majesty, or the established government and constitution of the realm," was declared to be a high misdemeanor.\* By the second, denominated the "Seditious Meet-

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\* In the debate in the House of Lords on this bill, Dr. Horsley, Bishop of Worcester, exclaimed that "he did not know what the mass of the people in any country had to do with the laws but to obey them." It would be impossible to state more concisely the fundamental doctrine on which every system of absolute government must rest for its theoretical support. Dr. Horsley was so well satisfied with this exposition of his reasons for supporting the bill, that he repeated it on another day, adding, "My Lords, it is a maxim which I ever will maintain. I will maintain it to the death. I will maintain it under the axe of the guillotine."

ings Act," it was provided that no meeting of more than fifty persons, except borough and county meetings regularly called, should be held for the purpose of considering any petition or address for an alteration of matters in Church or state, or for the discussion of any grievance, "without previous notice to a magistrate, who should attend to prevent any proposition or discourse tending to bring into hatred or contempt the sovereign, or the government and constitution." These arbitrary laws were not passed without strong opposition both in Parliament and out of it; but such was the subserviency of the ministerial party, that they were carried by large majorities, and long remained among the darkest blots on the statute-book.

During the Regency the repressive policy was even more rigorously enforced than it was in the twenty or thirty years preceding that period. New enactments were proposed to remedy supposed defects in the existing laws, or to extend their provisions to new offences; and in 1819, a few months after the memorable occurrence at Manchester, called by the common people "the Peterloo Massacre," Parliament was induced to pass the famous Six Acts. By one of these acts, which are justly regarded as marking the culminating point in the long struggle between the ministry and the friends of a more liberal system, the defendant in a trial for misdemeanor was deprived of the right of traversing; by another, the court was empowered to fine, imprison, or banish the publisher of a seditious libel on a second conviction; by the third, the newspaper stamp duty was imposed on pamphlets or other papers containing news-items or remarks on public affairs; by a fourth, every meeting of more than fifty persons was prohibited, unless six days' notice had been given to a resident justice of the peace by not less than seven householders, and it was provided that no persons should be allowed to attend except freeholders or inhabitants of the county, township, or parish, under penalty of fine and imprisonment; by a fifth, the training of persons to the use of arms was forbidden; and by the sixth, magistrates were authorized, within certain limits, to search for, and forcibly seize, all military weapons. Two of these laws, the "Seditious Meetings Act" and the "Seizure of Arms Act," were designed only as temporary measures,

while the others were intended to be of permanent force ; but all of them, except the law in regard to military training, have fallen before the growing power of public opinion. Political associations may still be suppressed under existing laws, but there is little probability that those laws will be put in operation.

While the freedom of the press has thus become established, and the right of the people to meet for the discussion of public affairs, and to form associations for the promotion of political objects, has been virtually conceded, the personal liberty of the subject has acquired new safeguards, and in some respects has been placed on a more secure foundation. The immunity of the subject from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, and his right to have the legality of his detention inquired into by a competent tribunal, had long been among his most dearly cherished liberties ; but in respect to both of these rights practices prevailed which often made them little better than a mockery. Foremost among these remnants of a system which was gradually yielding to the advance of political intelligence, was the practice of arresting suspected persons under the authority of a general warrant, without any previous evidence of their guilt. The most celebrated instance in which such a warrant was issued during the reign of George III. is the case of Wilkes and the North Briton, No. 45. Immediately on the appearance of that famous libel, says Mr. May, " Lord Halifax, one of the Secretaries of State, issued a warrant, directing four messengers, taking with them a constable, to search for the authors, printers, and publishers ; and to apprehend and seize them, together with their papers, and bring them in safe custody before him. No one having been charged, or even suspected, no evidence of crime having been offered, no one was named in this dread instrument. The offence only was pointed at, — not the offender. The magistrate, who should have sought proofs of crime, deputed this office to his messengers. Armed with their roving commission, they set forth in quest of unknown offenders ; and, unable to take evidence, listened to rumors, idle tales, and curious guesses. They held in their hands the liberty of every man whom they were pleased to suspect. Nor were they triflers in their work. In

three days they arrested no less than forty-nine persons on suspicion, — many as innocent as Lord Halifax himself." When, however, the question of the legality of the general warrant was raised in court, it was decided by Chief Justice Pratt, in the Court of Common Pleas, and by Lord Mansfield, in the Court of King's Bench, that the issuing of such warrants was illegal, though it was sustained by some precedents, even since the Revolution. The subject was also discussed in Parliament, and resolutions were carried through the House of Commons, condemning general warrants for the seizure of either persons or papers as illegal. To give additional effect to this important vote, a declaratory bill was soon afterward introduced and passed in the Commons, but was defeated in the Upper House. The decision of the courts and the action of the Commons, however, had fully vindicated the cause of public liberty; and since that time general warrants have been numbered among the disused weapons of arbitrary power.

Even more important to the subject than this immunity is the protection which is secured to him through the operation of the Habeas Corpus Act. Like many other good laws, this memorable bill was passed in the evil days of Charles II., and was successfully carried through Parliament by one of the ablest and most factious of English politicians; but it has been universally regarded as one of the chief safeguards of personal and public liberty; and though it has been frequently suspended in periods of public danger or apprehension, it has never been suspended "without jealousy, hesitation, and remonstrance." As Mr. May justly remarks, "Whenever the perils of the state have been held sufficient to warrant this sacrifice of personal liberty, no minister or magistrate has been suffered to tamper with the law at his discretion. Parliament alone, convinced of the exigency of each occasion, has suspended, for a time, the rights of individuals, in the interest of the state." During the first half-century after the Revolution of 1688, when it was often a matter of extreme doubt whether the existing government would be able to maintain itself against the partisans of the exiled Stuarts, the law was several times suspended by Parliament; but after the expulsion of the Pretender in 1745, it remained in full vigor until

the year 1794. In that year Mr. Pitt brought forward a bill of the most sweeping character, for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and, in spite of the strenuous opposition of Fox, Grey, and Sheridan, he succeeded in carrying the measure through both Houses by large majorities. The Suspension Act was renewed every year until 1801, when it was suffered to expire, and a bill was brought into Parliament "to indemnify all persons who, since the 1st of February, 1793, had acted in the apprehension of persons suspected of high treason." In the course of the debate which followed, it was stated that several persons had been imprisoned for three years, and one at least for six years, without being brought to trial, and even Lord Thurlow could "not resist the impulse to deem men innocent until tried and convicted"; but the Indemnity Bill was passed, and in 1815 the Habeas Corpus Act was again suspended. Two years afterward, when the Suspension Act expired, and a new Indemnity Bill was introduced, it was found there had again been those abuses which so often accompany the exercise of irresponsible power. "Magistrates," says Mr. May, "had seized papers and arms, and interfered with meetings, under circumstances not warranted even by the exceptional powers intrusted to them; but having acted in good faith for the repression of tumults and sedition, they claimed protection." During the suspension forty-four persons had been arrested by warrant of the Home Secretary, of whom not one had been brought to trial; four had been arrested by warrant of the Privy Council, all of whom had been tried and acquitted; and forty-eight more had been arrested by warrants from different magistrates. Nevertheless, to quote the judicious language of our author, "indemnity was granted for the past; but the discussions which it provoked disclosed, more forcibly than ever, the hazard of permitting the even course of the law to be interrupted. They were not without their warning. Even Lord Sidmouth was afterwards satisfied with the rigorous provisions of the Six Acts; and, while stifling public discussion, did not venture to propose another forfeiture of personal liberty. And happily, since his time, ministers, animated by a higher spirit of statesmanship, have known how to maintain the authority of the law in England without the aid of abnormal powers."



In some other important respects, the liberty of the subject has been considerably enlarged, or has acquired new guaranties. The practice of forcibly seizing seamen and other persons by the agency of a press-gang, in order to man the ships of the royal navy, has not indeed been formally prohibited by law; but it "has been condemned by the general sentiment of the country," and so recently as 1859, a commission appointed to consider the subject of manning the navy reported "that the system of naval impressment, as practised in former wars, could not now be successfully enforced." The inhuman laws for the imprisonment of debtors during the pleasure of any vindictive creditor, against which wise men had long protested in vain, and which inspired some of the noblest pages in "The Vicar of Wakefield," were essentially modified in 1813, by the passage of an act placing the debtor under the jurisdiction of a court, and authorizing him to petition for release on filing a true statement of all his pecuniary assets and liabilities; and at length, in 1861, the whole relation of debtor and creditor was placed on its true footing by the enactment of a law punishing fraudulent debt as a crime, and abolishing imprisonment for debt in all other cases. Slavery, though existing in Scotland down to the close of the last century, and sanctioned in the Colonies until a much later period, was not recognized by the laws of England; and in June, 1772, in his decision in the well-known case of *James Somerset*, Lord Mansfield declared that slavery in England was illegal. "It was a righteous judgment," says Mr. May, "but scarcely worthy of the extravagant commendation bestowed upon it at that time and since. This boasted law, as declared by Lord Mansfield, was already recognized in France, Holland, and some other European countries; and as yet England had shown no symptoms of compassion for the negro beyond her own shores." Four years afterward a similar decision was given by the Court of Session, in Scotland; but meanwhile, and for a quarter of a century longer, the slavery of native Scotchmen was fully recognized by law. As our author well remarks, "The colliers and salters were unquestionably slaves. They were bound to continue their service during their lives, were fixed to their places of employment, and sold with the

works to which they belonged." So firmly rooted, indeed, was this peculiar institution, that when, in 1775, a petition was presented to Parliament, setting forth that "many colliers and salters are in a state of slavery and bondage," the only redress that could be obtained was the passage of an act, providing that colliers and salters beginning work after the 1st of July in that year should not become slaves, and that those who were already in a state of servitude should be set free in ten years, if under thirty-five, or in seven years, if under twenty-one years of age. Finally, within our own time, negro slavery in the British Colonies has been abolished.

In passing from the laws and customs which affect the civil or political rights of the subject, to those enactments which either directly or indirectly limit the rights of conscience, an equally striking progress will be noticed. The greatest triumph of religious liberty in England, during the last hundred years, was in the passage of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill in 1829; but as we have recently had occasion to trace at some length the successive steps by which Catholic Emancipation was won, the history of this measure need not detain us. Other measures of scarcely less importance have also been carried, though not without bitter opposition. Such, for instance, was the bigotry of the dominant party in Church and state during the American war, that a bill allowing Dissenters to act as schoolmasters was repeatedly thrown out by Parliament, and in 1792 a bill introduced by Mr. Fox for the purpose of affording relief to the Unitarians, and powerfully advocated by him, was opposed even by so great a man as Edmund Burke, and was defeated by a vote of one hundred and forty-two noes to sixty-three ayes, or more than two to one. From such a condition of things, which lasted down to the close of the reign of George III., it is pleasant to turn to one of a very different complexion. The men who had so fearlessly advocated the cause of civil liberty were not less strenuous in their support of religious freedom; and in the end a signal triumph rewarded their labors, or those of their legitimate successors. In 1811, a bill proposed by Lord Sidmouth to remedy some alleged defects in the law allowing Dissenting ministers to preach upon making certain declarations, but

which was designed, in fact, to restrain the progress of dissent, was defeated in Parliament without a division; and in the following year they were relieved from the necessity of subscribing the oaths and declarations to which their assent had previously been required. In 1813 Mr. William Smith succeeded in carrying through Parliament a bill for the relief of the Unitarians, similar in its general provisions to that which Mr. Fox had unsuccessfully advocated twenty years before. In 1858, after a struggle scarcely less memorable than that which resulted in the triumph of Catholic Emancipation, the Jewish disabilities were virtually removed by the passage of an act of Parliament allowing either House to omit from the oath of abjuration the words "on the true faith of a Christian," by means of which the Jews had been effectually shut out of the House of Commons, even though returned by great and powerful constituencies. By the passage of this act the reform was completed which had been partially effected thirteen years before, by the passage of a bill for their admission to corporations. With the admission of the Jews to Parliament fell the last of the civil disabilities by which the freedom of religious opinion had been restrained. Meanwhile, religious liberty was gradually gaining other important, though less conspicuous victories. "When Catholics and Dissenters had shaken off their civil disabilities," says Mr. May, "they were still exposed to grievances affecting the exercise of their religion and their domestic relations, far more galling, and savoring more of intolerance. Their marriages were announced by the publication of bans in the parish church, and solemnized at its altar, according to a ritual which they repudiated. The births of their children were without legal evidence, unless they were baptized by a clergyman of the Church, with a service obnoxious to their conscience, and even their dead could not obtain a Christian burial except by the offices of the Church." One by one these grievances have been substantially removed. After two ineffectual attempts to modify the existing law, — one by Lord John Russell in 1834, and the other by Sir Robert Peel in the following year, — Lord John Russell succeeded, in 1836, in passing two bills for this purpose, one providing for a civil registration of births, mar-

riages, and deaths, and the other allowing the marriages of Dissenters to be solemnized in their own registered chapels, after proper notice to a district registrar, or to be entered into as a civil contract in the presence of the registrar. Still, however, it is within the power of any bigoted clergyman of the Established Church to prevent Dissenting ministers from performing the burial service within the parish cemetery. In 1834, a bill for the admission of Dissenters to the two great Universities, which had been carried triumphantly through the House of Commons by large majorities, was refused a second reading in the Upper House by a vote of more than two to one; and it was not until the recent University reform that Oxford and Cambridge were thrown open to the Dissenters. By the passage of the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, in 1844, the Unitarians were secured in the peaceable possession of their chapels and other religious endowments, which had been endangered by several decisions of the courts and of the House of Lords. In one important respect, however, every attempt at reform has failed, and the hope of redress seems with every delay to become more uncertain. No grievance is more oppressive or annoying to the Dissenters than that of Church-rates. The first bill for the abolition of this tax was proposed in 1841, but was thrown out of the House of Commons without a division; and similar bills were defeated in that body in 1842, in 1849, in 1853, in 1855, and in 1856, by considerable majorities. In 1858 the Dissenters were more successful, and a bill for the total abolition of Church-rates was passed through the House of Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. A similar fate befell another bill for the same purpose, in 1860; and in the last two years the abolition bills were defeated in the Lower House.\*

It is not in these directions alone that the reforming spirit of the age has been exhibited. In the various municipal corporations throughout the kingdom many abuses had grown up

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\* A discussion of this question has become a part of the regular business of Parliament; and a few weeks ago the annual bill for the abolition of Church-rates was again rejected in the House of Commons, by a majority of ten in an unusually full house. There can, however, be but little doubt that the right to levy so odious a tax will be ultimately abrogated, and that the Dissenters will obtain the relief which has been so long denied to them.

with the lapse of time, which within the last thirty years have been swept away by the advance of liberal principles. By successive acts of Parliament many of the municipal rights of which the people had been deprived have been restored to them, and the municipal franchise has been thrown open to the great body of the rated inhabitants. The close corporations which formerly governed many important towns have been overthrown, and town councils regularly chosen by the rate-payers have been substituted for them. The character of these municipal oligarchies, and of the laws by which they were reformed, is well described by Mr. May in a brief chapter entitled "Local Government," and no one can read his remarks on this subject without a cordial assent to the correctness of the writer's opinion, that the Municipal Corporations Act, the first and most celebrated of these enactments, was of scarcely less importance than the Reform Bill of 1832.

The reforms which have thus far been considered are such as relate mainly to the peculiar rights and institutions of Englishmen, rather than to those of the inhabitants of Ireland or of the Colonies; but before finishing his survey of the constitutional history of England during the last century, Mr. May very properly devotes two chapters to "Ireland before the Union" and to "British Colonies and Dependencies." In the first he gives a very just and dispassionate account of the condition of Ireland at the accession of George III., and then rapidly traces the course of public events in that unhappy island down to the time of the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland, when, as he justly remarks, "a great end was compassed by means the most base and shameless." Into the history of this measure it forms no part of our intention to enter; its character and the disgraceful machinery by which it was carried have already been discussed at sufficient length in our pages, and we gladly pass from a subject which it is impossible to contemplate without a feeling of profound disgust at the shameless bribery and corruption of which we everywhere find traces.

In his next chapter Mr. May has to deal with a much more attractive theme, — the history of the Colonial System of Great Britain since the close of the American war. Passing by what

refers mainly or exclusively to the thirteen American Colonies, it will be interesting and instructive to glance for a moment at the gradual progress of legislation toward the full acknowledgment by Parliament of the right of the Colonies to all the benefits of self-government. At the accession of George III. the plenary right of Parliament to legislate for the Colonies according to its own pleasure was maintained by the great majority of English statesmen, and was expressly asserted on the occasion of the repeal of the Stamp Act; but on the recognition of American independence the doctrine fell into disfavor, though it was not expressly given up until long afterward. In 1791, Canada, which had been acquired by conquest thirty years before, and which had failed to join the thirteen Colonies in the attempt to throw off the English yoke, was divided into two provinces, and provision was made for the election of a representative assembly in each province, in accordance with the doctrine so clearly laid down by Mr. Fox, that "the only means of retaining distant colonies with advantage, is to enable them to govern themselves." Six years earlier, representative institutions had been given to New Brunswick, and in 1832 a similar concession was made to Newfoundland. By means of these grants public tranquillity was preserved until 1837, when the maintenance of British authority in Lower Canada was seriously threatened by the breaking out of a formidable insurrection. Strong measures were at once adopted by the home government to prevent the rebellion from extending to the other provinces; the provincial constitution was suspended; a provisional government was organized, with ample powers both legislative and administrative; and shortly afterward the two provinces were again united into a single colony under a Governor-General, with the view of establishing still more firmly the imperial authority. Yet so great had been the change in the opinion of the leading statesmen since the acknowledgment of American independence, that at this very moment the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, wrote that "Parliamentary legislation on any subject of exclusively internal concern to any British colony possessing a representative assembly is, as a general rule, unconstitutional. It is a right of which the exercise is reserved for extreme cases, in which

necessity at once creates and justifies the exception." Not many years after these remarkable words were written, a still more momentous change was introduced into the colonial policy. In 1847, during the administration of Lord Elgin, responsible government was fully established in Canada; and since that time the Governor-General has selected his principal advisers from the party which could command a majority in the legislative assembly, and has accepted the policy to which they were committed. About the same time the new principle was introduced into the government of Nova Scotia, and it has since become the rule in other colonies. "By the adoption of this principle," says Mr. May, "a colonial constitution has become the very image and reflection of Parliamentary government in England. The governor, like the sovereign whom he represents, holds himself aloof from and superior to parties; and governs through constitutional advisers, who have acquired an ascendancy in the legislature. He leaves contending parties to fight out their own battles; and, by admitting the stronger party to his councils, brings the executive authority into harmony with popular sentiments. And as the recognition of this doctrine in England has practically transferred the supreme authority of the state from the crown to Parliament and the people, so in the colonies has it wrested from the governor and the parent state the direction of colonial affairs."

The Australian colonies, two of which, New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, were founded as penal settlements, have shared in the general progress which has marked the history of the North American colonies. This progress in their case is due partly to the rapid increase of their untainted population and the discontinuance of the practice of transporting criminals to them, and partly to the same general causes to which the prosperity of England itself may be traced; and its most striking characteristic has been the establishment there of representative institutions modelled to some extent on those provided for Canada. In the government of India an equally momentous change has been effected; and though it is impossible to regard the law of 1858 as anything more than a temporary settlement of the relations between Great Britain and

India, no one can fail to be struck by the immense advantage which that remote dependency has derived from the various reforms introduced into the Indian administration since the defeat of Mr. Fox's India Bill. Much unmerited criticism was passed on that important measure when it was first brought forward, and the strictures of angry partisans have been repeated even down to our own time ; but it is certain that under its operation the condition of India would have been materially improved, and that its rejection was a real calamity to both India and the mother country. In some respects it would probably have been more beneficial than the bill afterward introduced by Mr. Pitt, though some of its most important features were carefully copied by him. In respect to the West India colonies it is perhaps too early to determine with certainty whether the changes introduced there must be regarded as successful reforms, or whether they will disappoint the expectations on which they were founded.

In this survey of a portion of the ground covered by Mr. May's interesting and instructive volumes, we have by no means exhausted the topics on which he bestows attention ; but we have said enough to show both the nature and extent of the progress in the recent constitutional history of England, and the estimate which we have formed of the worth of his labors in illustrating the gradual development of the popular element in the constitution and the vast improvement in the political condition of the country. The picture is one which every sincere friend of free institutions must regard with satisfaction. Old abuses in the government have been swept away ; sinecures have been greatly reduced in number and importance ; Parliament has been purified, and the power which was formerly wielded in it by close corporations and the proprietors of nomination boroughs has passed into the hands of open constituencies ; the freedom of the press has been established, and the liberty of the subject has been rendered more secure ; some progress has been made in the acquisition of religious liberty ; representative institutions have been conceded to the principal colonies ; the rigor of the criminal code has been softened ; law reform has prospered ; and in many other directions great and beneficial changes have been wrought, which must perma-



nently affect the condition of the country. Still, no one who is familiar with the abuses that at present exist, and who studies the character of the people, can doubt that the historian who shall take up the inquiry at the point where Mr. May leaves it, and carries it through another century, will have to record still more sweeping and momentous changes.

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ART. X. — *Roba di Roma*. By WILLIAM W. STORY. In two volumes. London: Chapman and Hall.

THE soil of the Campagna round Rome is not more fruitful in wild-flowers in spring and early summer, than is the soil of Rome itself in prose and verse. Under the quickening and fertilizing influences there diffused, every man of cultivation and sensibility is conscious of an inspiration nowhere else to be found; and, as Virgil's grafted tree admired the new leaves and alien fruits which art had bestowed upon it, so the pilgrim in Rome feels there a new-born intellectual impulse, which is the growth of the genius of the place, and not the spontaneous movement of the mind. The Abbé Gaume, in the Preface to his "*Les Trois Rome*," writes on this subject in a strain which few will think extravagant: "Of all journeys, the most interesting, alike from the point of view of religion, of science, and of art, is, beyond all question, that to Rome. By virtue of an exclusive privilege, the Eternal City, mysterious cement of two worlds, comprises in its monuments the whole history of the human race, under the double influence of Paganism and Christianity. As in the heavens all the planets gravitate towards the sun; as on earth all the streams flow into the ocean; so, in the course of Divine Providence and human history, all the events of the ancient and modern world converge in Rome."

The work before us is a fresh production of that fertile soil which never lies fallow, and yet never fails to reward the laborer's toil. Mr. Story has in other departments of intellectual effort done honor to himself and his country, and shown

a variety of power viewed by his friends with admiration, not unmixed with fear that his versatile energies might be wasted by diffusion, and fail of the success which concentration alone can win. Originally trained to the bar, he has paid the debt due to his profession in three volumes of reported decisions, and in two treatises, — one on Contracts and one on Sales, — which are good enough to have been written by that sergeant-at-law who denied all literary merit to Richardson's "Clarissa," because there was not a clause in the heroine's will which was correctly drawn. He has written an elaborate and interesting biography of his father. He has published two volumes of graceful poetry, the latter of which in its deeper tone and higher finish indicated marked intellectual growth, and gave assured promise of future progress. His taste and knowledge in music are beyond the common standard of amateurs. But his chosen vocation is the art of sculpture, in which he won the highest honors at the recent exhibition in London, by his noble statues of Cleopatra and the Lybian Sibyl, which were pronounced by competent judges to be, not clever reproductions of existing types, as are so many of the works of modern sculpture, but the growth of true inventive power, stamped with the seal of genius, and giving to the artist a place among that small class of sculptors who, like Michael Angelo, Flaxman, and Thorwaldsen, have breathed into the marble that individual expression and distinctive character by which creation is distinguished from manufacture. His success is no surprise to those who watched his early efforts in the art, and who have been aware of the absorbing and exclusive devotion with which, of late years, he has dedicated himself to it.

Mr. Story may esteem it as one of the felicities of his lot that he has been permitted to employ his various accomplishments in illustration of the life and labors of his eminent father. He has reported his father's decisions, edited his law-books, written his life, and carved a statue of him in marble. Is there any other instance on record where so many offerings have been laid by one and the same hand upon the altar of filial piety?

The work before us, though written upon a hackneyed sub-

ject, has a freshness and a peculiar interest, from the point of view from which the writer contemplates his theme. Most books upon Italy contain simply a record of the impressions which the traveller brings home with him. He writes in his study, with many a league of land and water between him and the scenes he describes. He fills up the chasms in his journal by consulting the books in his library. The fading lines of memory are retraced by looking at pictures and engravings. Thus his mind falls into the beaten track of speculation and description, as the wheels of a carriage fall into the ruts which former vehicles have made. What he tells us is good, but not new; and if he tries to be new, he is apt to cease to be good. His book may be learned, judicious, and valuable, but it will want freshness. It will not have the flavor of the soil.

But Mr. Story enjoys the advantage of having been for many years a resident of Rome. He has grown familiar with scenes and objects which most travellers are obliged to leave before the first flutter of feeling has subsided into composure. The bride has become the wife. The wild raptures, the tumultuous hopes, the visionary dreams, have passed away, and the calmness of assured possession has taken its place. He has established just relations between himself and the world around him. It takes a long time to become reconciled to the contrasts and discrepancies of Rome; for nowhere is there a greater difference between the right side and the wrong side of the tapestry of life. The splendors of art and the glories of history, by the exaltation of mind they produce, make the stranger more sensitive to the faulty material civilization and intellectual apathy of the present. The people are greedy and mendacious, the streets are narrow and muddy, the houses are comfortless, chimneys will not draw, windows will not open, beggars are ubiquitous, beds are suspicious, and dirt is an enemy that never knows when it is beaten. To all this Mr. Story has become accustomed; and if familiarity have dulled the edge of enthusiasm, it has also lessened the sense of annoyance.

The title of Mr. Story's book indicates its contents to every one who has been long enough in Rome to become at all

familiar with the spoken language of the people. One is hardly a day there without hearing some one use the word "roba," and he is continually hearing it in new applications. The traveller's luggage is "roba"; the washerwoman's bundle of clothes is "roba"; a tradesman's stock of goods is "roba"; a collection of antiquities, a gallery of pictures, the statues in a sculptor's studio, the contents of a wine-cart, the vegetables in a donkey's basket, — all are "roba." And thus "Roba di Roma" means anything and everything which is going on in Rome, or which there finds a habitation and a name. The difference between Mr. Story's book and most books that are written about or inspired by Rome is, that the subjects which the latter treat incidentally and collaterally form the staple and main topic of the former. Mr. Story has something to say about antiquities, art, history, the great past, but much more about the living present, and the human beings that constitute it. He has dwelt long enough in Rome to have learned and felt that there are about one hundred and eighty thousand men, women, and children there, and that with most of these the main object in life is, as it is everywhere, to get a living, and that next after this their aim is to extract from life all the comfort and satisfaction which it can be made to yield. The Colosseum, the Vatican, St. Peter's, are objects peculiar to Rome; there is nothing like them elsewhere; but their influence is more felt by the stranger than by the citizen. They enter but little into the daily life of the Roman tradesman, mechanic, or laborer. He is thinking how he shall meet his expenses, pay his rent, educate his children, confront the tax-gatherer, and lay up something for a rainy day. So it is in Boston, in Paris, and everywhere. The things wherein Rome differs from other cities are as nothing compared to those wherein it resembles them. The human heart, with its joys and sorrows, its hopes and fears, its expectations and disappointments, its passions and affections, is everywhere the same. And the value and attraction of Mr. Story's book consist in the glimpses it gives us of the actual life of the people of Rome. He takes us into the street, and shows us the wandering musicians, the beggars, the shops, the markets, and the fountains. We wander with him through the dirt and dis

comfort, the foul odors and tawdry splendors of the Ghetto, and with him we inhale the purer air and drink in the liberal sunshine of the Campagna. He tells us of the games and amusements of the people, of cafés and theatres, of masks and puppet-shows, of the fasts and festivals of the Church, of harvest and vintage, of field-sports and races, of the lottery, of births, baptisms, marriages, and burials. In short, the well-known lines of Juvenal, with the alteration of a single word, designate the contents of these volumes.

“ Quidquid agunt *Romani*, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,  
Gaudia, discursus, nostri est farrago libelli.”

Instead of passing an elaborate critical judgment upon Mr. Story's peculiarities of thought and style, or writing essays of our own upon topics suggested by him, we prefer to let our readers form an estimate of his merits for themselves, by quoting for them some of its most characteristic passages, and we do this the more readily because the work has not been republished in this country.

We begin with a correct and beautiful description of the early spring, in a land where the spring is a reality, and not merely a sudden jump from winter to summer. But we suspect that there is more poetry than philology in the suggestion that *primavera* means the first true thing.

“ Spring — *primavera*, the first true thing, as the Italians call it — has come. The nightingales already begin to bubble into song under the Ludovici ilexes and in the Barberini Gardens. Daisies have snowed all over the Campagna, — periwinkles star the grass, — crocuses and anemones impurple the spaces between the rows of springing grain along the still brown slopes. At every turn in the streets basketsful of *mammole*, the sweet-scented Parma violet, are offered you by little girls and boys; and at the corner of the Condotti and Corso is a splendid show of camellias, set into beds of double violets, and sold for a song. Now and then one meets huge baskets filled with these delicious violets, on their way to the confectioners and *cafés*, where they will be made into syrup; for the Italians are very fond of this *bibite*, and prize it not only for its flavor, but for its medicinal qualities. Violets seem to rain over the villas in the spring, — acres are purple with them, and the air all around is sweet with their fragrance. Every day scores of carriages are driving about the Bor-

these grounds, which are open to the public, and hundreds of children are running about, plucking flowers and playing on the lovely slopes and in the shadows of the noble trees, while their parents stroll at a distance and wait for them in the shady avenues. At the Pamfili Doria villa, the English play their national game of cricket, on the flower-enamelled green, which is covered with the most wondrous anemones; and there is a *matinée* of friends who come to chat and look on. This game is rather 'slow' at Rome, however, and does not rhyme with the Campagna. The Italians lift their hands and wonder what there is in it to fascinate the English; and the English in turn call them a lazy, stupid set, because they do not admire it. But those who have seen *pallone* will not, perhaps, so much wonder at the Italians, nor condemn them for not playing their own game, when they remember that the French have turned them out of their only amphitheatre adapted for it, and left them only *pazienza*.

"If one drives out at any of the gates he will see that spring is come. The hedges are putting forth their leaves, the almond-trees are in full blossom, and in the vineyards the contadini are setting cane-poles and trimming the vines to run upon them. Here and there along the slopes, the rude antique plough, dragged heavily along by great gray oxen, turns up the rich loam, that needs only to be tickled to laugh out in flowers and grain. In the olive-orchards, the farmers are carefully pruning away decayed branches and loosening the soil about their old roots. Here and there the smoke of distant bonfires, burning heaps of useless stubble, shows against the dreamy purple hills like the pillar of cloud that led the Israelites."

The month of May in Rome and its neighborhood is the loveliest of seasons, when in the flush and fulness of luxuriant beauty, soft airs, blue skies, and the flower-mantled earth put a spirit of youth and joy into every living thing. Mr. Story describes it with the feeling of a true poet: —

"May has come again, — 'the delicate-footed May,' her feet hidden in flowers as she wanders over the Campagna, and the cool breeze of the Campagna blowing back her loosened hair. She calls to us from the open fields to leave the wells of damp churches and shadowy streets, and to come abroad and meet her where the mountains look down from roseate heights of vanishing snow upon plains of waving grain. The hedges have put on their best draperies of leaves and flowers, and, girdled in at their waist by double osier bands, stagger luxuriantly along the road like a drunken Bacchanal procession, crowned with festive ivy, and holding aloft their snowy clusters of elder-blossoms like

*thyrsi*. Among their green robes may be seen thousands of beautiful wild-flowers, — the sweet-scented laurestinus, all sorts of running vetches and wild sweet-pea, the delicate vases of dewy morning-glories, clusters of eglantine or sweet-brier roses, fragrant acacia-blossoms, covered with bees and buzzing flies, the gold of glowing gorses, and scores of purple and yellow flowers, of which I know not the names. On the gray walls straggle and cluster vines, grass, and the humble class of flowers which go by the ignoble name of weeds; and over them, held down by the green cord of the stalk, balance the rent balloons of hundreds of flaming scarlet poppies that seem to have fed on fire. The undulating swell of the Campagna is here ablaze with them for acres, and there deepening with growing grain, or snowed over by myriads of daises. Music and song, too, are not wanting; hundreds of birds are in the hedges. The lark, 'from his moist cabinet rising,' rains down his trills of incessant song from invincible heights of blue sky; and whenever one passes the wayside groves, a nightingale is sure to bubble into song. The oranges, too, are in blossom, perfuming the air; locust-trees are tasselled with odorous flowers, and over the walls of the Campagna villa bursts a cascade of vines covered with foamy Banksia roses."

Here is a description of summer in Italy: —

"No, then is the time for the South. All is simmering outside, and the locust saws and shrills till he seems to heat the air. You stay in the house at noon, and know what a virtue there is in thick walls which keep out the fierce heats, in gaping windows and doors that will not shut because you need the ventilation. You will not now complain of the stone and brick floors that you cursed all winter long, and on which you now sprinkle water to keep the air cool in your rooms. The blunders and stupidities of winter are all over. The breezy *loggia* is no longer a joke. You are glad enough to sit there and drink your wine and look over the landscape. Mariuccia brings in a great basket of purple and white grapes, which the wasp envies you as you eat, and comes to share. And here are luscious figs bursting their sugary skins, and apricots rusted in the sun, and velvety peaches that break into juice in your mouth, and great black-seeded watermelons. Nature empties her cornucopia of fruits, flowers, and vegetables over your table. Luxuriously you enjoy them and fan yourself and take your *siesta*, with full appreciation of your *dolce far niente*. When the sun begins to slope westward, if you are in the country, you wander through the green lanes festooned with vines, and pluck grapes as you go; or if you are in the city, you saunter the evening long through the streets,

where all the world are strolling, and take your *granito* of ice or sherbet, and talk over the things of the day and the time, and pass, as you go home, groups of singers and serenaders with guitars, flutes, and violins, — serenade, perhaps, sometimes, yourself; and all the time the great planets and stars palpitate in the near heavens, and the soft air, full of the fragrance of orange-blossoms, blows against your cheek. And you can really say, This is Italy! For it is not what you do, so much as what you feel, that makes Italy."

Our next extract is a specimen of Mr. Story's power of humorous description in his account of one of those Artists' Festivals which annually occur in the neighborhood of Rome, and have become one of the recognized institutions of the place.

"Last year, however, at Fidenæ, it was better. We had a travesty of the taking of Troy, which was eminently ludicrous, and which deserves a better description than I can give. Troy was a space enclosed within paper barriers, about breast-high, painted 'to present a wall,' and within these were the Trojans, clad in red, and all wearing gigantic paper helmets. There was old Priam, in spectacles, with his crown and robes, — Laocoön, in white, with a white wool beard and wig, — Ulysses, in a long, yellow beard and mantle, — and Æneas, with a bald head, in a blue, long-tailed coat, and tall dickey, looking like the traditional Englishman in the circus, who comes to hire the horse. The Grecians were encamped at a short distance. All had round, basket-work shields, — some with their names painted on them in great letters, and some with an odd device, such as a cat or pig. There were Ulysses, Agamemnon, Ajax, Nestor, Patroclus, Diomedes, Achilles, 'all honorable men.' The drama commenced with the issuing of Paris and Helen from the walls of Troy, — he in a tall, black French hat, girdled with a gilt crown, and she in a white dress, with a great wig dropping round her face a profusion of carrotty curls. Queer figures enough they were, as they stepped along together, caricaturing love in a pantomime, he making terrible demonstrations of his ardent passion, and she finally falling on his neck in rapturè. This over, they seated themselves near by two large pasteboard rocks, he sitting on his shield, and taking out his flute to play to her, while she brought forth her knitting and ogled him as he played. While they were thus engaged, came creeping up with the stage stride of a double step, and dragging one foot behind him, Menelaus, whom Thersites had, meantime, been taunting, by pointing at him two great ox-horns. He walked all round the lovers, pantomiming rage and jealousy in the accredited ballet style, and, suddenly approaching, crushed poor Paris's great black hat down



over his eyes. Both, very much frightened, then took to their heels and rushed into the city, while Menelaus, after shaking Paris's shield, in defiance, at the walls, retired to the Grecian camp. Then came the preparations for battle. The Trojans leaned over their paper battlements, with their fingers to their noses, twiddling them in scorn, while the Greeks shook their fists back at them. The battle now commenced on the 'ringing plains of Troy,' and was eminently absurd. Paris, in hat and pantaloons, (*à la mode de Paris*,) soon showed the white feather, and incontinently fled. Everybody hit nowhere, fiercely striking the ground, or the shields, and always carefully avoiding, as on the stage, to hit in the right place. At last, however, Patroclus was killed, whereupon the battle was suspended, and a grand *tableau* of surprise and horror took place, from which at last they recovered, and the Greeks prepared to carry him off on their shoulders. Terrible to behold was the grief of Achilles. Homer himself would have wept to see him. He flung himself on the body, and shrieked, and tore his hair, and violently shook the corpse, which, under such demonstrations, now and then kicked up. Finally, he rises, and challenges Hector to single combat, and out comes the valiant Trojan, and a duel ensues with wooden axes. Such blows and counter blows were never seen, only they never hit, but often whirled the warrior who dealt them completely round; they tumbled over their own blows, panted with feigned rage, lost their robes and great pasteboard helmets, and were even more absurd than any Richmond and Richard on the country boards at a fifth-rate theatre. But Hector is at last slain, and borne away, and a ludicrous lay figure is laid out to represent him, with bunged-up eyes and a general flabbiness of body and want of features, charming to behold. On their necks the Trojans bear him to their walls, and with a sudden jerk pitch him over them head first, and he tumbles, in a heap, into the city.

"Ulysses then harangues the Greeks. He has brought out a *quarter-uóla* barrel of wine, which, with most expressive pantomime, he shows to be the wooden horse that must be carried into Troy. His proposition is joyfully accepted, and, accompanied by all, he rolls the cask up to the walls, and, flourishing a tin cup in one hand, invites the Trojans to partake. At first there is confusion in the city, and fingers are twiddled over the walls, but after a time all go out and drink, and become ludicrously drunk, and stagger about, embracing each other in the most maudlin style. Even Helen herself comes out, gets tipsy with the rest, and dances about like the most disreputable of Mænades. A great *scena*, however, takes place as they are about to drink. Laocoön, got up in white wool, appears, and violently endeavors to dissuade them, but in vain. In the midst of his harangue, a long string of blown-up

sausage-skins is dragged in for the serpent, and suddenly cast about his neck. His sons and he then form a group, the sausage-snake is twined about them, — only the old story is reversed, and he bites the serpent, instead of the serpent biting him, — and all die in agony, travestying the ancient group.

“All, being now drunk, go in, and Ulysses with them. A quantity of straw is kindled, the smoke rises, the Greeks approach and dash in the paper walls with clubs, and all is confusion. Then Æneas, in his blue, long-tailed circus-coat, broad white hat, and tall shirt-collar, carries off old Anchises on his shoulders, with a cigar in his mouth, and bears him to a painted section of a vessel, which is rocked to and fro by hand, as if violently agitated by the waves. Æneas and Anchises enter the boat, or rather stand behind it so as to conceal their legs, and off it sets, rocked to and fro constantly, — Æolus and Tramontana following behind, with bellows to blow up a wind, and Fair Weather, with his name written on his back, accompanying them. The violent motion, however, soon makes Æneas sick, and as he leans over the side in a helpless and melancholy manner, and almost gives up the ghost, as well as more material things, the crowd burst into laughter. However, at last they reach two painted rocks, and found Latium, and a general rejoicing takes place. The donkey who was to have ended all by dragging the body of Hector round the walls came too late, and this part of the programme did not take place.”

Here is a picture of the Campagna, in colors brilliant as its own : —

“Various as the Campagna is in outline, it is quite as various in color, reflecting every aspect of the sky and answering every touch of the seasons. Day after day it shifts the slide of its wondrous panorama of changeful pictures, — now tender in the fresh green and flower-flush of spring, now golden in the matured richness of summer, and now subdued and softened into purple browns in the autumn and winter. Silent and grand, with shifting opal hues of blue, violet, and rose, the mountains look upon the plain. Light clouds hide and cling to their airy crags, or drag along them their trailing shadows. Looking down from the Alban Hill, one sees in the summer noons wild thunder-storms, with sloping spears of rain and flashing blades of lightning, charge over the plain and burst here and there among the ruins, while all around the full sunshine basks upon the Campagna and trembles over the mountains. Towards twilight the landscape is transfigured in a blaze of color, the earth seems fused in a fire of sunset, the ruins are of beaten gold, the mead-

ows and hollows are as crucibles where delicate rainbows melt into every tone and gradation of color, a hazy and misty splendor floats over the shadows, and earth drinks in the glory of the heavens. Then softly a gray veil is drawn over the plain, the shadow creeps up the mountain-side, the purples deepen, the fires of sunset fade away into cold ashes, and sunset is gone almost while we speak. The air grows chill, and in the hollows and along the river steal long white snakes of mist, — fires from the stubble begin to show here and there, — the sky's deep orange softens slowly into a glowing citron, with tinges of green, then refines into paler yellows, and the great stars begin to look out from the soft, deep blue above. Then the Campagna is swallowed up in dark, and chilled with damp and creeping winds."

Our last extract is a picture of the Dutch school, drawn with a fidelity and truth of detail which all who have passed any time in Rome will recognize.

"Every house in Rome has a great stone trough or *pozzo*, into which a stream of water is constantly pouring with a hollow gurgle. The method of drawing water from these troughs is peculiar. From the kitchen windows which look down into the courts a stout iron wire leads to a spot above the trough. Upon this is suspended, by an iron ring and pulley, a tin or copper pail that is run down and drawn up upon this suspension-bridge by a stout rope. All day long you will hear the rattling of this apparatus, as the stout *donna di facenda* souses the pail down into the fountain with a sudden slide, and then slowly drags it back dripping and creaking to her high window. Often there are little wooden balconies built out from the kitchen window which opens to the floor, with a sloping roof of tiles to shed the rain, and in such cases they serve as the platform to which the water is drawn. They are generally very picturesque, with their pots of flowers, their brilliant carnations, their large *terra-cotta* vases, their spiring weeds that grow out of the eaves of the curved and moss-stained tiles, and the primitive shapes of the wooden railings. Here, by the half-hour together, the Roman women will lean and talk to each other across the court, and a charming picture they sometimes make, as they stand there in the sun, with a background of delicate gray walls stained by the hand of time with exquisite gradations of color.

"There is in many of the courts a large stone basin below for the washing of clothes, and all day long you will hear the song and incessant chatter and laugh of the washers. When their clothes are thoroughly washed, they are brought up-stairs, and swung out on long iron wires that stretch across the court, or from angle to angle of the houses.

Each article is fixed to little rings, and a rope running through a ring at the opposite end enables them to be drawn out one after another over the court, where they hang and flap in the air until they are dry.

“On these little platforms and balconies sturdy Juliets of the kitchen carry on mysterious communications with Romeos of the stable or garden below, and when no eye is looking they let down a cord to draw up, not a bouquet of roses, but a good stout cabbage or cauliflower, which their *innamorato* ties to it. Here in the winter the old *padrone*, in his faded dressing-gown and velvet *beretta*, often shuffles out and seats himself in the sun, and mumbles to himself, as he warms ‘his five wits’; and shall I not confess that here also I have often stood for an indefinite space of time, charmed by the varying and homely picture, and watching the fun that goes on? Nothing can be more picturesque than these views from the back windows. Here a terrace with rows of flower-pots, there a quaint balcony broken into exquisite light and shade, above, perhaps, a tall tower looking down into the court, or a *pergola* of grapes, dappling the gray floor or wall with quaint shadows; and oftentimes a garden close by, with its little dripping fountain and its orange-trees, ‘making a golden light in a green shade,’ while above is the deep delicate blue of the Roman sky, against which are cut out the crimped edges of tiled roofs. Screams of wild Campagna songs, with their monotonous drawl, pierce the air, as the self-forgetful *donna di facenda* remembers her Campagna home and rattles out on their wires her files of snowy clothes.”

The liberal extracts we have made will give our readers a good impression of Mr. Story’s peculiarities of treatment, as well as of the merits of his work. They will recognize an artist’s sense of color and a poet’s love of beauty. The amount of detail into which his descriptions run, and which might be urged as an objection against them, is a proof of the accuracy of his observation, and we can assure our readers that there is nothing in the picture which is not in the landscape. He is fond of employing as epithets and predicates words which involve a meaning, or present an image, of their own, so that we see at once a reflex or double picture; as in the expressions “nightingales *bubble* into song,” “daisies have *snowed* over the Campagna,” the “*loosened hair*” of May, “stars *palpitate*” in the heavens, “apricots *rusted* in the sun,” “locust-trees *tasselled* with odorous flowers.” Mr. Story carries this pecu-

liarity rather too far for prose, so that his style sometimes loses in simplicity what it gains in effect. When we add, that his tone occasionally comes too near being flippant, and that now and then there is a want of reverence in the treatment of sacred subjects, we believe that we have conscientiously performed the ungracious task of fault-finding.

Mr. Story is not merely a poet and an artist, but a scholar also, and his volumes contain evidence of a wide range of reading and very considerable research. The habits formed in his brief service at the bar have herein borne good fruit. Some of the notices which the work has called forth, while generously commending the spirit, freshness, and grace of the style, and the substantial merit of all that is the natural growth of the writer's own mind, have treated the learning as a species of encumbrance, rather to be endured on account of the good things which accompany it, than welcomed for its own sake; but with this judgment we cannot sympathize. We have a genuine respect for learned research, even when expended upon subjects of comparatively little importance, because of the patience and industry which such research involves. All scholarship is respectable, because no scholarship can be acquired without the exercise of qualities which are respectable. Mr. Story's chapters on the Colosseum, on the Good Old Times, on Saints and Superstitions, and on the Evil Eye, and his Appendix on the population of ancient Rome, are not, in our judgment, to be merely tolerated for the brilliancy of the descriptions and the liveliness of the sketches which may be found between the same covers; but they form in themselves and by themselves an interesting and valuable portion of the work. The armor of learning is worn with grace by so graceful a mind as that of Mr. Story. We have not found these chapters hard to read, especially that on the Evil Eye, which is full of curious learning, and takes us into that border land between the natural and supernatural into which the human mind, at all times, has been so fond of straying. We are not sure that a proper course of such reading would not leave us in a state of half belief in the superstition. Luckily the bane and antidote go together, and if you believe in the "jettatura," or evil eye, you must also believe in the talismans, charms, and de-

vices by which its fatal shafts may be warded off. Some of the stories which Mr. Story tells in illustration of his theme are quite amusing, and the scholar will welcome the whole chapter as a substantial addition to his library of books of reference.

Mr. Story's account of the lottery and other forms of gaming unhappily so prevalent in Rome, and exerting so demoralizing an influence upon the people, is more full than any that can be found in any other English work that we know of.

As we have before said, this work has not been republished in our country, which we rather wonder at, considering its intrinsic merits, and the personal and inherited claims of its author upon the regard of the American people. We hope that the lovers of good books will ere long be able to read this in an American reprint; otherwise, now that English books are so costly a luxury, the number of those who can have the pleasure of reading it must be very small. It is not at all written as a guide-book, and has nothing to say about statues, pictures, churches, and palaces; it takes up just the points which Murray leaves untouched, or only glances at; and yet we heartily advise all persons who are going to Rome, especially if they propose to remain there any time, to take it with them. It points out many matters of interest generally overlooked, and contains sundry practical hints of value to those who take apartments, hire servants, and set up housekeeping for themselves. Those who have lived in Rome will read it with delight, because of the pictures it recalls and the memories it revives; and when we have put together those who mean to go to Rome and those who have been there, we have already assembled a considerable body of readers. If it ever be reprinted here, we hope that pains will be taken to reproduce the Latin and Italian quotations with correctness. It breaks no bones to see a foreign language mangled by an incompetent compositor, but it is very annoying to a scholarly eye.

In looking back upon what we have written, we are conscious that we may have been rather interpreting the feelings which Mr. Story's book has awakened in ourselves, than anticipating the judgment of the public. In many books the reader finds more than the author has set down. As by the waving of a

magician's wand, he has caused the present to disappear, and evoked the past from the shadowy realms of memory. Pictures which were growing dim under the influence of time have been retouched by him, and glow again in their original freshness. We see once more the sun go down behind the dome of St. Peter's, and the twilight shadows settle over the "long-drawn wave" of Soracte. The pines of the Villa Doria again rear their sombre canopy in the air; and cypresses and laurels and myrtles and box-trees weave their forms into the landscape. The faint odor of the early violets darts into the soul, mingled with the caressing breezes of the spring. We see the undying roses that bloom around the graves of Shelley and Keats. The wind makes mournful music as it sweeps through the broken arches of the Claudian aqueduct. The snowy lines of the Sabine hills gleam in the morning sun. The gray oxen, the buffaloes, the donkeys, the peasants and peasant-women, the wine-carts, the ecclesiastical costumes, the beggars, the models, the artists, the *pifferari*, — the figures and objects that animate the streets of Rome and its neighborhood, — all come back again, and stand before the mind's eye with all the forms and hues of life.

"Was ich besitze seh' ich wie im weiten,  
Und was verschwand wird mir zu Wirklichkeiten."

## ART. XI. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — 1. *Paris en Amérique*. Par le Docteur RENÉ LEFEBVRE, Parisian de la Sociétés des Contribuables de France et des Administrés de Paris; des Sociétés Philadelphique et Philharmonique d'Alise et d'Alaise, etc.; de la Real Academia de los Tontos de Guisando; Pastore nell' Arcadia in Brenta (detto Melibee l' Intronato); Mitglied des Gross- und Klein-Deutschen Narrew-Landtags; Mitglied der K. K. Hanswurst-Akademie zu Gänse-dorf; Membre du Club Tarleton, à Coventry F. R. F. S. M. A. D. D., etc.; Commandeur de l'Ordre grand ducal della Civetta; Chevalier du Merle Blanc (LXXXIX<sup>me</sup> classe), avec plaque, etc., etc. *Ægri Somnia*. Paris: Charpentier. 1863. 12mo. pp. 450.
2. *The Same*. Translated by MARY L. BOOTH. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863. 12mo. pp. 373.

THE Preface to this curious piece of satire is dated at "New Liberty, Virginia, July 4th, 1862." In a magnetic sleep, which is created by the power of the "Spiritualist Medium," Jonathan Dream, Doctor Lefebvre is enabled with his wife and family to pass the ocean, to carry Paris with him, and to dwell for a season in that new American Paris. The part of America in which his domicile is fixed is the State of Massachusetts. At first, the intention of the writer would seem to be to ridicule America, its customs and its people; and there is hardly one of the thirty-five chapters that does not bring into bold relief some ludicrous feature of American life. But very soon the reader finds that it is not things American, so much as things French and Parisian, which the writer intends to satirize; that the whole book is a covert attack upon the abuses and the absurdities of French methods and the French administration. The contrast between American manners and French manners is always favorable to America; and especially is *liberty* presented as the source of all that is good, comfortable, and beautiful in life. The book is a keen and scathing sarcasm upon centralization and a despotic rule. It is amazing that the Emperor's censors should have allowed it to be published.

In all the sketches of Doctor Lefebvre there is a pervading humor, but the wit is not so sparkling as that of About or Gautier. There are often attempts at wit which fall far short of their mark. It is impossible, however, to refuse admiration to the adroitness of a writer, who manages to make the very traits which are quoted in derision of the Yankees tell in their favor and against their critics. The insolent



temper and the eager competition of our people become virtues as this observer describes them. One of his most amusing chapters gives us a speech which a boy of sixteen, who has been educated in the public schools, makes at a political meeting in behalf of his father, candidate for the office of street inspector, securing his father's triumphant election, and overthrowing all the arguments of the opposite party. For the militia system, too, that method of volunteer armies which is so strongly condemned by the military authorities abroad, our author has only good words; and he is delighted to show to a nation where worship is supported by the state how excellently well the voluntary system works in religion, and to a Church which forbids priests to marry how valuable and efficient are the wives of American ministers. The chapter entitled "The Chinaman" goes, however, a little further than any possible experience of the Atlantic coast. The argument of the pig-tailed worshipper of Fo, that in a free country he has as much right as any other man to set up his form of devotion, and that it is only fair to give the Christians the same chance of conversion that the Chinese get from the Christian missionaries, is doubtless a good argument, but one not likely to be applied. No pagoda has yet been opened in an American city, not even, we believe, in San Francisco. The Chinese bring their greed of gain across the sea, but not their priests or their idols.

Of course, the writer expatiates upon the peculiar institution of New England, the *public schools*, and finds in this universal education one of the grandest triumphs of liberty. He gives, too, a picture of a Sunday school, taking care that the ground tone shall be clearly heard. Perhaps the spirit of the volume can best be given by a specimen of the conversation in the Sunday school which the Doctor held with the pastor, after the children had gone through their exercises of song and prayer, of address and questioning,—one young girl teaching to others still younger the stories of the Bible with their moral meaning.

"This education given to infancy by youth charmed me; and I complimented the minister for it. 'But,' I added, 'I suppose that you reserve for yourself the catechism. The doctrine will risk some change in passing through these *novice* mouths?'

"'No,' said he; 'for doctrine, as for all the rest, we leave them to their teachers, only under our supervision. At eighteen years, one is not a heretic. If there is anything to fear, it is rather too much attachment to the letter.'

"'But if these young heads should really be set working?'

"'Very well,' said the pastor, 'we are here to put them on their way. Our motto is that of Paul, *Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there also is liberty*. We have no taste for the faith of the coalheaver, that credulous ignorance, which would equally sanctify a Christian, or a Mahometan, or a Buddhist. There

is in youth a spiritual crisis, as there is a bodily crisis. The hour comes when it must wrestle with the truth, as Jacob with the angel: he only is *convinced* who has been *vanguished* by the Gospel. We wish a faith reasoned out.'

" 'And *reasoning* too,' I added; 'for every one of these teachers is bound to go out from the Sunday school with the taste and mania for preaching.'

" 'So much the better,' said Naaman; 'to us every man is a priest, every woman a priestess. Why should there be in religious society less ardor and faith than in political society? Is the title of *Christian* less beautiful and less responsible than that of *citizen*?' "

" I was dumb; this style of considering religion as the common patrimony of all believers contradicted all my ideas. They told me always that the Church was a monarchy, and not a republic. As a wise man, I have left the care of my conscience and my faith to the Church which brought me up. It is not I, but my director, who is to look after my salvation. Why, then, take this useless trouble, and assume this dangerous responsibility? "

The translation is well executed. We learn from the translator that Dr. René Lefebvre is a pseudonyme for Édouard Laboulaye.

2. — *Sermons preached before his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales during his Tour in the East in the Spring of 1862, with Notices of some of the Localities visited.* By ARTHUR PENRRHYN STANLEY, D. D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford; Honorary Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen; Deputy Clerk of the Closet; Honorary Chaplain to the Prince of Wales. Published by Command. London: John Murray. 1863. 8vo. pp. xx., 232.

A VOLUME of *Sermons* "published by command" is a rare phenomenon. Royal auditors usually endure preaching from a sense of decency, but are not often solicitous to preserve the sermons they hear, or to multiply in their libraries that species of literature. Until the present reign, hardly any English monarch since the Stuarts has cared enough for the homilies of the chaplains either to heed their counsels or to praise their words. Victoria has the singular grace of loving to hear sermons, and of preferring good ones. Her choice of religious teachers has brought to the Royal Chapels men, whether in the English or the Scotch Church, who are skilled in discourse, and whose diction is as beautiful as their thoughts are large and noble. We will not say that Professor Stanley is the ablest in this company, but he is certainly the most noted. He is the only one as yet who has produced a *volume* which royal favor has consecrated, and which is dedicated to the future king of the realm, with the sincere love

which indicates, not merely the respect of the subject, but the intimacy of the friend.

This volume of Sermons has a peculiar history. It has an Appendix as long as the proper text, which at once binds together, illustrates, and secularizes the several homilies. It is the record of a remarkable journey, — of the peaceful pilgrimage to the Holy Land of the heir of that Norman Robert and that Lion-Hearted Richard who went thither as invaders, with sword and spear. It tells how to the Prince of the English realm shrines which no foot of heretic for a thousand years had profaned were thrown open, and gives the picture of the Jewish sacrifice, along with the Christian rites and the Moslem fanaticism. The Sermons are the record of the Sundays; the Appendix — which describes in succession a visit to the Cave of Macpelah, a night on the top of Mount Gerizim, with the spectacle of the Samaritan Passover, a ride through the region of Galilee, with halts at Cana, Mount Tabor, the Lake, Safed, and Kedesh, an exploration of the valley of the Leontes and of the slopes of Hermon, a visit to Damascus, Baalbec, Beyrout, Arvad, and the Lebanon Cedars, and, finally, an account of Patmos and its shrines — is a journal of the most interesting and novel week-day experiences of the tour. It is seldom that a traveller, so gifted and furnished for his enterprise, has had such facilities offered him as the author of "Sinai and Palestine," in his second visit to the sacred scenes. He has been able in this volume to supply many important particulars omitted in his former work. The sketches now given have a permanent value. It was almost worth the fatigue and expense of the journey to see with one's own eyes the celebration of the ancient Passover.

The fourteen Sermons, which make the text of the volume, are not in any sense great, unless it be in their fitness to place and occasion. They are very short, and could not in any instance have occupied more than twenty minutes in the delivery. They bear no mark of premeditation or careful study, but were evidently written from the ready memory and the easy thought of the preacher. Three of them were preached in Egypt, on the Nile, and in the great hall of the Temple of Karnak. The Pharaoh who built that house did not dream that one day the law of the tribes of his bondmen would be honored and expounded there. Four were preached in Palestine, — in the harbor of Jaffa, at Jacob's Well, at Nazareth, and by the Sea of Galilee. Three more were preached in Syria, — on Mount Hermon, in the Temple of Baalbec, and under the Cedars of Lebanon. Three were preached upon the Mediterranean, with the fresh impressions of Ephesus, Patmos, and Malta; and finally, to end the series gracefully,

the sermon at Windsor Castle, after the return of the party, is annexed to the record of the journey.

These circumstances of composition and delivery would give interest even to ordinary discourses. But these are not ordinary. The thought is simple, but very free and very wide. It is not merely illustration of the scenes and the history, but it is excellent counsel, both practical and spiritual, to the principal listeners.

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3. — *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church.* Part I. *Abraham to Samuel.* By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D. D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. With Maps and Plans. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863. 8vo. pp. xi., 572.

WE are glad to notice on the title-page of the American edition, that the new volume of Professor Stanley's Lectures on the Jewish Church is "published by an arrangement with the author." He has certainly no cause to be ashamed of the dress of his work, as it comes within the reach of the many American readers who will eagerly seek for it. The issues of the Riverside Press take rank now with the best issues of Murray and Longman in excellence of paper and beauty of typography. For suitable preparation of standard editions, New York publishers now come to Cambridge.

There is no danger of extravagance in stating the rhetorical merits of this volume. None of that grace of style, of that glow and enthusiasm and fascinating blending of colors, which charmed us in the "Lectures upon the Eastern Church," is wanting here. There is the same large range of illustration, the same wealth of allusion both to recondite historical facts and to quaint legends, the same apt use of personal recollections of the Eastern lands, the same mastery in description. As an interesting narrative of the probable fortunes of the race of Abraham in the earlier and more uncertain ages of its history, this volume is unrivalled by any in our language.

But we are not disposed, like some of its critics, to stop here with one approving word, and to blame the cowardice which has left untouched the difficulties of the history. There is no instance, that we remember, where the lecturer has tried to mislead his hearers or his readers, or to make them think that he believes more than he really believes. It seems to us wise, in a work of this kind, that critical questions, of which the results cannot be very definite or satisfactory, are avoided, and that only so much is brought in as can be arranged

in a reasonable and consistent story. It is not difficult to see that the sympathy of Professor Stanley is with the freest criticism, and he frankly acknowledges, in the Preface, that Ewald is his principal teacher. But it is an excellence of this volume, in our judgment, that it is rather narrative than critical, and that it is fit for popular use, in not raising needless questions. The important questions — those which are essential to the understanding of the story — are not evaded, but are fairly discussed; and there is no want of courage in the conclusions which the author reaches and announces.

There are twenty Lectures in the volume, besides the Introduction and the Appendix. The subjects of these Lectures are, severally, the Call of Abraham, Abraham and Isaac, Jacob, Israel in Egypt, the Exodus, the Wilderness, Sinai and the Law, Kadesh and Pisgah, the Conquest of the East of the Jordan, the Conquest of Western Palestine, the Battle of Beth-horon, the Battle of Merom and Settlement of the Tribes, Israel under the Judges, Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah and Samson, the Fall of Shiloh, Samuel, the History of the Prophetic Order, and the Nature of the Prophetic Teaching. These subjects are arranged in five groups, in order to give more roundness and conciseness to the treatment. The single lectures are of unequal interest, but we hardly know which group to prefer.

This book is precisely such a volume as the pastor of a church, or the teacher of a Bible-class of advanced pupils, can profitably use in his instructions. Its spirit and design are fairly shown in these winning words of the Preface: —

“In fact, my aim has been, not to recommend the teaching or the researches of any theologian, however eminent, but to point the way to the treasures themselves of that History on which I have spent so many years of anxious, yet delightful labor. There are some excellent men who disparage the Old Testament, as the best means of saving the New. There are others who think that it can only be maintained by discouraging all inquiry into its authority or its contents. It is true that the Old Testament is inferior to the New, that it contains and sanctions many institutions and precepts (polygamy, for example, and slavery) which have been condemned or abandoned by the tacit consent of nearly the whole of Christendom. But this inferiority is no more than both Testaments freely recognize, — the one by pointing to a Future greater than itself, the other by insisting on the gradual, partial, imperfect character of the Revelations that had preceded it. It is true, also, that the rigid acceptance of every part of the Old Testament, as of equal authority, equal value, and equal accuracy, is rendered impossible by every advance made in Biblical science, and by every increase of our acquaintance with Eastern customs and primeval history. But it is no less true, that by almost every one of these advances the beauty and the grandeur of the substance

and spirit of its different parts are enhanced to a degree far transcending all that was possible in former ages.

"My object will have been attained, if, by calling attention to these incontestable and essential features of the Sacred History, I may have been able in any measure to smooth the approaches to some of the theological difficulties which may be in store for this generation ; still more if I can persuade any one to look on the history of the Jewish Church as it really is, — to see how important is the place which it occupies in the general education of the world, — how many elements of religious thought it supplies, which even the New Testament fails to furnish in the same degree, — how largely indebted to it have been already, and may yet be in a still greater degree, the Civilization and the Faith of mankind."

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4. — *African Hunting, from Natal to the Zambesi, including Lake Ngami, the Kalahari Desert, &c. From 1852 to 1860.* By WILLIAM CHARLES BALDWIN, Esq., F. R. G. S. With Illustrations by JAMES WOLF and J. B. ZWECKER. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1863. 12mo. pp. 397.

AFTER such mighty hunters as Andersson, Gerard, and Gordon Cumming, we had not expected the narrative of any greater Nimrod. Yet here is a hunter who, in the quantity, if not in the quality, of his exploits, surpasses them all. Such a record of the destruction of wild animal life, such a "bagging" of large and rare game, as this which Mr. William Charles Baldwin has laid before the world, is, we think, unprecedented in the tale of any civilized sportsman. If the engraving of the vignette correctly presents the face of this hunting genius, he might almost subdue the beasts by the command of his look. He seems, however, to have relied more upon his rifles, horses, agility, and cunning, than upon the magnetism of his eye. We would not venture a doubt that all these sporting stories are perfectly true, as well in the detail as in the substance. If we subtract from them the half, they remain marvellous enough ; and there is an air of naturalness about them which inclines us to put full faith in them. Mr. Baldwin, albeit he is "Esq." and "F. R. G. S.," is not gifted in the management of sentences, and shoots much better than he writes. His story, which has the form of a journal, — each chapter including a year of adventure, — is very carelessly put together, and would have been greatly improved by revision. It is too much crowded, and the parts are badly adjusted. We learn comparatively little of the countries, or the men of the countries, through which Mr. Baldwin passed, or even of the habits and appearance of the endless variety of animals and birds which he hunted.

His own adventures are so hastily related, that they lack picturesque effect. This is the less to be regretted, as Mr. Baldwin's roving carried him over regions which have already been well described by Moffatt, Andersson, and Livingstone.

The principal game killed by Mr. Baldwin was, of course, "elephants." Of these he secured sixty-one in his last year's expedition of 1860. Next to these in importance were the rhinoceroses, of which twenty-five were shot during that year, white, black, blue, and two-horned. To lions he paid very little attention, generally not caring to waste powder upon the Carnivora. Giraffes were a favorite prey, and in "bagging" these he was signally successful. Quaggas came down very readily before his unerring rifle, and no deer or antelope of the hundred African varieties could escape his swift foot and his long shot. He did not meet with any gorillas, and his tales of ape-hunting are meagre. Buffaloes were his most dangerous and troublesome enemies, and it was often a special mercy that the daring rider was saved from their wrath.

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5. — *The Druses and the Maronites under the Turkish Rule, from 1840 to 1860.* By COLONEL CHURCHILL, Author of "Ten Years' Residence in Mount Lebanon." London: Bernard Quaritch. 1862. 8vo. pp. viii., 300.

MANY years ago we reviewed at length the elaborate work of Colonel Churchill, upon the Lebanon, its scenery, its productions, its history, and its races. A fourth and supplementary volume has recently been issued, with the special purpose of bringing the history of the mountain tribes down to the present time, and explaining the deplorable catastrophes which have turned so much of the garden into a wilderness. The author writes with more directness and vigor in this than in the previous volumes, and gives us a very vivid and thrilling description of the scenes of that eventful year 1860. His first chapter is a rapid epitome of the elaborate account of the rival sects in his former work. As to the tenets of the different sects, we cannot discover that his views have undergone any change.

The remarkable features of this supplementary volume are the bold relief into which it brings the treachery and villany of the Turkish rulers, and the mean attitude in which it places the diplomatic jealousies of foreign powers. The tale of the massacres and their horrors has been elsewhere told as powerfully; but in no other form has the cry of righteous wrath come forth so earnestly. The Turks, in Colonel

Churchill's opinion, are the direct authors of all the mischief; and their effort, long and steady, has been to bring these mountain tribes to the work of mutual destruction. Indeed, they are, in his view, the curse of the East and the pests of the earth, and there will be no hope for the Levant until they are either driven back to their ancient Asiatic haunts, or, better still, *exterminated*. No trust is to be put in the word of a Turk, and they are to be feared the most when they make the fairest promises. Colonel Churchill thinks that England and France were culpable in not taking the law into their own hands, and executing the justice which the Turkish officials have systematically refused and evaded. To this day, no adequate penalty has ever reached the actors in the massacres. The murderers are still at large, and are enjoying the spoils and the honors secured by their crimes. So far as the Lebanon is concerned, the whole pretence of trial and punishment has been farcical in the extreme. All the good which the French occupation did was nullified by its withdrawal; and the Turkish rulers discovered the easy method of thwarting all the demands for satisfaction.

Such works as this, widely circulated, would do much to confirm the growing feeling in Christian lands, that the Turkish Empire is the "sick man," and that it is time that such a vile anomaly should cease from Europe.

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6. — *My Southern Friends*. "All of which I saw, and part of which I was." By EDMUND KIRKE, Author of "Among the Pines." New York: Carleton. 1863. 16mo. pp. 308.

"AMONG the Pines" was a fascinating book, even after the surfeit of books of its kind. "My Southern Friends" is also fascinating, and one who takes it up will not care to lay it down until he has come to the last page. Such books, nevertheless, attractive as they are, and useful in deepening the abhorrence of the slave system and its iniquities, are annoying, by leaving the reader in doubt how far their contents are fact, and how far fiction. In the concluding chapter, Mr. Kirke, or the person who takes that name, admits that his story is not a veracious relation of an actual sequence of events. Yet he asserts that, with one exception, all the *facts* are true, and that all the scenes related passed under his own eyes in the sixteen years of his Southern experience. Mrs. Stowe gave us a "Key" to "Uncle Tom's Cabin," by which she unlocked its warehouse of construction, and showed us the sources of her touching romance. Mr. Kirke's readers, we suspect, would like a key to his mosaic narratives, which shall set the bits in their proper places, and show how they looked in the order of actual occurrence.



7. — *History of Federal Government, from the Foundation of the Achaian League to the Disruption of the United States.* By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M. A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Vol. I. *General Introduction.* — *History of the Greek Federations.* London and Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1863. 8vo. pp. xl. and 721.

IN the Preface to this History, Mr. Freeman takes especial pains to inform his readers that his inquiries into the nature and tendency of federal institutions were not suggested by any of the recent occurrences in this country. "I trust," he writes, "that no one will think that the present work owes its origin to the excitement of the War of Secession in America. It is the first instalment of a scheme formed long ago, and it represents the thought and reading of more than ten years." Nevertheless, there is throughout this volume a constant reference to American affairs; and the special features of our written Constitution are everywhere used to illustrate the general characteristics of federal government, or to explain the nature and effect of similar provisions in the treaties defining the powers and obligations of the Grecian Leagues. The portion now published is a mere fragment of what promises to be a very voluminous History, and the full execution of the author's design will apparently require three or four large volumes. In them he purposes to write the political history of the Achaian League, of the Swiss Cantons, of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands, and of the United States of America. The first volume includes a "General Introduction," and an examination of the "Characteristics of Federal Government as compared with other Political Systems," filling in the aggregate a hundred and twenty-two pages, together with brief notices of the minor confederations of ancient Greece, an elaborate account of the origin and constitution of the Achaian and Ætolian Leagues, and a history of Federal Greece from the foundation of the Achaian League to its dissolution. Mr. Freeman is a sturdy partisan of the federal system, and maintains that the secession of the so-called Confederate States, "so far from proving anything against Federalism in the abstract, does not even prove anything against the American Union as it came forth from the hands of its founders," while he constantly assumes that it is a permanent disruption.

"The Federal system," he writes, "has at least saved that vast continent for nearly three generations from the mutual slaughter of men of the same race and speech, from the sight of ravished provinces and of cities taken by storm. During all these years, the amount of union between the several States, the amount of independence retained by each State, has been found to be exactly that amount which answered the required purpose. If the system has broken down at last, we may be sure that any other system would have broken down much sooner. And, after all, it has only broken down very

partially. One Federation has been divided into two, just as one Kingdom has often been divided into two; but neither of the powers thus formed has thought of setting up anything but a Federal system as the form of its own internal constitution."

For the Emperor Napoleon III. Mr. Freeman has a strong personal dislike, and he flings much merited scorn on that sovereign's panacea of universal suffrage; but with the exception of frequent references to American and French politics, he abstains in general from any direct discussion of contemporary affairs. As an historian he exhibits an ample knowledge of his subject, much critical acuteness, and a fair and candid temper. If he cannot take rank with Grote and Thirlwall, it must be conceded, at least, that he has made an important contribution to the later history of Greece. His style, though occasionally redundant, is clear and forceful; and in his purely narrative chapters it is as animated as the nature of the subject permits.

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8. — *A Dialogue on the Best Form of Government.* By the RIGHT HONORABLE SIR GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS, Bart., M. P. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1863. Small 8vo. pp. vii. and 117.

THE well-earned reputation which the late Sir G. C. Lewis had acquired as one of the ablest statesmen in England, gave added weight and authority to any publication bearing his name on its title-page, or exhibiting internal evidence that he was its author; and in the case of this Dialogue, as in that of most of the acknowledged productions of his prolific pen, we are scarcely less attracted to the volume by the interest of the theme, than by the fame of the writer. The object which he proposed to himself in his last work is a very simple and unambitious one, and is limited to the presentation of "a compact statement of the principal arguments for and against each form of government" now existing. For this purpose he brings together three representative men, Monarchicus, Aristocraticus, and Democraticus, at the house of a common friend, Crito, where they severally adduce the arguments by which each would recommend his own favorite system, or assail those of the other two principal interlocutors. These arguments are very fairly stated, though they do not always cover the whole ground; and the writer, we think, may justly claim that he has not knowingly attributed to any of the speakers "merely logical fallacies, — fallacies which turn upon verbal or formal sophisms, and which are absolutely destitute of proving force." To this claim our author adds, that he does not "identify himself with any one of the interlocutors."

9. — "*Christopher North.*" *A Memoir of John Wilson, late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.* Compiled from Family Papers and other Sources, by his Daughter, MRS. GORDON. With an Introduction by R. SHELTON MACKENZIE, D. C. L., Editor of the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*, etc. New York: W. J. Widdleton. 1863. 12mo. pp. 484.

IN our January number we reviewed in full Mrs. Gordon's Memoir of her father, and it only remains for us to say that we have here an American reprint, in form, size, and type all that we could desire, and in price much better adapted to the easy ability of our reading public than the two-volume English copy used in the preparation of our article. The Introduction is less than two pages in length, and still less in its significance, and has probably no other purpose than to add the prestige of Dr. Mackenzie's name, if so be that there are any potential readers to whom he is known, and Wilson's reputation unknown, — a perfectly harmless, but utterly useless device.

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10. — *On Liberty.* By JOHN STUART MILL. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1863. 16mo. pp. 223.

HOWEVER widely statesmen and economists may differ as to the relative advantages of the different forms of government, few persons will deny that the best form for any people is that which secures to every individual the largest amount of liberty consistent with the just authority of the government and the personal rights of the other members of the same community. At the very threshold of this inquiry, therefore, we encounter the question, What are "the nature and limits of the power which can be legitimately exercised by society over the individual"? To answer this question is the chief object of Mr. Mill's essay, now for the first time, we believe, reprinted in this country.

"The object of this essay," he says, "is to assert one very simple principle, as entitled to govern absolutely the dealings of society with the individual in the way of compulsion and control, whether the means used be physical force in the form of legal penalties, or the moral coercion of public opinion. That principle is, that the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection, — that the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others."

To the maintenance of this thesis Mr. Mill brings all his great powers as a thinker and a writer, and no one can read the ingenious

arguments by which it is supported without an increased admiration for his intellectual honesty, and his acknowledged ability in one of the most important fields of human investigation. He begins with a general introduction on the nature and bearing of the question which he proposes to discuss, and then proceeds to show what are "the reasons which make it imperative that human beings should be free to form opinions, and to express their opinions without reserve," and how baneful are the "consequences to the intellectual, and through that to the moral, nature of man, unless this liberty is either conceded, or asserted in spite of prohibition." Thence he passes to a consideration of the arguments in favor of individuality as one of the elements of well-being, and to a statement of the limits to the authority of society over the individual; and in his last chapter he makes a brief application of the general principles maintained in the earlier portions of the essay to some of the departments of government and morals, in order "to bring into greater clearness the meaning and limits of the two maxims which together form the entire doctrine" of the book. These maxims are, "first, that the individual is not accountable to society for his actions, in so far as these concern the interests of no person but himself," and, "secondly, that for such actions as are prejudicial to the interests of others the individual is accountable, and may be subjected either to social or to legal punishments, if society is of opinion that the one or the other is requisite for its protection." Throughout this discussion we everywhere see abundant evidence of that intellectual freedom and candor which characterize all Mr. Mill's writings; and nowhere else is his style more simple and transparent, or more perfectly adapted to the requirements of his subject.

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11. — *The Channel Islands*. By DAVID THOMAS ANSTED, M. A., F. R. S., etc., late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and ROBERT GORDON LATHAM, M. A., M. D., F. R. S., etc., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. With Illustrations drawn by PAUL J. NAFTEL, Member of the London Society of Painters in Water-Colors. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1862. 8vo. pp. xxviii. and 604.

THE Channel Islands comprise four groups of rocky islands on the northern coast of France, and derive their chief interest from two entirely distinct sources, their importance as military stations, and their various attractions to the geologist and the naturalist. In the latter respect, says Mr. Ansted, who spent four years in one of the largest islands, "few parts of the coast of Europe, or its adjacent islands, are more

rich. Zoöphytes of almost all kinds, crustaceans, mollusks, and sponges, may be studied to perfection in natural rocky basins and caverns, and may be easily removed for study; while the sea-weeds and lichens are equally abundant, and equally available for natural history investigation." Nor is this all; for the vegetable productions of the land are not less rich and abundant than those of the sea, and include fruits and flowers of both the temperate and the torrid zone. "Having a more equable temperature than almost any part of the western shores of Europe," we are told, "but not a larger rain-fall, there is every facility for cultivating whole classes of plants, elsewhere difficult to keep alive; and, though there is little intense heat in summer, still the absence of cold in winter is sufficiently marked to admit of the orange-tree bearing fruit, while the camellia is loaded with flowers from December to March." Alderney, Jersey, Guernsey, Herm, Sark, and a few of the smaller islands, are regularly inhabited, and have a population of about a hundred thousand, and in them are the chief attractions of scenery; but even in the small uninhabited rocks and islands the lover of the picturesque will find much to reward him for the dangers which he may incur in visiting them. As military and naval stations, they are the keys to the English Channel, and the possession of them secures to Great Britain the undisputed control of its entrance.

Islands which have this great strategical importance, and which combine so many attractions, are well worthy of being minutely and carefully described by a writer who is competent to do justice to the subject; and it is but fair to add that the beautifully illustrated monograph now before us amply fulfils every requirement of such a work. It is divided into four parts, of unequal length and interest. Of these, the First Part is devoted to "Physical Geography," and includes separate chapters on each of the principal islands, and on their climate, meteorology, and sanitary condition. The Second Part treats of the "Natural History," and is prepared in part from Mr. Ansted's personal observations, and in part from very valuable materials furnished to him by residents of the islands. The chapters on the vegetable productions, and on the land and water animals, are remarkably complete and satisfactory; and the two chapters on geology and mineralogy are scarcely less worthy of praise, and fully sustain Mr. Ansted's reputation as a writer on these subjects. The third part, which is the only portion of the work furnished by Dr. Latham, is entitled "Civil History," and contains an account of the history of the islands, from the earliest times down to our day, together with some notices of their antiquities and archæology, and of their language and literature. The last Part is devoted to "Trade and Economics," and includes chapters on the agri-

culture, horticulture, trade, commerce, and manufactures of the islands, and a summary account of their constitution, laws, manners, customs, and public institutions. There is also an Appendix, containing notices of the island weights, measures, and statistics; and each Part is illustrated with numerous beautifully drawn and well-engraved wood-cuts, partly from sketches by Mr. Naftel, and partly from designs furnished by Mr. Le Lievre, a resident of Guernsey. Indeed, no effort has been spared by either author or publishers to make the work a full and satisfactory account of these interesting islands; and it will well repay any one for a careful reading.

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12.—*Remains in Verse and Prose of ARTHUR HENRY HALLAM.* With a Preface and Memoir. With Portrait. London: John Murray. 1862. 16mo. pp. lx. and 305.

THE name of Arthur Hallam will be forever associated with the noble verses which Tennyson has inscribed to his memory, even though it should represent to the reader a personality no more distinct than that of the young scholar whose praise Milton celebrates in "Lycidas." Every one, therefore, who is familiar with the "In Memoriam," will be glad to possess the touching and beautiful sketch of young Hallam's life, which his father has prefixed to this collection of his writings. He was but little more than twenty-two when he died, yet at this early age he had developed a character of singular worth, and had given rich promise of intellectual eminence. It is, however, to the purity of his personal character, as portrayed by his father, with a delicacy which we have seldom seen equalled, and never surpassed, rather than to any intrinsic excellence of his poems and essays, that the volume owes its attractiveness. As a poet, young Hallam does not seem to have possessed much imagination or much power of expression, and his poems are almost entirely of a meditative or reflective character, such as we should naturally expect to find in one who was an ardent admirer of Wordsworth. They are too often obscure and harsh, and in the case of "Timbuctoo," the most elaborate of his published productions, it is almost impossible to discover the thought which was present to the writer's mind, and to trace its connection with the nominal subject. The same fondness for metaphysical subtleties is apparent in his prose writings, which are of a kind to attract the thoughtful student, rather than the ordinary reader. They are in part college exercises, and in part the productions of later years. The most noticeable of them are an academical "Oration on the Influence of Italian

Works of Imagination on the same Class of Compositions in England," an "Essay on the Philosophical Writings of Cicero," and some "Remarks on Professor Rossetti's 'Disquisizioni sullo Spirito Antipapale,'" originally prepared for publication in a periodical journal, and containing some acute observations on the writings of Dante. Appended to the Memoir of Arthur Hallam is a brief notice of his brother, Henry Fitzmaurice Hallam, who also died in the richness of his early promise.

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13. — *The Children's Garland from the Best Poets.* Selected and arranged by COVENTRY PATMORE. Cambridge: Sever and Francis. 1863. 16mo. pp. xi. and 354.

It is no small praise to say of this collection of poems, that it is scarcely less admirable in its way than Mr. Palgrave's "Golden Treasury," which was noticed in our last number. With excellent judgment and discrimination, the editor has selected from the vast stores of English and American poetry now available for such a purpose more than one hundred and seventy pieces "fitted to please children, — of and from the age at which they have usually learned to read, — in common with grown people." Among the pieces thus brought together are many of the fine old English songs and ballads, copious selections from Cowper, Southey, Campbell, and Wordsworth, Lord Macaulay's splendid ballad of "The Spanish Armada," and poems by Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell, and other American poets. "The test applied, in every instance, in the work of selection," says the editor in his Preface, "has been that of having actually pleased intelligent children; and my object has been to make a book which shall be to them no more nor less than a book of equally good poetry is to grown persons." The selection is by no means exhaustive, and there is, we are inclined to think, in spite of the editor's opinion to the contrary, material enough for another collection of equal merit; but he has inserted nothing which is unworthy of a place in such a volume. In most instances, the selections are printed with scrupulous accuracy, though occasionally the editor has taken the liberty of omitting parts of the longer poems, such as Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner," or even of changing a word, in order to render the poem thus altered or abridged better suited to his purpose. That he has thought this course necessary or proper is to be regretted, though it is much less reprehensible in the case of a book for children, than it would be in one designed for older persons; and we are gratified to see, that he has seldom felt at liberty to alter the text of his authors. With this exception, his book is deserving of unqualified praise. In paper, printing, and binding, it is the exact coun-

terpart of Mr. Palgrave's beautiful volume, and the two selections together form a nearly complete English anthology, more elegant in mechanical execution than any volumes of the kind which have ever before fallen under our notice.

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14. — *Good Thoughts in Bad Times, and other Papers.* By THOMAS FULLER, D. D. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1863. Small 8vo. pp. xiii. and 397.

EVERY lover of old English literature will be glad to learn that the beautiful edition of Sir Thomas Browne's "Religio Medici, and Other Papers," reviewed by us a few months ago, has been followed by a not less beautiful edition of some of the best of Thomas Fuller's miscellaneous writings. Indeed, no more acceptable service can now be rendered to the cause of elegant letters than the republication of the early masterpieces of English prose, in a form of faultless typographical excellence, and at a very moderate cost to the purchaser; and every reader will share in the hope that these volumes will be followed by many more of the same kind. The volume now before us comprises four of the best and most celebrated of Fuller's numerous writings, — namely, his "Good Thoughts in Bad Times," published not long after the breaking out of the civil war in England; his "Good Thoughts in Worse Times," published at a little later period; his "Mixt Contemplations in Better Times," first given to the world just after the Restoration; and his dialogues on "The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience," which belong to a somewhat earlier period. To neither of these minor productions did Fuller attach all the importance which he ascribed to his elaborate historical works, but in some respects they are superior to those curious compositions. His style has the same quaintness, and he exhibits the same fondness for a joke or a witty comparison which in them is often a serious blemish; and everywhere we have traces of the same tenacious memory, and the same breadth of learning. They are cast in a form, however, in which his faults are much less conspicuous than they would be in more systematic writings, and every reader will find in these miscellanies much that is admirable and suggestive, as well as much that is merely curious and entertaining.

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15. — *The Gentleman.* By GEORGE H. CALVERT. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1863. 16mo. pp. 159.

THIS little essay bears on every page the marks of a refined culture,



pure taste, and just sentiments, and, in spite of some quaintness of style, it may be read with no less pleasure than profit. Its design is to analyze the character of the gentleman as it is exhibited in history, fictitious literature, and social intercourse, and to recommend it to general imitation. Beginning with an attempt to ascertain the derivation of the term, and with some preliminary remarks designed to prepare the way for a more thorough discussion of the subject, Mr. Calvert next introduces a series of portraits to illustrate different phases of the character, or to warn his readers against its counterfeits. For this purpose, he brings before us the Chevalier Bayard, Sir Philip Sidney, Charles Lamb, George IV., Washington, Napoleon, and others, concluding this division of his essay with some admirable remarks on St. Paul as the model of a Christian gentleman, the position of women among the ancients, the character of Socrates, and some other topics suggested by a reference to Greece and Rome. From actual life he passes, by a natural transition, to the ideal, and presents some acute and delicate criticisms on Shakespeare's historical plays, Sir Roger de Coverley, My Uncle Toby, and some of the illustrations of his theme to be found in more recent writers. The last third of his essay is devoted to a more general, but not less suggestive, discussion of his subject, and includes some excellent observations on the ideal standard set up in Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son, on pride and vanity, fashion, vulgarity, the various kinds of gentlemen, and other kindred topics. Throughout the discussion, Mr. Calvert keeps his main design constantly in view; and in his whole treatment of his subject we see how carefully he has meditated on it, and how admirably he is qualified, both by nature and education, for dealing with it in a praiseworthy manner.

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16. — *Life in the Open Air and other Papers.* By THEODORE WINTHROP, Author of "Cecil Dreeme," "John Brent," etc. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 12mo. pp. iv. and 374.

THIS volume completes the series of unpublished writings which Major Winthrop's friends have thought worthy to be withdrawn from his portfolio since his death. It comprises seven independent papers, two of which were published in the Atlantic Monthly during his life. Most of the others have also appeared in the same journal within a short time; but they will not be the less welcome to every one who desires to possess a uniform edition of these graphic writings. First and best among the papers now published is the fresh and animated account of a journey to Mount Katahdin and the Penobscot River,

which gives its title to the collection. Next in order and merit is "Love and Skates," a very pleasant and lively magazine story, which reveals a different phase of the writer's character from any that we see in his other writings. Following this are the three army sketches by which he was first made known as a writer beyond the circle of his personal friends. Of these it is only necessary to say that the first two are likely to become a part of the permanent literature of the rebellion, and that we have seen nothing better of their kind. The sixth chapter is a fragment of an unfinished story, entitled "Brightly's Orphan." The last paper is an elaborate and appreciative criticism of Church's "Heart of the Andes." Considered as a whole, the volume is one of the best of the series, and illustrates the versatility of the writer's powers even more fully, perhaps, than either of those which preceded it. The style is fresh, manly, and picturesque; the narrative clear, sparkling, and animated; the criticism genial; and the tone always healthful. Major Winthrop's friends could have raised no nobler monument to his memory than the four volumes of his writings which have been published since his death.

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17. — *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined.* By the Right Rev. JOHN WILLIAM COLENZO, D. D., Bishop of Natal. Part II. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. 12mo. pp. 303.

WE are thankful that no worthy cause or truth worth defending is burdened with so lame and incompetent an advocate as Bishop Colenso. We have no quarrel with him for his doubts as to the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch and the extreme antiquity of the Book of Joshua. Similar doubts have been expressed and urged, not only by rationalists, but by loyal Christian believers; and the establishment of the negative would disturb in no wise the foundations of Christianity, nor would it even invalidate the divine origin of Judaism. But we are provoked by the Bishop's bluster, pretentiousness, and ignorance. Had he only received a respectable theological education before assuming the episcopate, his scepticism might indeed have seemed more formidable, but would have been much more easily dealt with. His books are full of mere gnat-stings, neither deep nor dangerous, but annoying and irritating. The Second Part, now before us, is a tedious expansion of the following argument: — In Exodus (vi. 3) the Almighty is represented as saying to Moses that under the name Jehovah he was not known to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. But not only does that name occur in various parts of Genesis, it is used even in the biographies of those very

patriarchs. Yet that it was not a common title of the Deity until Samuel's time and afterward, may be inferred from its being used seldom before that time in the composition of proper names, while El was often so used, and also from the fact that in a portion of the Psalms ascribed to David (which by the Bishop's wonted circular method of reasoning are assumed to be the earliest) the title Elohim prevails, while the name Jehovah occurs in certain others, not many of which indicate by their contents, but undoubtedly ought to be so interpreted as to indicate, a later date. Now the Pentateuch must have been written after the name Jehovah had come into current use as the national designation for the God of the Hebrews. Therefore it could not have been written by Moses, who besides would hardly have had the effrontery to introduce as a new name in Exodus a title of the Deity which he had retained in his previous editing of the fragments that constitute Genesis. The authorship of the Pentateuch cannot be fixed earlier than the time of Samuel, and as he seems to have been the most accomplished man of his age, he probably wrote "half of the Book of Genesis, a small part of Exodus, still less of Numbers, a very small portion of Deuteronomy, and about the same of Joshua." From these beginnings we are not told how the books came to be what they are ; but the author's theory as to their elaboration seems parallel to that of Mrs. Stowe's Topsy as to her own existence, — "I 'spect I grow'd. Don't think nobody never made me."

Now, so far as this argument has any validity, it has as much force against any intelligent and careful authorship or editorship of the Pentateuch, as it has against the Mosaic authorship. Certainly the discrepancy on which it is founded, if real, is too glaring to have escaped the notice of the man or men who first made of the five books one book, or of the people generally, when they first began to regard the Pentateuch as consecutive history. But we cannot admit the discrepancy. If the Pentateuch was written by one man, he knew what he had written in Genesis before he wrote the sixth chapter of Exodus ; and if it was the work of several authors, Genesis is beyond all question older than Exodus, and the author of Exodus must have been familiar with Genesis. In either case the author of Exodus would have stultified himself in making the statement attributed to him by Bishop Colenso. But the obvious laws of interpretation, the genius of the Hebrew tongue, and the latitude of use which we find attached to the Hebrew verb יָדַע (*know*), authorize us to regard the passage in question as simply denoting that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob did not employ Jehovah as their familiar and wonted designation of the Almighty, — an exposition which harmonizes perfectly with the notices of their history in Genesis.

In the dreary, weary waste of this volume we find absolutely nothing else worth copying or epitomizing.

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18. — *The Gentle Skeptic; or, Essays and Conversations of a Country Justice on the Authenticity and Truthfulness of the Old Testament Records.* Edited by the Rev. C. WALWORTH. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. 12mo. pp. 368.

IT is a little singular that the most rational and liberal of all the books that have been called forth by Bishop Colenso's work should have been written by a Roman Catholic. Yet so it is. In this volume Father Walworth admits the very imperfections ascribed to the sacred record by the Bishop, and grants their conclusiveness against the hypothesis of its verbal inspiration; but shows that they are entirely compatible with its alleged character as an authentic record of divine revelation, and that they are unquestionable tokens of its venerable antiquity, and therefore confirmations of its genuineness. The book is charmingly written, and the trellis of story and dialogue on which the arguments are hung, though very slight, is so graceful that we should be sorry to part with it.

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19. — *The New Testament, with brief Explanatory Notes and Scholia.* By HOWARD CROSBY, D. D., Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in Rutgers College, and formerly Professor in the University of the City of New York. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863. 12mo. pp. 543.

DR. CROSBY'S object in this book is, in his own words, "simply to remove the surface difficulties of the text, those which the peculiarities of language (Greek or English) in grammar or rhetoric present, and those which require an archæological explanation." This is done by very sparse and very brief annotations, — scholarly, perspicuous, appropriate always, yet probably not adding one sixth part to the space covered by the text of the common version, under which they are arranged as foot-notes. The work is neither designed nor adapted for the *student* of the New Testament; but its true office will be to supersede the Scriptures "without note or comment" in the hands of him who lacks either time or inclination to make use of a Commentary, but who can hardly help casting his eye to the bottom of the page for an explanatory word or phrase. For such readers we most cordially commend this edition of the New Testament.

20. — *Letters on the Ministry of the Gospel.* By FRANCIS WAYLAND.  
Boston : Gould and Lincoln. 1863. 16mo. pp. 210.

THESE letters form a connected treatise on the great spiritual purpose of the ministry, and the endowments, preparations, and specific methods by which that purpose is to be attained. They are addressed especially to the condition and demands of our own time and land. We sympathize throughout with the author's aim and spirit, and fervently wish that his serious, earnest views of the ministerial work and office might be widely diffused. We feel that he has done a noble and substantial service to the Church in throwing his counsels into the epistolary form, and in availing himself of it to speak as to a friend of his own experiences, failures, and growing convictions. Much that he has written, weighty in itself, is of such a character as to derive intense power from his personality ; for there are not a few themes on which the best words depend for their worth and impressiveness on the character of him who utters or writes them. We can take but a single exception to this volume, namely, that here, as in his other writings, Dr. Wayland shows a tendency to undervalue, in its usefulness for the minister, that high and large intellectual culture, of which the American pulpit presents no more illustrious example than in him.

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21. — *Woman and her Saviour in Persia.* By a Returned Missionary.  
With Illustrations and a Map of the Nestorian Country. Boston :  
Gould and Lincoln. 1863. 12mo. pp. 303.

NOWHERE have American missionaries been more successful than among the Nestorians in Persia. For this there are several reasons. The laborers in that field have been men and women, not only of signal excellence and devotedness, but, in several instances, of superior genius ; and there is no department of human effort which more earnestly craves, more vigorously exercises, and more richly rewards the higher, finer endowments of intellect, than the missionary enterprise. The power of rapid combination, reserved resources for unforeseen emergencies, clear insight into the capacities of a position, the gift of winged words commensurate with the burning thoughts awakened by so glorious a work, — all these are of inestimable worth in actualizing the philanthropic purpose of those who obey the Saviour's parting charge, and all these have shed lustre on the missionary records of Oroomiah. Then, too, though in moral corruption the Nestorians had the advantage of their Mussulman neighbors in no other respect than in freedom from

the complex and multiform curse of polygamy, their traditional reverence for the Bible, of whose contents they knew nothing, has made them singularly prompt in learning, and docile in adopting, its doctrines and its precepts. The question of authority was settled beforehand, and in this case we have an admirable illustration of the worth of the principle of authority in religion, as an educator of the conscience and character up to that stage of inward experience at which the truth becomes its own sufficient witness. The volume we are now noticing selects from the history of the Nestorian mission those labors that have been undertaken for the primary benefit of the women, and especially the narrative of the institution, organization, management, and results of the Female Seminary at Oroomiah. We must refer our readers to the book itself for the details, which are of intense interest, exhibiting the elevation to the dignity of civilized, cultivated Christian matrons of a very considerable number of women, whose destiny, but for the intervention of the missionaries, would have been to drag out a life of squalid ignorance, despised and beaten by their husbands, covered with vermin, and destitute of the faintest vestige of what belongs to our ideal of womanhood. We never yet knew a despiser of missions who had made himself familiar with records of this class, and we doubt whether such familiarity and contempt could by any possibility coexist.

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22. — 1. *Historical Sketch of the Twelfth Congregational Society in Boston.* By LEWIS G. PRAY. Boston. 1863. 12mo. pp. 123.  
2. *The Sylphids' School, and other Pieces in Verse.* By LEWIS G. PRAY. Boston. 1862. 16mo. pp. 291.

WE are glad of the opportunity of saying a word of respect, reverence, and gratitude for one who was, for many years of quiet, unostentatious usefulness, associated with the religious charities of our city. Mr. Pray was for thirty-three years Superintendent of the Sunday School of the Twelfth Congregational Society, and at the same time was a wise counsellor and an assiduous helper in various enterprises for the promotion of religious knowledge, for the Christian nurture of neglected children, and for the relief and elevation of the poor. Few men in our community have wrought in these departments of service more faithfully or unselfishly. The books before us will recall to many the vivid remembrance of a friend, whom, in his retirement from active duty, they now but seldom meet, but of whose prolonged capacity of usefulness they are glad to be assured through the press.

The first-named volume is a simple and modest, well-digested and

carefully-written history of a religious society whose birth, growth, decline, and death are intimately connected with important changes in the distribution of our municipal population. It had its origin in a plethora of the Protestant congregations in the northwestern section of the city, and for twenty years or more it had a vigorous life. Before the close of the next twenty years the church edifice on Chambers Street, together with another on Hanover Street which had been one of its *feeders*, had passed into the possession of the Romanists, who now, in that whole region, far outnumber the Protestants.

"The Sylphids' School" is the longest piece in a volume of poems, chiefly didactic or devotional, — many of them hymns written for special occasions, or for use in Sunday schools. The reader will recognize in them, under the garb, but not disguise, of verse, the fervent devotional feeling, the genial kindness, and the warm sympathy with childhood, which have won for Mr. Pray the honor and affection of so large a circle of fellow-workers and friends.

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23. — *Tales and Sketches*. By HUGH MILLER, Author of "The Old Red Sandstone," "My Schools and Schoolmasters," "The Testimony of the Rocks," etc. Edited, with a Preface, by MRS. MILLER. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1863. 12mo. pp. 369.

THESE, we are told, are among Hugh Miller's earliest literary compositions; but there is nothing in them indicative of immaturity of mind or of culture. The most important and interesting of the papers are the first two, comprising "Recollections" of Ferguson and of Burns respectively, — understood to be substantially authentic, though somewhat dramatized. Some of the remaining pieces are fictions, deeply rather than highly wrought, and illustrating the tenderness of the author's sensibilities and the genuineness of his sympathies. The whole volume — unlike most last volumes of great men, which are apt to be made up of refuse matter — is worthy of being preserved in a permanent form, as a memorial of the author's taste and power in a department of literature that seems to have little in common with his favorite science.

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24. — *The Invasion of the Crimea: its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan*. By ALEXANDER WILLIAM KINGLAKE. Volume I. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1863. 12mo. pp. 650.

THIS is not a work to be dealt with in a brief notice, even were the

whole of it on our table, or had we read all of such portion as has come into our hands. We hope to give it in some future number the examination it merits. Meanwhile we must confess ourselves fascinated with the style, and impressed with an undoubting assurance of the author's honesty and sincerity. But his is the honesty of a warm and bitter partisan, the sincerity of an implacable anti-Gallican. He has a profound hatred for the French Emperor, and this hatred is always a preponderating weight in one scale of his judgment. So uniform is the operation of this bias, that the reader may, without danger of error, apply the necessary equation and make the due correction in every statement. Indeed, there is little of contemporary, we might even say there is little of ancient history, that is not written in the interest of a party or an opinion. And it may be that the truth fares better in the hands of such historians than in those of the unimpassioned annalist, who is often the victim rather than the arbiter of his authorities. It is by the antagonism of opposite historical theories, that authorities are tested and sifted, fallacies exposed, and facts established. Undoubtedly the best-known portions of history are those which have been the battle-grounds of the fiercest historical controversy.

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25. *Results of Slavery.* By AUGUSTIN COCHIN, Ex-Maire and Municipal Councillor of Paris. Work crowned by the Institute of France (Académie Française). Translated by MARY L. BOOTH, Translator of Count de Gasparin's Works on America, etc. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1863. 12mo. pp. 413.

THIS is the second part of M. Cochin's work entitled *L'Abolition de l'Esclavage*. It is for the most part but another, yet a most eloquent, echo of the outcry of nearly the whole civilized world against the great moral enormity of our land and age. It possesses a peculiar interest for us now, not so much for anything new in its contents, as because it "tells us all things that ever we did," shows as familiar a conversance with our affairs, social and political, as we could expect from one of ourselves, and in the vivid portraiture of our national guilt and grief, thus hung up in a foreign land, awakens emotions not unlike those attributed to Æneas, when he saw the fate of Troy pictured on the walls of the Carthaginian temple.

"Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?"

The history of slavery in the United States is pursued in the original work as far as the inauguration of President Lincoln; an article added in the American edition was written after the reverses near



Richmond ; and in the Preface we have an extract from a private letter of the author, dated February 7, 1863. In this last document he expresses himself by no means hopefully as to the policy of the French government with regard to the Northern States, except in the event of their gaining a decisive victory ; but he maintains, and we believe with a prescience which cannot fail of being verified, "that neither peace nor separation nor mediation can be wrought without slavery having received a death-blow."

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- 26.—*Money*. By CHARLES MORAN. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. 12mo. pp. 228.

THIS is an able discussion of the physiology and uses of money, with a very thorough exposition of some of the popular fallacies concerning it. The author perceives clearly, and states forcibly, that money in its capacity of money is not value, but a mere instrument for exchanging values ; that there is a gain of wealth to a community in the proportion in which paper at an inappreciably small cost takes the place of gold and silver, which are procured only at a heavy expense of time and labor, and that the amount of values annually exchanged bears a manifold and constantly increasing ratio to the sums of metallic money employed in their exchange. But he pushes his conclusion farther than his premises warrant, when he contends that metallic money is altogether superfluous and needless, and that the most safe and stable medium of exchange would be inconvertible bank-bills, issued in loans to individuals, and secured against depreciation through over-issue by the large amounts constantly returnable in payment of loans. Such a Saturnian age may lie in the far-off future ; but it is too remote to claim a place in our present system of political economy.

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- 27.—*The Life and Letters of Washington Irving*. By his Nephew, PIERRE M. IRVING. Volume III. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1863. 12mo. pp. 403.

THIS volume, which includes the period of Mr. Irving's residence as Minister at the Spanish Court, and his own epistolary narratives of the commotions during the minority of Isabella II., is by far the most interesting of the three that have yet appeared. Irving's noble nature grows rapidly upon the reader, and we are now almost content to have had such weary details of a somewhat vapid youth and a very slowly

maturing manhood in the first volume, as a background for the picture of the fifteen years — from forty-nine to sixty-four — here given us. We postpone our fuller notice of the work till the appearance of the next — undoubtedly the last — volume.

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28. — *Colonial Schemes of Popham and Gorges. Speech of JOHN WINGATE THORNTON, ESQ., at the Fort Popham Celebration, August 29, 1862, under the Auspices of the Maine Historical Society.* Boston. 1863. 8vo. pp. 20.

IN August, 1607, a company of Englishmen landed near the mouth of the Kennebec, with the view of establishing a colony there; but after enduring the hardships of a single winter, they returned in the vessels that brought them supplies. It was at the celebration of this abortive attempt at colonization, that Mr. Thornton delivered the speech of which we have given the title. His speech is rather in keeping with truth and fact, than with the expectations of those who invited him. He reminds them that this was not the first, but the second attempt at New England colonization; that this, as it brought to the shores of the New World only men without families, lacked the very elements of a permanent settlement; and that there was no reason in the nature of the case why a rightly conducted enterprise of that kind might not then and there have succeeded. He gives the good people of Maine, however, adequate ground for gratitude at the retreat of this company from the soil, inasmuch as they were not such men as it would have been pleasant to recognize as ancestors. The chief patron of this enterprise was Chief Justice Popham, of whom his biographer says, that "he not only punished malefactors, but provided for them, and first set up the discovery of *New England*, to maintain and employ those that could not live honestly in the *Old*." Mr. Thornton, after citing these facts, goes on to illustrate the grounds of success in the case of the Plymouth pilgrims, as contrasted with the causes of the several failures of attempts to colonize New England in the earlier years of the seventeenth century. The speech is able, pointed, and pithy, and the notes appended to it fully sustain Mr. Thornton's reputation as an antiquary. But we doubt whether it was well for him to make the speech when and where he did. The gentlemen who assembled at Fort Popham had an undoubted right to celebrate what they deemed an important historical event in their own way; and if they saw fit, at this distance of time, to ignore the damaged morality of the persons connected with that event, it was hardly courteous in their guests to call up unsavory facts and unpleasant memories.

29. — *The Resources of California, comprising Agriculture, Mining, Geography, Climate, Commerce, etc., etc., and the Past and Future Development of the State.* By JOHN S. HITTEL. San Francisco: A. Homan & Co. 12mo. pp. 464.

THIS book is much broader than its title. In addition to the resources of California, it gives a great deal of valuable information, geographical, statistical, historical, and social. In fine, the author evidently intended to meet, so far as was possible, at every point, the reasonable curiosity of the people of the Atlantic States as to the seeds of empire on the Pacific coast. The volume bears all the marks of accuracy, and in the several departments of natural history especially it gives technical names and precise measurements in connection with the utilitarian, commercial and official details that might seem rather to be the peculiar province of such a work.

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30. — *Out-Door Papers.* By THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1863. 12mo. pp. 370.

ALL of these papers appeared for the first time in the Atlantic Monthly. They are both brilliant and wise, with a rare aptness and wealth of metaphor and illustration, with the marks of extended conversance with books new and old, yet without a trace of bookishness or pedantry, with many touches of graceful humor, and with very few offences against taste. They relate chiefly to exercise, health, out-of-door sights and enjoyments, and the hygiene of the physico-intellectual life. They are specially attractive because they are themselves overflowing with vitality, and in reading them we are conscious of the same feeling that it is sometimes our happiness to experience in the warm, strong hand-grasp and the round, clear, hearty voice of a man who has at the same time (how few have all three!) an athletic frame, an active mind, and a good conscience.

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31. — *The New American Cyclopædia: a Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge.* Edited by GEORGE RIPLEY and CHARLES A. DANA. Volume XVI. V — Zwirner. With a Supplement. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. 8vo. pp. 850.

WE have here the last volume of this great national work. In the thoroughness and accuracy exhibited by the test-articles in every department, in adaptation to easy and satisfying use, in the care taken

to bring every subject down to the date of publication of the successive volumes, in the affluence of the biography of living subjects, and in the absence of personal partiality and partisan bias, as well as in the full treatment of topics which have a peculiarly American interest, this Cyclopædia claims the precedence of all others; while the great English and European works of the same class have their respective merits, in which each may in like manner claim to have no rival. We have made constant use of the volumes as they have appeared, and our appreciation of the work has grown with our experience of its value, and with the frequent comparison which we have been led to make between its articles and corresponding titles in other cyclopædias.

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32. — *The History, Civil, Political, and Military, of the Southern Rebellion, from its Incipient Stages to its Close. Comprehending, also, all important State Papers, Ordinances of Secession, Proclamations, Proceedings of Congress, Official Reports of Commanders, etc., etc.* By ORVILLE J. VICTOR. Volumes I. and II. New York: James D. Torrey. 8vo. pp. 531, 537.

THE prime merit of these massive volumes is their closely historical and documentary character. They are less a history than a compend of authentic materials for future history. They seem to be based wholly on official reports and ascertained and admitted facts. They give at suitable intervals condensed summaries of events, and they are provided each with a full and copious alphabetical index. The second volume brings the history down to February 1, 1862. Materials for two or three other volumes must by this time have been accumulated; how many more will be required to bring the conflict to its "close," we may be better able to conjecture when these sheets appear than at this moment of writing, while the great issues in the Southwest remain undecided.

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33. — *Grape Culture, Wines, and Wine-making. With Notes upon Agriculture and Horticulture.* By A. HARASZTHY, Commissioner to report on the Improvement and Culture of the Vine in California. With Numerous Illustrations. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1862. 8vo. pp. 420.

ABOUT one third of this volume is occupied with the journal of a European tour undertaken in the service of the State of California, to which is added a chapter giving the results of the author's observation and experience in their application to the grape-culture in California.

Considerably more than half of the book consists of appendices, chiefly extracted from various foreign writers, on the culture of the grape, the silk-worm, and the sorgho, on the manufacture of wine, potato-starch, grape-sugar, and beet-sugar, and on various kindred topics. The entire work constitutes a manual of the highest value in the department with which it is principally concerned, and can hardly fail to render the most essential service in developing what promises to be the prime industrial interest of our Pacific coast, — a development to which we are to look, not only for a large increase of national wealth, but — what is of immeasurably greater consequence — for the ultimate suppression of the poisonous compounds, in which the grape has but a slender share, that are undermining at once the health and the moral well-being of our people.

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34. — *A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe.* By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M. D., LL. D., Professor of Chemistry and Physiology in the University of New York; Author of a "Treatise on Human Physiology," etc., etc. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1863. 8vo. pp. 631.

THIS is a work of which the brief space now at our command will not enable us to give the measure. It covers the entire history of European progress. The author's endeavor is to trace the action of primordial law in the general development of the race, and in the successive stages of growth and decline that have marked the collective life of portions of the race. The author is a rigid positivist in his method, but not after the school of Comte or of Buckle. Law is with him, not automatic, but the outgoing of the will of the immutable Creator; and Christianity is not the growth of the human intellect, but the gift of God. In the light of Christian theism, sporadic and fortuitous events and changes are so only in appearance. The miscellaneous, confused aspect of human history is due solely to our lack of comprehensive theories. We have a Ptolemaic system of the spiritual universe, and thus must invent countless cycles and epicycles to bring what has been and is within the purlieus of our system. A true system of the spiritual, as of the material universe, must comprehend within its great circles all that man has been and thought, experienced and realized. That our author has drawn these circles with unerring hand is more than he would claim. To have made the attempt is of itself a great merit and a high achievement. His work must take its place as among the most truly original, profound, and instructive contributions of the age, in the department of speculative philosophy.

35. — *The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man, with Remarks on Theories of the Origin of Species by Variation.* By SIR CHARLES LYELL, F. R. S., Author of "Principles of Geology," "Elements of Geology," etc., etc. Illustrated by Woodcuts. Philadelphia: George W. Childs. 1863. 8vo. pp. 518.

WE have the promise of an article on this book in our next number. Our own habitual line of study by no means qualifies us to pass an *ex cathedra* judgment upon it. But we would bespeak for its reasonings and conclusions a candor like that which the author manifests in his treatment of the Darwinian theory. Most of all would we deprecate the prejudging of the questions at issue on theological or Biblical grounds. Revelation and its records rest on positive testimony, which physical science cannot set aside without negating all established laws of evidence and of historical belief. That there should have been races of men on the earth ages before the opening of the present epoch of human history, is no more improbable in itself, and no more inconsistent with the sacred record, than that the Fauna and Flora of early geologic periods should have preceded the present races of animals and forms of vegetation. The very sciences and scientific discoveries which have been dreaded and denounced, each in its turn, as antagonistic to religious faith, have thus far only enlarged man's conceptions of the Creator, and furnished new and vivid illustrations of the great truths of the Christian revelation.

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36. — *The Races of the Old World: a Manual of Ethnology.* By CHARLES L. BRACE, Author of "Hungary in '51," "Home-Life in Germany," "Norse-Folk," etc. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863. 12mo. pp. 540.

THE main object of this book is not to maintain a theory, but to present a compend of the undoubted history of national derivations and changes. The author, however, starts with the theory of the unity of the human race, which he defends at the outset on linguistic grounds. The work throughout exhibits marks of the most careful research, and is to be especially commended as giving in every instance the grounds for conclusions opposite to its own. In the last chapter but one, Mr. Brace discusses the question of the antiquity of the race, and avows his belief in "the probability of a vast antiquity to human beings, and of the existence of the FOSSIL or PRE-ADAMITIC MAN." In the last chapter he resumes the question of unity or diversity of origin as regards the present races of men, and advocates the former hypothesis,

mainly on grounds derived from ascertained facts as to the variation and degeneration of inferior animals.

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37. — 1. *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature.* By THOMAS H. HUXLEY, F. R. S., F. L. S., Professor of Natural History in the Jermyn Street School of Mines. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. 12mo. pp. 184.
2. *On the Origin of Species: or, The Causes of the Phenomena of Organic Nature. A Course of Lectures to Workingmen.* By THOMAS H. HUXLEY, Professor of Natural History in the Jermyn Street School of Mines. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. 12mo. pp. 150.

THESE books are popular exhibitions of the Darwinian theory. That this theory can ever be *demonstrated* is impossible; for it is admitted by its advocates, that the countless intermediate stages of development which it supposes have, most of them, left no discoverable vestiges. That it will remain the dominant belief of the scientific world seems to us improbable. But there is reason to think that it will be to a large extent and for some length of time adopted as a provisional hypothesis for the grouping of established facts and new discoveries in comparative anatomy. We would urge with regard to it the same considerations to which we have given expression as to the antiquity of man. It may at least express a portion of the truth. It may lead to the reduction of animated nature to a few primitive and ascertainable types; and even were it pushed as far as is claimed by Darwin and Huxley,—were it to be admitted—which we heartily deprecate—with regard to the physical structure of the human being,—it cannot reach the realm of reason, conscience, and will, it cannot cast a ray of doubt on our Divine sonship and immortal birth-right on the spiritual side, nor can it falsify the charter of our heavenly citizenship in the revelation which bears the incontestable signature of the Almighty.

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#### ERRATUM.

Page 71, lines 2 and 3 from bottom, for "George and William Wyndham, Thomas Grenville," etc., read "George, William Wyndham, and Thomas Grenville," etc.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

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A Memorial of Rev. Theodore Tebbets: a Sermon delivered in the First Church, Medford, Feb. 8, 1863. By Rev. Edward C. Towne. With an Appendix. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1863.

A Memorial of Rev. Richard Pike: Two Discourses, with Letter, Resolutions, &c. A Discourse delivered before the Third Religious Society, Dorchester, at the Funeral of its late Pastor, Rev. Richard Pike, February 20, 1863. By Rev. Nathaniel Hall. A Sermon delivered by Request before the Third Religious Society in Dorchester, the First Sabbath after the Decease of Rev. Richard Pike, February 22, 1863. By Rev. Caleb Davis Bradlee. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1863.

Manhood, the Want of the Day. A Sermon preached in the Church of the Cambridgeport Parish, March 1, 1863, by Rev. John F. W. Ware. Reprinted from the Monthly Religious Magazine. Boston: Leonard C. Bowles. 1863.

God Hiding Himself in Times of Trouble. A Sermon preached on the Day of the State Fast, April 2, 1863, in the Baptist Church, Brookline, Mass. By William Lamson, Pastor of the Church. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1863.

The War to end only when the Rebellion ceases. A Discourse in All Souls' Church, on the Occasion of the National Fast, April 30, 1863. By Henry W. Bellows, D. D. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph. 1863.

Northern Strength and Weakness. An Address on Occasion of the National Fast, April 30, 1863, delivered in Watertown, by Rev. John Weiss. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1863.

Man's Cry, and God's Gracious Answer. A Contribution toward the Defence of the Faith. By the Rev. B. Franklin. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863.

The Roman Catholic Principle; a "Price Lecture," delivered in Trinity Church, Boston, March 18, 1863, by F. D. Huntington, D. D., Rector of Emmanuel Church. Boston: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1863.

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# NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCI.

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OCTOBER, 1863.

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- ART. I. — 1. *Contributions to Vital Statistics; being a Development of the Rate of Mortality and the Laws of Sickness from Original and Extensive Data, with an Inquiry into the Influence of Locality, Occupations, and Habits of Life on Health.* By F. G. P. NEISON, F. L. S. Third Edition. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1857. 4to. pp. 630.
2. *Eighth Annual Report of the Insurance Commissioners of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, January 1, 1863.* Part II. *Life Insurance.* Boston: Wright and Potter, State Printers. 1863. 8vo. pp. lxii. and 38.
3. *Nineteen Annual Reports of the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company of Boston.* 1844–1862. 8vo. pp. 158.

THE business of life insurance in this country, which can hardly be said to have existed a quarter of a century ago, has suddenly assumed great extent and importance. Before 1840, the only company in New England, or even, as we believe, in the United States, formed for this purpose, was the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, an admirably managed institution, having the control of very large funds, but insuring very few lives, for the excellent reason that its charter compelled it to contribute one third of the profits derived from this source to the support of the Massachusetts Hospital, and of course very few persons were willing to pay fifty

per cent more for a policy than it was actually worth, even though the addition to the natural price was a contribution to a very deserving charity. But in 1844 the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company, chartered in 1837, commenced business in Boston ; and at about the same time several other companies were established on similar principles in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. Through the activity of these companies the peculiar nature of life insurance, and the inducements for effecting it, were made generally known ; and the consequence was, that the business immediately began to grow with astonishing rapidity, and soon far surpassed the expectations of its founders. The number of rival companies was quickly enlarged, and is even now increasing every year, in the hope of sharing this great wave of prosperity. The statistics of the business for the whole country have not yet been collected ; but it appears from the Annual Report of the Insurance Commissioners of Massachusetts, dated January 1, 1863, that “ the amount insured by the twenty-four Life Insurance Companies [five chartered by Massachusetts and nineteen by other States] now legally doing business in this Commonwealth, falls very little short of two hundred millions of dollars in more than seventy-five thousand policies.”

“ These companies hold cash funds, from premiums and interest thereon, to the amount of over \$ 20,000,000. Their cash income during the last year exceeded \$ 6,000,000, and they paid more than \$ 2,000,000 for losses by death. Notwithstanding the agitation of the times, their business has continued rapidly to advance during the year. The amount of policies issued by these companies, from November 1, 1861, to November 1, 1862, was over \$ 38,000,000. Those of them that were included in our Seventh Report as doing business here the previous year made a net increase last year of \$ 13,000,000 in the amount insured, against a net increase of \$ 2,000,000 in the year before.” — *Report*, p. iv.

But this great financial success is not to us the most interesting feature of the business. We look rather at its moral than at its commercial aspect. As an institution admirably adapted to develop habits of prudence, economy, and forethought among all classes in the community, and especially among those who have most need to practise these virtues, fit-



ted also to alleviate and to render less numerous the sudden and distressing alternations of fortune that are unhappily so common in our community, to take away from families at least one pang caused by the death of a father, brother, or son on whom many were dependent, to promote family affection and to lessen family anxieties, to increase the willingness to assist by loans industrious and energetic young men who require a helping hand only at the outset, and generally to diminish the number of calls upon public and private charity, we know not any recently organized undertaking which so richly deserves to be fostered and carefully guarded as this same business of insuring lives. Strictly speaking, it is not at all a commercial enterprise undertaken for the purpose of profit. Seldom elsewhere, and never in this country, except for a short period at its outset, and as a means of overcoming the first difficulties of its establishment, has a Life Insurance Company been based upon an independent capital, the owners of which must have their dividends. It is an association open to all, in which no one pays anything more than the exact cost of the benefit which he receives. The insured constitute the company, its accumulations are theirs, its success is theirs, and the ostensible managers and directors are only their agents and trustees, empowered to invest and protect the funds for their benefit. With a fair degree of economy and skill, as we shall have occasion to show, even the expenses of management can be reduced to as small a fraction of the annual receipts as is common in the best-conducted Savings Banks.

The comparison here suggested is an instructive one, and has been frequently pursued. A Life Insurance Company is a Savings Bank in this respect, that the sum annually paid into it by each of the insured is not so much money *expended* by him, but so much *saved*, and invested by him *at compound interest*, for the future benefit, generally of his family, but sometimes of himself or of his creditor. He can himself determine at the outset to which of these three the sum with all its accumulations shall ultimately be returned. Thus far, then, the two institutions are precisely on a par; the one offers just as much encouragement to frugality and forethought as the other; and the two are equally beneficial to the community,

in that, by bringing together many small sums, it renders their aggregate, as one large amount, practically available as capital in great commercial and manufacturing enterprises, while, if taken singly, they would be nearly useless because so small. Like tanks and cisterns, they economize and preserve the water which as mere drops of rain would be wasted.

In every other respect, — that is, in all respects in which a Life Insurance Company differs from a Savings Bank, — the difference, both in a moral and an economical point of view, is to the advantage of the former. The savings successively deposited in the latter are, at best, varying sums, generally the results of immethodical economy, which may also all be withdrawn at any moment, as suits the caprice, the temptations, perhaps the returning disposition to extravagance, of the depositor. Hence, though the institution encourages frugality, it does not tend to form *the habit* of frugality, which is the greater good of the two. He who has merely put his savings into a bank can at any time become a spendthrift and waste the whole of them ; at best, there is no pressing call upon him to economize and deposit an equal sum in each succeeding year. But he who puts them into a Life Insurance Company places them beyond his own control ; he cannot withdraw them, except at the stipulated time, and under the stipulated circumstances ; and the time and circumstances thus stipulated are precisely those in which the repayment of the accumulated sum will be most welcome to him, or to those dearest to him for whose sake he first made the investment. One can no more take back by caprice the savings thus originally devoted to a sacred purpose, than he can withdraw at pleasure the sums already laid out upon the education of his children. Many of us well remember the little closed box with a narrow slit in its cover, with which old-fashioned parents strove to cultivate the habit of frugality in their children by teaching them to deposit in it, out of their own reach, their little savings from pocket-money, the teacher secretly adding from time to time to the little hoard, and thus, after some months or years, when the treasury was forcibly opened, creating astonished delight at the magnitude of the sum disclosed, which was all fairly their own, the reward of their persevering economy. The

lesson was a homely one, yet so wise a philanthropist as Dr. Franklin would have cordially smiled upon it, as a useful invention quite in his own way. Such a box is a Life Insurance Company, yet with this important difference. The box tended to make children frugal, but equally, it must be confessed, did it tend to make them selfish ; the Life Insurance, when effected, as it usually is, for the sole benefit of one's family, is almost the only purely disinterested mode of saving. It is such frugality as can benefit him who practises it only when he appears at the last great reckoning ; and as such, it may win the praise even of the Great Teacher, who applauded the poor widow when she cast her two mites into the treasury.

Meanwhile, forethought and the habit of continuous and methodical frugality are best promoted by the necessity, to which every one who insures his life subjects himself, of depositing an equal sum on each successive year, under the penalty of forfeiting, if he fails to do so, a great part of what he has already invested. This penalty is not unreasonably severe, being in fact just enough to confirm the good resolution one has formed of practising systematic economy for the future. The liability to it is the price, and not a high price, which one pays for his admission into a fraternity of persons who *are* resolutely and methodically frugal, and who therefore cannot afford to share the common fund of their savings equally with others who are economical only for a time, or by fits and starts. A mechanic at the age of twenty-four — just about the time when he usually thinks of marrying — can insure his life for \$2,000 by engaging to pay a *net* premium each year of only about twenty-six dollars. True, the actual payment required of him is nearly forty dollars ; but as we have said, he is required to pay only the *cost* of the insurance ; and as the experience of our largest companies, continued for over fifteen years, proves that this cost does not at present exceed twenty-six dollars, the difference of fourteen dollars is sooner or later returned to him in the form of a dividend. If it be said that this young mechanic cannot prudently bind himself to put aside every year, out of his own reach, even this small sum, the answer is, that he certainly cannot in prudence bind himself to support a wife and children. Nay, the surest means of

really fulfilling this last obligation, of actually providing for his intended family, is to effect this very insurance.

We thus come to a consideration of that distinctive feature of Life Insurance in which consists its great superiority over all other modes of providing for future welfare by present frugality. For those who can make but moderate savings each year, what security is there that they will live long enough to accumulate a sum sufficient for their purpose? Premature death may frustrate the best-laid plans and the firmest resolutions of economy.

*"Pallida Mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas*

*Regumque turres . . . .*

*Vitæ summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam."*

The King of Terrors will not allow time enough for the little hoard in the Savings Bank to reach an amount sufficient to protect a widow and orphan children against pinching want; and the consciousness of his approach will be made doubly painful by the thought that distressing poverty must soon augment the sorrows of the bereaved family. Life Insurance is the means, the only means that has ever been invented, of obviating this fearful hazard, of removing LIFE, so far as pecuniary calculations for the future are concerned, from the class of contingencies, and placing it in the class of certainties. If the young mechanic should deposit his twenty-six dollars a year in a Savings Bank, and then should die within five years, his family will have, calculating at five per cent, less than \$150,—hardly enough to pay his funeral expenses and to support them even for the next three months; if he should die at the end of ten years, they will have only about \$350. But if he should invest his twenty-six dollars a year in a Life Insurance, then, though he should die within five years—within one year—even within a week from the time of the first payment, his family will receive \$2,000; and if his death should take place only at the end of twenty years, this fixed sum of \$2,000, still payable at his death, will be more than twice as large as the amount which a Savings Bank could pay if it had received from him the same annual payments which we have supposed him to make for Life Insurance.

The results of this comparison seem, at the first glance,

almost too favorable for belief. We can hardly see how it is possible for an association, in return for an agreement made by a person twenty-four years old to pay them twenty-six dollars a year as long as he lives, to covenant that they will give \$2,000 to his surviving relatives immediately after his death, whether that death take place in six months or in sixty years. We should suppose that an association rash enough to form contracts of this sort would infallibly become bankrupt, or find its funds exhausted, in a very few years. Yet not only the most precise calculations, but actual experience, as shown by the statistics which we have just given of the very flourishing condition of the Life Insurance Companies established here during the last twenty years, and by which seventy-five thousand similar contracts have been formed, prove that the thing can be done, and has been done. There is really no element of uncertainty in the case, *provided the company can obtain business enough*; for while it is demonstrably safe for an institution to contract ten thousand such engagements, it would be extremely hazardous for it to continue operations if it could form only a few hundred of them. As this is a point of great importance, we shall recur to it afterwards. Meanwhile, our readers may accept from us *on trust* this aphorism, which we hereby bind ourselves subsequently to demonstrate: — *Among equally well-managed Life Insurance Companies, that is the safest, the cheapest, and the most deserving of confidence, which has done, and is doing, the largest amount of business.*

A little reflection will show how these very favorable results are obtained. Persons who take out policies in a *Mutual* Life Insurance Company really form themselves into a fraternity on this principle, — that each will contribute annually to the common fund a small fixed sum during his whole life, be it longer or shorter; and this common fund shall be divided, in proportion to their annual payments, among their respective families, however unequal may be the terms of life which God may grant them. Suppose, for the sake of clearness, that only two persons form such a fraternity on equal terms, and that one of them survives its formation only one year, so that he makes but one of these annual payments, while the other lives

long enough to make forty-nine annual payments ; still, as the fund by agreement is to be divided equally, the family of him who dies first will receive half of the whole, or twenty-five of these payments *with their accumulations at compound interest*, and the family of the other, of course, will receive only the same amount, being the other half of the common fund. This is the whole secret of Life Insurance : — those who live *longer than the average duration of life* make up, by the consequent excess of their contributions to the common fund, for the deficiency of those who unfortunately live *less than this average*. It is just our Saviour's parable acted over again, — “ These last have wrought but one hour, and thou hast made them equal unto us, which have borne the burden and the heat of the day.” The members of a life-insuring fraternity *make one another sure of obtaining the average duration of human life*, so far, at least, as the results of their annual savings are concerned. To recur to the case of our young mechanic : — though he should die within the year, and therefore after contributing only twenty-six dollars to the fund, the Company is able to pay his heirs two thousand dollars, because experience proves that persons now twenty-four years old live, *on an average*, thirty-eight years longer ; and twenty-six dollars a year for thirty-eight years, accumulating at compound interest, even after paying liberally for expenses of management, amounts to more than two thousand dollars. Of course, many of those insured at twenty-four years old will die before they are sixty-two years of age ; but the deficiency thus caused will be compensated by those who attain a greater age than sixty-two, so that the whole number of annual payments into the fund will be just the same as if *all* the insured lived to be sixty-two, and no longer. From a table in one of the volumes now before us, we learn that, out of 90,514 persons taken at the age of twenty-four years, 50,495, or considerably more than half, lived to be more than sixty-two, and 35,816 to be more than seventy.\*

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\* Observe that the *probable* duration of life, or the period to which just half the number of persons who are alive at any given age will probably attain, differs considerably from the *average* duration, which is the mean of the united ages of the same individuals. Thus, according to the table which we have used above, the *probable* duration of life for those who are now twenty-four years old will be to sixty-

Everything in the science of Life Insurance evidently depends on determining with great accuracy the *average duration of human life*, reckoning not merely from the time of birth, but from any age at which persons may wish to become insured. It is not usually desired to effect insurances on those who are under fifteen, or on those who are over sixty years of age. Within these limits, the problem may be regarded as solved with all needful precision; for an immense body of information has been collected, and statisticians and mathematicians have been employed in working over the data thus obtained for more than half a century. The great quarto volume by Mr. Neison, an able mathematician, who is Actuary of a Life Insurance Company in London, is filled with curious information and elaborate computations on this subject. On the whole, the question is so far settled, that it may be said to have ceased to be a problem in science, and to have become only a matter of book-keeping. With the facilities that have been furnished, an ordinary clerk is able to make all the necessary calculations, and to acquire a thorough understanding of them.

But some popular fallacies on the subject need to be removed. The average duration of life, reckoning from any given age, is usually called the *Expectation of Life* for all persons of that age. And so it is for a Life Insurance Company, which has insured perhaps two thousand different persons at this age. Such a company may reasonably *expect* — nay, may be morally sure — that the *two thousand* or more will, *on an average*, live just about the number of years that is called their “expectation of life.” But they cannot expect — it would be the height of folly to imagine — that any *one person* out of that number will live to that “expected” age. The expectation is deduced solely from the average of a great many cases, and therefore is worth nothing at all for any *one* case; for the individual cases, which are the extremes, may

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five years, for then only will their number, 90,514, be reduced to a little over 45,000, or just half its former amount. Up to the age of sixty, at least, the “average” will always be less than the “probable” duration, as most of the 50,000 who survive sixty-two must survive it by a shorter period than that by which the 40,000 who die earlier fall short of sixty-two. The office which insures lives, as it must look only to the average number of annual payments, must always take for its rule the “average” and not the “probable” duration of life.

differ from each other ever so little or ever so much ; and yet *the average* will remain the same. If five persons, each fifty years of age, survive that age respectively two, four, six, eight, and ten years, the mean or average duration of these periods of survival is six years ; and this, *as determined by these few cases*, would be the “ expectation of life ” for persons who are fifty years old. But it is obvious that no one person, now aged fifty, is any more likely, or has any better ground to expect, to live six years longer, than to live only two years or ten years. The chances are equal for either of these three contingencies. A perfectly definite and well-established rule for the mean or average of a great number of cases affords no “ ground of expectation ” whatever for any one of these cases.

But a mean or average duration of life, as determined by a great number of cases, is a perfectly sure “ ground of expectation ” on which a company can insure lives, *provided it insures lives enough*. As it is obvious that the rule, if a sound one, must be *derived* from a great multitude of cases, so also, in order to be safely used, it must be *applied* to a great multitude of cases. To recur to the instance just given : — the average duration of life at fifty years, as determined by the best tables derived from a vast number of cases, is a little less than twenty-one years ; but though this is a perfectly good “ ground of expectation ” for five thousand cases, it is no “ ground of expectation ” at all for five cases, and very little “ ground ” even for fifty cases ; for it may very well happen that any five, or even any fifty cases, may all fall far short of the average, or may all greatly exceed the average. And here is the first reason — and it is an exceedingly strong one — why persons wishing to insure their lives should go into a company that has done and is doing a very large business, rather than into one which has issued comparatively few policies. For in the latter case it is a mere lottery whether the company will be solvent or not, since it may very well happen that the few cases which it has insured will all fall far short of the average. The occurrence of a severe epidemic, like that of the Asiatic cholera, would make the insolvency of the company morally certain, so that the insured might lose a great



part of their investment. But such an occurrence would have very little effect on a company that had insured ten thousand lives; it would not diminish its large available means more than three or four per cent. And even this contingency, as we shall see hereafter, is fully guarded against by such a company.

But there is another reason for preferring a large company to a small one. Though the insured in a mutual company pay only the actual *cost* of their insurance, the expenses of management — such as the rent of the office, the salaries of the officers, and the compensation of the agents — form a portion, and quite a considerable portion, of this cost. Now it is evident that these expenses of management are relatively much greater for a small or young company than for a large and old one. A mere glance at the Report of the Massachusetts Insurance Commissioners demonstrates this position. Taking the five largest companies therein reported, all of which have existed at least sixteen years, and which already insure on an average over fifty-four millions of dollars each, we find that the mean ratio of their expenses to their annual receipts is between nine and ten per cent. But taking the five smallest companies, which insure on an average only about three millions each, we find this mean ratio is nearly forty per cent. But as this comparison would be hardly a fair one, since most of these companies are very young, and the expenses of the first year are always disproportionately large, we will take rather the five smallest companies that have been at least ten years in operation; and we find that their expenses of management average almost exactly twenty-five per cent of their receipts; in other words, their expenses are relatively two and a half times heavier than those of the larger companies. The cost of insuring one's life in them is fifteen per cent more than it need be, and than it would be in a large association.

We submit that we have now fulfilled our pledge, and demonstrated that, among equally well-managed Life Insurance Companies, that which has done and is doing the largest business is at once the safest, most economical, and best. The most skilful management cannot relieve the operations of a small company from great hazard; and its expenses must be

relatively so heavy, that full one seventh of the cost of insuring lives in it is really thrown away. Moreover, the risk of mismanagement, speculation, and fraud by some of its officers or agents is relatively much greater, as its operations cannot have so much publicity, and cannot be overlooked by so large a number of deeply interested persons. In England, the reputation of all the old and large companies is beyond suspicion, and their operations are admitted to have been very beneficial to the public ; while the records of the courts at law and the evidence taken before Parliament afford the most painful testimony of the frauds and failures which have marked the career of many of the younger and smaller institutions.

We have thus dwelt with what some may regard as even painful minuteness on the very elements of the science of Life Insurance, because we have a profound conviction that the subject is one of vast importance, and that the institution ought especially to be judiciously fostered in this country, as it is greatly needed, and there are already indications that it will be developed here to a larger extent than anywhere else in the world. The ease with which fortunes are gained and lost renders our people sanguine, improvident, and extravagant. Especially is this improvidence manifested in reference to the contingency of early death. Persons of fixed incomes, including those who depend upon salaries and wages, as well as those who subsist upon the revenue of an invested property in which they have only a life interest, still think that they are sufficiently economical if their expenditures do not exceed their receipts. Hence the sudden and cruel alternations of fortune which we are all so frequently obliged to witness. A whole family, who have been delicately nurtured, unaccustomed to labor, and inexperienced in privation, find that the same stroke which deprives them of parent, husband, or only son also reduces them to extreme poverty. The widow must take boarders ; the daughters must seek employment as teachers ; the sons must beg for subordinate positions in stores or workshops, or emigrate to the Far West. Too often, even these resources cannot be obtained, or prove unfruitful ; generally, the want of experience is fatal, at least for a time, to success in either of them. Debt soon comes to aggravate destitution ;

and it is well even if good principles and good habits are not soon worn away in the depressing struggle. Self-respect is seldom preserved ; the destitute must solicit aid from friends, and this is but a euphemism for beggary. The misery thus caused is incalculable. Poverty is not so great a hardship to those who have always been poor ; the hand indurated by constant work does not blister. But the poverty which comes suddenly after ease and affluence, not only blisters, but eats deeply into the flesh. It is a chronic smart, which too often gradually wears away the health both of body and mind.

Common observation will satisfy any one that this picture is not overdrawn, and that it does not represent an infrequent occurrence. If it were the only merit of Life Insurance that it furnishes a means, the only sure means, of obviating these distressing calamities, the institution might well be regarded as one of the most efficient "charities" which human benevolence has ever devised. But this is only its direct result ; its indirect influence upon the habits of the people is a matter of at least equal moment. It not only encourages frugality, but makes frugality a habit, and removes from it the taint of selfishness ; it not only renders men provident, but it shares, though in a humble degree, with religion in extending this providence to a period beyond the life of the individual. We claim for the institution, therefore, a high place in the regards of the truly benevolent, — of those who are the most anxious to try all feasible means of diminishing the amount of sin and misery in the community. We claim for it even a higher place there than is universally accorded to Savings Banks, Model Lodging-Houses, Provident Associations, Ragged Schools, or any other of the thousand and one philanthropic institutions of this most philanthropic age. It is an additional consideration, though of comparatively slight importance, that the large funds accumulated for Life Insurance are in great part a positive addition, which would not otherwise be made, to the available capital of the country, — to the stock which keeps in motion and renders efficient our national industry. Thus, of the twenty millions already accumulated by nineteen companies here, it is perfectly safe to say that at least ten millions have accrued from annual savings, each one of which

was so small that the sum would probably not have been saved, but spent, if the call to pay the annual premium had not rendered the economy necessary.

Our expectation of a rapid and very large increase in the business of Life Insurance is founded not merely upon the strong intrinsic considerations in favor of it, which need only to be understood in order to be generally acknowledged and acted upon, but upon its extraordinary development within a few years, both here and in England. The first English company for insuring lives was formed only a century ago, and but two others, one in 1792 and one in 1797, were established before 1800. The amount of business done by these three was comparatively insignificant; for they were Proprietary Companies which gained immense profits for their stockholders out of the high rates which they charged to the insured. Only nine other companies were founded before 1819. It was not till the introduction of the mutual principle, by which the price of Life Insurance was reduced to its actual cost, that the nature of the operation came to be fully understood and its importance appreciated. This principle is so obviously a reasonable and proper one, that the two oldest companies, the Equitable and the Amicable, have been compelled to adopt it in a great measure, by granting a large share of their profits, in the form of bonuses or dividends, to the insured. As soon as the low cost of the operation was thus rendered manifest, the business began to expand with astonishing rapidity, and it has now become one of the great interests in the state. Ninety-nine of the now existing offices were opened between 1819 and 1850, and seventy-seven more from 1850 to 1855. We here count those only which are still in operation, and apparently successful. Of 228 new companies founded between 1844 and 1856, *one half have already ceased to exist*; many of these were mere swindles. Though the history of too many of those which are of recent origin has thus been disastrous, ignorance and fraud having presided over their birth, others have been more fortunate, and while yet in early youth are already formidable rivals to the two veteran companies. Through the active rivalry of these numerous associations, the merits of the institution have been thoroughly canvassed and advertised; and now all classes

in the community, from princes of the blood down to common artisans, manifest a daily increasing eagerness to protect their families or their creditors by Life Insurance. The life of the last Duke of York was insured to an almost fabulous amount by his desponding creditors, whose only other chance of payment rested on the princely life-income which Parliament granted to the royal debauchee. An actuary of one of the companies recently testified before a committee of the House of Commons, that a vast enlargement of the business beyond its present amount is even now taking place among the laboring classes, who have become convinced, in England at least, that the best investment of their savings is in Life Insurance.

In 1849, the sums assured in English companies were estimated at one hundred and fifty millions sterling; and, considering the enormous increase of the business since that date, it is safe to estimate that this sum is now tripled, making an aggregate of four hundred and fifty millions sterling, or about two thousand two hundred and fifty millions of dollars. Hence it appears that the two hundred millions of dollars already insured on life policies in this country is but a small fraction of what may soon be expected. Our population is as large as that of England; and, excluding the very rich who do not need, and the very poor who are not able, to effect Life Insurance, the proportion of the remainder — who may be called the life-insuring class — to the whole population is much greater than in the Old World. We may reasonably expect to learn, before many years have expired, that the amount insured here is ten times as great as at present.

In proportion to the merits of the institution, and to its flattering prospects of enlargement, ought to be our anxiety that it should be established in this country on a safe and well-regulated basis, with every possible security against fraud and mismanagement. In no case are a wise oversight and restraint by the legislature more needed than in the establishment and conduct of new companies for Life Insurance. And this for an obvious reason. He who intrusts his savings to any other corporation formed for business purposes can withdraw them at almost any moment, when he sees reason to fear fraud, disaster, or even diminished profits; he can draw out his depos-

its, or sell his stock, with no loss at all, or with only a trifling one. But he who has been deluded into once entering a wrong company for life insurance is bound to it for his whole life, under the penalty of losing all, or the greater part, of what he has already invested. Though he may clearly see his mistake and lament it, the legislature or the courts of law can do nothing to help him ; he is still bound by his contract with many others, all of whom are as unfortunate as himself, to continue his annual payment to the company during his whole natural life, or else he must lose all that he has paid already. He may continue for a few years, in popular phrase, “ to throw good money after bad ” ; and then, in a fit of vexation, he is very likely to abandon all. This necessity may be a very sad one to a family in moderate circumstances, who have long looked to the Life Insurance as their only guaranty for the future against utter destitution. Such cases have been by no means infrequent in England, and, young as the institution is here, we are well aware that they are not unknown in this country. Strenuously as we have advocated the claims of Life Insurance, we would with equal earnestness press this caution : Beware what company you enter ! Choose not the youngest, nor the one which is ostensibly and for the moment the cheapest, nor that which holds out the most flattering promises, and is pressed most persistently upon your notice. *The price of Life Insurance cannot be below its actual cost ; and all mutual companies offer it at cost.* Choose, then, that which in the long run — and the contract necessarily covers the whole of what may be a long life — is sure to afford it at the least cost ; and this, as we have demonstrated, must be one of the oldest, largest, and richest companies.

Fortunately, as the institution here is of more recent growth than in England, we have been able to profit by the mistakes of our predecessors ; and accordingly, the legislation on the subject, especially in Massachusetts, is wise and judicious as far as it goes, and much better than the English system, or want of system. New York has prudently followed a good example, her system being in the main a copy of the Massachusetts scheme. The credit of devising the plan, and of carrying it in great part into execution, is due, we believe, chiefly to Mr.

Elizur Wright, who has applied competent mathematical attainments, a thorough knowledge of the business, and great impartiality, to the work of suggesting the proper tests of solvency, causing the proper returns to be made under legal penalties, and founding the requisite calculations upon them, so that one of his Reports exhibits at a glance the relative standing of all the companies doing business in the State. We wish that a copy of the one now before us could be put into the hands of every person who has not already insured his life.

The right and the duty of regulating by numerous and strict enactments of law the business of Life Insurance rest upon far stronger reasons than can be alleged for legislative interference in any other commercial or financial undertaking. *All the funds accumulated in Life Insurance offices belong exclusively to the insured*; Actuaries, Presidents, and Directors are merely their paid agents and trustees, accountable to them for every dollar which is paid into or out of the general fund. But because the insured are a very numerous body, widely dispersed, and each of them owning only a very small fraction of the common fund, they can exercise hardly any direct supervision over the operations of the company; they are at the mercy of their own agents, who are for the most part self-constituted agents, being any persons whatever who have seen fit to get up a Life Insurance Company. The insured may have a seeming protection in the character of the directors; for unless some of these are persons of reputation and wealth, the company could not have obtained any business. But unfortunately this is only a seeming guaranty; for the practice is too common of gentlemen "lending their names," as it is called, to a company in which they have no interest, whose concerns they never investigate, and for which they are in no wise responsible. Such a practice is nothing else than a gross fraud. These persons allow their names to be blazoned in advertisements all over the country as "Directors" of an association having the control of very large trust funds, really the property and the sole dependence of many thousand widows and orphans, and yet know and care no more about its proceedings than they do for the actions of the Emperor of China. The first object of

the legislature ought to be, to put a stop to so iniquitous a custom. The number of the directors should be limited by law, never to exceed six or eight, and no one to be eligible to the office unless his own life is insured by the company to the amount of several thousand dollars. Then the annual returns to the legislature should be accompanied by certificates, rendered upon oath, by each of the directors, that, thrice at least during the year, he has personally investigated its proceedings and investments, and can vouch from his own knowledge for the truth of the returns. Of course, such services could not be rendered without compensation; but the insured, in consideration of the greater security thus afforded them, would gladly vote reasonable salaries to the directors; for the duties, after all, would not require much labor or time. It is easy to be a faithful watch-dog against thieves, and yet not spend all one's time in barking.

The stringency of the legal regulations which already exist, and of those which we now advocate, would afford no cause of complaint to the conductors of large, really solvent, and well-managed companies. On the contrary, strict laws are welcomed by them, as their tendency is to lessen the number of new and weak offices, and thus to diminish a competition which is all the more injurious to the insured and to the sound institutions, because it is often unprincipled, reckless, and even fraudulent. Of course, they are welcomed by the insured, who are the real parties in interest, and therefore the only ones whose wishes ought to be consulted.

This leads us to remark, that competition in Life Insurance has already been carried much too far. There is not the same reason for it as in any other business. Competition is generally for the public good, on account of its tendency to reduce the price of an article as nearly as possible to the actual cost. But here, from the nature of the case, the price is already at the cost; and competition, when its object is merely to increase the extent, and not the profitableness, of the business, tends really to enhance the cost. The "expenses of management," to which we have already adverted as the only cause why the insured do not receive back their *whole* investment, are heavy chiefly because the cost of obtaining new business is heavy.



Hence it is, as we have shown, that the expenses of new and small companies are relatively so large, being two and a half times greater than those of their older and wealthier rivals. They must advertise extensively, employ soliciting agents at high prices, and adopt a thousand paltry but costly expedients to make a show before the world. There is no occasion for the larger and well-established associations to continue this degrading and profitless struggle. The basis which they have already secured makes them really independent of any new business whatever. It will continue to come to them even if they do not offer a bribe for it; there are steady and permanent causes at work, which must enlarge their sphere of operations, whether they will or not. Most of the new business will come to them of its own accord, and there is no need of paying a heavy tax on the whole in order to make this natural increase a little larger. The addition thus gained, — that is, the addition to the natural growth, — really costs more than it is worth; it is a source of weakness, not of strength. On the other hand, the great reduction of the expenses of management consequent on giving up all active measures of competition, would be a soliciting agency worth all the others put together. When the ratio of expense is reduced from ten to six per cent, as it might be in all large and well-conducted offices in which new policies are not paid for, comparatively few persons would enter young or weak companies, in which this ratio must average nearly twenty-five per cent. A reasonable amount, it is true, must always be spent in advertising; for it is important that the advantages which the company really possesses should be generally known. But well-satisfied policy-holders are the most effective soliciting agents; they cost nothing, and they alone ought to be employed.

The great danger of active rivalry is, that it induces the weaker competitors to accept undue risks, including some that have already been declined by the larger establishments. A company that has but few policies cannot afford to reject doubtful lives, and thus really aggravates its weakness by what seems to increase its strength. Some of the English companies which have recently closed a weak existence by an early death, have probably traced their chronic malady to this cause. It must

not be forgotten that frauds are practised against Life Offices as well as by them. Careful scrutiny at the outset is the only means of avoiding insurance of doubtful lives misrepresented as good ones; for a sound company will rather submit to an occasional loss by fraud, than injure its reputation by a lawsuit, where the sympathies of the jury are sure to be on the side of widows and orphans against a wealthy corporation. But a feeble company thinks it cannot afford such scrutiny, and therefore finds itself involved from the beginning in a succession of lawsuits, which are none the less ruinous because justice is on its side.

The large bonuses or dividends, miscalled profits, which are made by the well-established companies, result from a further guaranty for the stability of the concern, which needs to be explained. The annual premiums which are now required are needlessly high, if we look only to the present exigencies of the business. Why not reduce them at once to the rate which experience shows to be sufficient, instead of retaining them at their present amount, and then, at short intervals, paying back to the insured one fourth or one third of the annual receipts as a bonus or dividend? The answer is, that Life Insurance is necessarily a contract of long duration, extending for many of the insured to a period of forty or fifty years; and, the annual premium being once fixed in the contract, cannot be increased at any future time, even though circumstances should require such increase. Many things may happen within half a century, the occurrence of which must be guarded against, if the security of the insured is to be absolute. The accumulation of the fund from which policies are ultimately to be paid depends chiefly upon the rate of interest, which now averages about six per cent, but is very likely to be reduced before many years to five or four. The expenses of management are contingent on the cost of living, and are thus slowly but steadily augmented. The recurrence of an epidemic, like that of the Asiatic cholera, might cause a serious diminution of the fund within one or two years. Now effectual provision is secured against all these contingencies by making the rate of annual premium superfluously large, and returning at fixed intervals to the insured as much

only as actual experience has determined to be superfluous. Then, if the rate of interest should fall, or that of expense should rise, or if a pestilence should happen, the only evil will be, that the bonuses or dividends will be proportionally lessened. The cost of Life Insurance is divisible into two parts, a provision against ordinary hazards, and a provision against extraordinary risks. It is a suicidal policy to provide a guaranty against the former only. Yet this policy has been adopted by some of the feeble companies, which endeavor to attract business by offering to insure at low premiums. Those who are silly enough to accept this offer forget that the difference between the two rates, and even more than this difference, is returned by the larger institutions in the form of dividends. The occurrence of any circumstances which might cause these to suspend their dividends, would certainly cause their rivals to stop payment even of the sums insured.

There is another element of uncertainty, which cannot be guarded against for the present except by this higher rate of premium, although information will be obtained in a few years, chiefly through these very operations of Life Insurance, by which it will be eliminated altogether. It cannot be said that the law of mortality, or the average duration of human life, is yet determined for the people of this country, except within broad limits, or with a considerable allowance for possible error. We are still dependent in the main on the English tables, which have been made very precise and accurate for the duration of life in England, chiefly through the combined experience of the Life Insurance Companies, whose operations cover all ranks and employments, and extend in several cases over a period of more than half a century. It is very probable that the average duration of life here is less than it is in England, at least for what we have called "the insuring class"; — how much less cannot yet be determined. Professor Wigglesworth's tables relate to the people of this country; but the data on which they were founded are imperfect, and are now of so old date, the habits of the people, the practice of medicine, and sanitary measures having undergone great alteration during the intervening period, that they cannot be regarded as trustworthy for the present generation. Our State system

of registering births, deaths, and marriages, taken in connection with the United States decennial census, ought to afford the data for determining with great precision the law of mortality for all ages. But unfortunately both these operations have hitherto been conducted with so little care and method, that no reliance can be placed upon their results in cases where great accuracy is required. On the whole, we must depend on the materials which the operations of Life Insurance are gradually amassing, for the final solution of this interesting problem. As yet the companies are too young to have collected a sufficient quantity of them; but their amount is rapidly augmenting, and in the course of a dozen or twenty years more we may hope to obtain from their combined experience a great body of vital statistics, which will enable us to determine the laws of mortality for different ages, classes, localities, and employments with great precision.

X The calculations in Mr. Neison's volume, which afford many curious and valuable results, are based chiefly upon data furnished by the English and Scotch Friendly Societies, which insure against sickness as well as death, by the Gotha Life Insurance Company upon the Continent, and by voluntary associations that have long existed among master mariners, medical men, and other classes of persons in England, for the benefit of their widows and orphans. Some of the conclusions deduced from these materials, as to the relative mortality of the different classes of the people, are very different from what we had been led to expect. The circumstances in which the poor and laboring population, especially in England, are placed, have generally been thought unfavorable to longevity. They are exposed to drudgery and toil, to impure air and undue heat and cold in their confined lodgings, are scantily clothed, and often insufficiently fed. Yet the more provident among them, who are thoughtful and frugal enough to pay a few pence every month to a Friendly Society, have a longer average duration of life than the wealthy and high-born. Especially is this the case in the rural districts, where, though the wages are less, the employments are healthier than in cities and towns. Yet even in the city districts, where the conditions seem most unfavorable to health, it is found that the expectation of life in

the poorer classes is considerably greater than in the highest ranks of society, namely, the peerage and baronetage, and very much larger than in the middle and upper classes generally, with which Life Offices have had the most experience. At the age of 30, for instance, the expectation of life for the poorer but provident classes in the rural districts is a little over 38 years; in town districts, it is  $34\frac{1}{2}$ ; in city districts, nearly 33; while among the peerage, it is less than 31. At the age of 50, these proportions are as 23, 20, 20, to 18. These differences are serious enough to affect very materially the rates of Life Insurance; and it is probably their unexpected character which has induced the English offices of late to make great efforts to extend the sphere of their operations in small sums among the laboring classes. It is evidently better for them to issue a thousand policies for one hundred pounds each to humble artisans, than to insure one hundred lives among the gentry and nobility for one thousand each. The prolonged duration of life among the frugal and industrious of the laboring classes must be regarded, of course, as a consequence of their simple and uniform habits, and the more regular and natural physical exercise to which they are accustomed. There is greater equality in the distribution of the goods of this life than is generally imagined. "It could be clearly shown," says Mr. Neison, "by tracing the various classes of society in which there exist sufficient means of subsistence, beginning with the most humble, and passing on to the middle and upper classes, that a gradual deterioration in the duration of life takes place; and just as life, with all its wealth, pomp, and magnificence, would seem to become more valuable and tempting, so are its opportunities and chances of enjoyment lessened."

Hitherto we have compared the effect of different localities, and of different stations of rank and wealth, on the average duration of life. If we extend the comparison to different employments, the results are still more curious. It is now demonstrated that occupation has a much greater influence than locality on the chances of life. The rural districts are principally indebted for their supposed superior healthiness to the larger amount of healthy occupations which are pursued in

them ; and in cities and towns, impure air, defective sewerage, confined lodgings, and local epidemics have not so much effect as employment in unhealthy trades in shortening life. "The peculiar sanitary condition of large towns has not the remarkable effect which many have supposed in shortening the duration of life." Among various occupations, we are sorry to find that of clerks in counting-houses, a numerous and respectable class of the population of cities, peculiarly unfavorable to longevity ; and we fear that their employers, the merchants, who in the main are occupied in a similar manner, but have greater anxieties and less simple and regular habits, have a still inferior chance of long life. This is a matter which deserves attention from the Life Offices ; for a larger proportion of this class than of any other appear inclined to insure their lives, evidently as a precaution against the distressing vicissitudes of trade to which they are liable. The occupations of plumbers, painters, and bakers are thought to be peculiarly unhealthy ; and they are so. But as compared with the business of clerks, they appear decidedly favorable to long life. Thus, at the age of 40, a country laborer's expectation of life is  $32\frac{2}{3}$  years ; for the inhabitants of the rural districts, after abstracting the laborers, this expectation is but 30 years ; for bakers, it is 24 ; for plumbers and glaziers,  $24\frac{1}{3}$  ; but for clerks, it is less than 22 years.

We have said enough to show that through the operations of Life Insurance a great amount of curious and valuable information is gradually obtained, which throws full light on some of the most difficult questions in social science. Here in America information of this sort is peculiarly desirable ; and for this reason, as well as for many others which we have noticed, we hope that the business may be firmly established and widely extended among all classes of our population.

- ART. II. — 1. *Théâtre de EUGÈNE SCRIBE, de l'Académie Française.* Paris : Michel Levy, Frères. 1859. 20 vols. 16mo.
2. *Les Contemporains. — Scribe.* Par EUGÈNE DE MIRECOURT. Avec un Portrait et un Autographe. Quatrième Édition. Paris : Gustave Havard, Éditeur. 1856.
3. *Le Constitutionnel.* Samedi, 23 Février, 1861.

ON the morning of the 22d of February, 1861, the writer of this article was returning from the Palais Royal to his lodgings in Paris, through the Rue St. Honoré, when his progress was arrested by a dense crowd gathered in front of the church of Saint-Roch. The centre of the street was filled by a long procession, stretching from the Place Vendôme to the portals of the church, which was draped in funereal black. This ancient edifice, beneath which repose the ashes of Voltaire, and which witnessed during the last century some of the most frightful atrocities of the French Revolution, was this day the scene of a striking, and for many reasons a remarkable ceremony. The most eminent men in France were assembled within its walls, to pay a last tribute of respect and affection to one who, for nearly half a century, had held possession of the French stage, achieving in that period a long list of brilliant successes, hardly interrupted by a failure. The pall-bearers were M. Dumas, President of the Municipal Board of Paris, Vitet, Director of the French Academy, Thierry, Director of the Théâtre Français, and Auguste Maquet, President of the Club of Authors and Dramatic Composers. The French Academy was represented by some of the most distinguished members, — among them Cousin, a striking figure, with venerable white hair, Thiers, the author of "The Consulate and the Empire," the Duc de Broglie, and others. The Prefect of the Seine and a deputation of the municipal authorities, with whom Scribe had been associated in office, attested by their presence the respect in which the deceased had been held as a citizen. The actors attached to the four leading theatres of Paris, the Théâtre Français, the Opéra, the Opéra Comique, and the Gymnase (all which were closed through the evening), appro-

privately paid their homage to the author in whose fame they had so often participated. The Minister of State, the Minister of Public Instruction, Count de Walewski, M. Baroche, President of the Council of State, and numerous other members of the imperial government, lent dignity to the occasion. Notwithstanding a drizzling rain which fell through the greater part of the day, not less than three thousand persons, embracing those most distinguished by social and literary eminence, took part in the funeral services, and followed the remains of Scribe to their last resting-place in the cemetery of Père la Chaise.

Selecting a favorable point for observation, the writer watched with interest the shifting figures in the procession, as with slow steps and subdued demeanor they passed before him. Poets, philosophers, *savants*, novelists, dramatic writers, diplomatists, and cabinet ministers, — representatives of the wit, wisdom, science, imagination, and statesmanship of France, — had met to-day for a common purpose, and were moved with a common sorrow. Nor they alone, but even the workman, in his ragged blouse, who sometimes on fête-days had occupied a cheap seat in a minor theatre, felt that he had suffered a personal loss, and, as the funeral car passed, doffed his cap and remained standing with uncovered head, murmuring in regretful accents, “*Scribe est mort !*”

At the close of the religious services at the cemetery, eulogies were pronounced upon the deceased by M. Vitet in behalf of the French Academy, and by M. Maquet in behalf of the authors and dramatists of France. Speeches of a less elaborate character were made by M. Thierry, Administrator-General of the Comédie Française, and Montigny, Director of the Gymnase. Everything conspired to make the occasion solemn and imposing. Numerous as had been the triumphs of this “most fruitful of vaudevillists, past, present, and to come,” as his biographer has styled him, it was reserved for him to achieve his proudest triumph at the moment when he was called upon to surrender all earthly distinction. While it may be doubted whether, in any other country than France, a laborer in the field in which Scribe obtained celebrity could have gained a recognition so marked and universal, the fact of such a recognition renders the circumstances of his career a subject of in-



terest to the world of letters. It is our design in the present article to record the incidents of his literary life, tracing the causes of his great popularity, with general remarks upon such incidental topics as may be suggested by it. A detailed examination of his numerous works would require much more space than we have at command, and would be inconsistent with our present purpose.

Augustin Eugène Scribe was born in Paris, December 25, 1791. His parents belonged to the *bourgeoisie*, his father keeping a shop at the corner of the Rue de la Regnie. The antiquary who shall seek for the cradle of the dramatist will, however, be doomed to disappointment, since the march of improvement, which has obliterated so many old landmarks in Paris, has not spared the *magasin de nouveautés* kept by Scribe, *père*. On the death of his father — an event which occurred while he was still an infant — Scribe's mother sold out the shop, and took apartments in the neighborhood of the church of Saint-Roch. Madame Scribe was doubtless left in comfortable, and even prosperous circumstances, since we are assured by her son's biographer that his patrimony yielded him an income of from four to five thousand francs per annum. Thus he was spared the hard struggle with poverty which, in the early history of distinguished men, seems to be the rule rather than the exception. Young Scribe pursued his studies at the College of Saint Barbe, in Paris, where his proficiency won for him the honor of a public coronation. It was at this place that he made the acquaintance of Casimir and Germain Delavigne, — an acquaintance which kindred tastes ripened into enduring friendship. These two brothers, who, like Scribe, were destined to win a high position in letters, were afterwards intimately associated with him in his literary plans.

It was the earnest desire of Madame Scribe that her son should adopt the profession of the law. This ambition she shared in common with the class to which she belonged. From the Palace of Justice the way lies open to the Palais Bourbon. The advocate may become a deputy, — the deputy a cabinet minister. But this career, however promising in the eyes of the mother, proved quite repugnant to the tastes of the son, and although, at her request, he consented to enter the office of

an attorney, he made so little progress in the study of his new profession as to inspire in his instructor very mean ideas of his capacity. The death of his mother at this juncture completely changed his plans, and determined him to relinquish what he had hitherto only endured out of deference to his mother's wishes.

Freed at length from the trammels of a distasteful profession, Scribe lost no time in following the bent of his inclinations. He renewed his intimacy with his college friend, Germain Delavigne, in conjunction with whom he wrote a kind of farce, denominated a Harlequinade, to which he gave the name of *Les Dervis*. The young men had introduced themselves to M. Dupin, a dramatist of some note, whose influence procured this piece to be represented at the Vaudeville theatre. But the public, afterward so lavish of their applause, greeted coldly the first effort of the young dramatists. Undismayed they again set to work, and produced at intervals three other pieces, which so far failed of success, that the actors who took part in them were not only hissed, but actually pelted from the stage. This reception was little calculated to encourage the friends. But Scribe felt convinced that he knew himself better than the public yet knew him. He was resolved to achieve success by his constancy. In this emergency M. Dupin came once more to their assistance. He obtained for them an introduction to the stage of the Variétés. It was hoped that a new audience, unprejudiced by the memory of former failures, would reverse the verdict pronounced at the Vaudeville. But *Le Bachelier de Salamanque*, the new candidate for public favor, failed to accomplish the much desired end. At this fresh failure, Germain Delavigne, modestly attributing their ill fortune to his own share in the work, withdrew from the partnership. Scribe returned to the Vaudeville, and submitted to the public a new piece, *Barbanera, ou les Bossus*. But the young dramatist seemed to have been born under an evil star. The pit was not in a humor to be pleased. *Barbanera* was not performed a second time.

If we have dwelt somewhat at length upon the inauspicious commencement of Scribe's career, it is partly because it is in such striking contrast with the remarkable popularity which

he afterwards enjoyed, and partly because it illustrates in a forcible manner the calm and resolute persistency with which he pursued his purpose. A firm determination to accept as final no verdict which is not favorable, has more than once secured success where failure seemed inevitable. It is well known that "Jane Eyre" long sought a publisher in vain. It is not so well known that Miss Braddon, the author of "Lady Audley's Secret," and other popular novels recently published, only two or three years ago was living in obscurity in London, her advances coldly repulsed by the very publishers who now offer her thousands of pounds for a new work. The words which Bulwer puts into the mouth of Richelieu, when a young attendant suggests the possibility of failure in a hazardous service required of him, admirably describe the spirit in which Scribe bore the discouragements that met him at the outset of his literary life : —

" Fail ? — fail ?

In the lexicon of youth, which Fate reserves  
For a bright manhood, there is no such word  
As *fail* ! "

In reference to this period M. Maquet says, in his address at the funeral of Scribe : —

" If by any possibility there be present a single person whose soul is filled with envy when he contemplates the wealth and reputation which Scribe has acquired, let him be told now how dearly they were purchased. Nothing but frowns and pitiless disaster greeted him at the commencement of his career. Four years yielded him repeated failures. It was only in the fifth that he gained his first success. A year afterward he gained a second, and he had to wait another year for the third. Fortune obstinately withheld her favors. He was compelled to snatch them from her unwilling grasp."

Scribe turned his experience to good account. Reflection satisfied him that he had failed because he had been content to follow in the beaten track, where his own genius was hampered by rules of dramatic composition conformed to the fashion of a bygone age. He determined to abandon the ruts of custom, and to strike out a new path. He resolved, like Molière, to paint the manners of his own age, — to avail himself of whatever occupied the public mind for the time being, — to bring

upon the stage the generals and the colonels of the Empire,—to seek his characters in the street, the market, and the shop,—in fine, to make his vaudevilles reflect the passing hour. The public demanded something fresh. They had become tired of Racine, Corneille, and even of Molière. As variable in their tastes as ever was the Athenian Demos, they were prepared to welcome the new, simply because it differed from the old. The Parisians are not exceptional in this choice. Not long since, the proprietor of one of the London penny weeklies which circulate by hundreds of thousands throughout the British Islands, and furnish a considerable part of the reading matter for the lower classes, with the view of supplying his readers with superior mental food, dismissed his staff of sensation novelists, and commenced the serial publication of the most popular of the Waverley novels. But they lacked the flavor of the present, and a rapidly diminishing subscription-list warned the publisher that he must abandon his experiment, or be ruined. So with the Parisian public. The classic drama had lost its interest, and they eagerly demanded something different. As soon as he had satisfied himself of this, Scribe, in conjunction with M. Delestre-Poirson, wrote a *comédie-vaudeville* in one act, entitled *Une Nuit de la Garde Nationale*. It gained a fame immediate and brilliant. It was clear that our dramatist had struck a vein.

The tide had at length turned. Success now became the rule, and failure the rare exception. Assured that he had not mistaken his vocation, Scribe threw himself into it with all the energy of his nature. In conjunction with different collaborators, he produced comedies and vaudevilles in profusion; but the demand now equalled the supply. He opened what might not inappropriately be called a dramatic shop, where he furnished vaudevilles to order. How rapidly he acquired reputation and wealth may be inferred from the statement, that in 1830 he was already deriving from his dramatic compositions an income of sixty thousand francs, while his pieces had made his name familiar to the theatre-going public in London and the principal Continental cities. Some of the most popular farces now in possession of the English and American stage are adapted from the writings of the French dramatist.

The attention of the reader has doubtless been drawn to the use which Scribe made of his collaborators; and the question will no doubt suggest itself, how far he was indebted to their assistance. The general subject of collaboration is an interesting one, and requires some explanation.

In English literature, partnership is almost unknown. The association of Beaumont and Fletcher will at once occur to all; and it must be acknowledged that the contributions of the two poets assimilate so well that it is difficult to discover from internal evidence what parts were furnished by each. Some years ago, G. P. R. James, as prolific in his department as the subject of our article, published a short novel in partnership with another writer. It is our impression, however, that it met with a success by no means marked. In another instance, a serial story in twenty chapters was furnished to an American literary paper, each chapter by a different writer. Joint authorship, however, will probably never prevail to any extent in England or America. But in France the socialistic principle, so popular in other forms, has likewise invaded literature. The extraordinary fecundity of such writers as Dumas is thus readily accounted for. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that the reputation of this author is due quite as much to his collaborators as to himself. It has been established in a French court of law that some of the romances which, under Dumas's name, have obtained the widest popularity, are entirely the work of one of his collaborators. Yet so lasting are first impressions, that the real author of "The Three Guardsmen" and "The Count of Monte Christo" will be forgotten by posterity, while Dumas will be admired for that to which he has no rightful claim. Such wholesale appropriation of the labors of others admits of no defence. Even where the collaborator is amply compensated for the concession of his rights, the public may justly complain of the imposition practised upon them.

It should be stated, however, in reference to M. Scribe, that he has always acted with the utmost fairness towards his collaborators. He has taken care that they should be defrauded neither of the public favor, nor of the pecuniary compensation to which their labors entitled them. He has never failed to

announce the names of his associates, however inconsiderable may have been their contributions. Indeed, to such an extreme did he carry his generosity, that it is the testimony of M. Carmouche, that, in a dozen vaudevilles which he enjoyed the reputation of having written in conjunction with Scribe, there was not a line to which he could lay claim. It is related that M. Dupin, who had been the first to aid Scribe by his influence, one day brought to his former *protégé* a piece, of very moderate merit, in two acts, and with but two characters. Scribe added one part, made alterations in the others, cut out one act, recast the piece entirely, and gave it a different name. All this was done without the knowledge of Dupin. Three weeks afterward Scribe called upon him, and gave him an invitation to be present at the Gymnase theatre in the evening. "Your 'Michel and Christine' is to be brought out?" queried Dupin. "You are right," was the reply. The two authors entered the theatre, and Dupin was soon absorbed in his friend's piece. "Admirable!" he exclaimed at the end of the third scene. "Who was your collaborator?" "You will hear at the close of the piece," returned Scribe, as the vaudeville neared its conclusion. Dupin was puzzled by a scene which seemed familiar, though he could not remember where he had met with it. The mystery was cleared up when, at the close of the representation, the manager came forward and announced MM. Scribe and Dupin as the joint authors of the piece. Scribe turned a smiling face towards his astonished friend, saying, "It is a bad father who does not recognize his own children." "Parbleu!" retorted Dupin, "who could, when they are changed at nurse?"

It may be safely assumed, that, of the three hundred and fifty plays which have been published under the name of Scribe, the chief merits belong to himself. No man could so readily have afforded to dispense with foreign assistance as he. In many instances he accepted collaborators at their own earnest request. Persons of the highest eminence are said to have sought the honor of associating their names with his in this way. It is even asserted that Louis Philippe himself produced a vaudeville in conjunction with Scribe. This, if true, would attach to the semi-royal production a curious interest.

The unity which pervades the numerous dramas of Scribe affords presumptive evidence that, whatever contributions may have been supplied by others, the form and spirit of the whole are due to him. His constructive talent is remarkable. At his skilful touch order emerges out of chaos, discordant characters and situations harmonize, and the various parts are so artfully arranged as to produce the greatest possible effect. Everything is nicely adjusted, and, though much may be commonplace, the result is pleasing. Intent upon dramatic effect, Scribe has paid especial attention to the *dénouements* of his dramas. In these, the element of unexpectedness plays a prominent part. To secure this he does not hesitate at times to violate nature and probability. But it must be remembered that he is writing for a French audience, which is not disposed to be critical provided the interest of the play be well sustained, and the movement sufficiently lively to rivet the attention to the end. So in other parts of his dramatic writings an English critic will find much to complain of, in absurd and improbable situations; but the author does not overrate his own abilities, adroitly manages to impart an artificial and temporary *vraisemblance* to what is most forced and false, and triumphantly brings the whole to a satisfactory conclusion. His biographer, Eugène de Mirecourt, thus speaks of the effect which Scribe produces upon the spectator: —

“Once involved in the inextricable network of plot, counterplot, and intrigue which Scribe weaves about you, you are no longer master of yourself. You must submit forthwith to his guidance. Even against your will, you must, for the time being, suspend the exercise of your taste and judgment, and admire blindly whatever he sees fit to present to you. Your eyes are riveted upon the stage, and you feel no inclination to withdraw them. The most common expression amuses you; a dialogue which you would never have consented to read, commands your fixed attention. You follow eagerly all the intricacies of the plot, from the commencement to the conclusion of the piece. When it is finished, perhaps you ask, ‘After all, what does it amount to?’ Your question comes too late. The five acts have been played. You have followed them to the end with unflagging interest. The effect which the author had in view has been produced.”

Allowing for the exaggerations of a biographer interested in

his subject, it is obvious that a writer who can produce such effects, not once only, but in hundreds of instances, must be a consummate artist. The French people demanded to be amused, — Scribe knew how to amuse them. Nor have the first favorable impressions been affected by the lapse of years. The principal works of our dramatist have been represented hundreds of times, yet without producing satiety.

Scribe has shown himself a writer of infinite address, and has adapted his productions to the changing circumstances of the times. One who will take the trouble to consider how fruitful of vicissitude the last half-century has been in French politics, will comprehend how much is included in this statement. It is difficult to believe that Scribe has ever been actuated by deep and earnest political convictions. They would only have been in the way of his success. He trimmed his sails to suit the shifting breezes of public opinion, and satirized all parties by turns. He did not attempt the perilous task of leading public taste. It has been his highest ambition to follow it. For this reason we shall search his works in vain for great vital ideas, expressed in glowing language, calculated insensibly to draw up his auditors to a higher plane of thought and feeling. His object was to make himself an agreeable companion for the lighter moments, but nothing more. The grave glance of the censor never appears behind the comic mask. Nor can it be said that he has contributed much to the progress of his art, or the enrichment of the language. His works are clever specimens of the present state of the drama, but they do not seek to rise above the present. Perhaps their chief value in the eyes of posterity will be that they are sharp-cut pictures of the manners and modes of thought prevailing at the precise time at which they were written. They reflect admirably the tastes of the day. This naturally results from the persistent habit which Scribe had of ignoring the past, taking no thought for the future, and studying only the present.

We should not censure an author, however, for not accomplishing more than he intended. So far as the objects which he proposed to himself were concerned, Scribe was one of the most successful of literary men. Probably posthumous fame had few attractions for him, compared with the applause of the



moment, and a large balance at his banker's. In the accumulation of wealth he was more fortunate than any French writer of his age, — perhaps of any age. Towards the close of his life his receipts are said to have amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand francs in a single year. At his death he left an estate of from two to three millions of francs, — mainly the fruit of his literary labors.

He is charged by his biographer with having carried into literature the mercantile instincts which he inherited from his father, and having labored less from a love of letters, and a desire to advance the interests of literature and add to the sum of human knowledge, than from a sordid desire of gain. This is, perhaps, not wholly just. While Scribe had a strong love of money, he never sought to defraud his fellow-laborers of their just share of the proceeds of their joint toils. In some instances he gave them more than they merited. He was liberal of his wealth, particularly to brother authors and dramatists, and is admitted to have given away during his life not less than half a million of francs. Scribe made several excursions into the territory of romance, being the author of some half-dozen novels contributed to *Le Siècle*. For one of these — *Piquillo Alliaga* — he is said to have received sixty thousand francs. His romances, however, do him little credit. The very qualities which made him an admirable writer of vaudevilles, unfitted him for the construction and execution of a novel. He wrote with the stage always before him, and this proved fatal to his success. The large compensation which he received was no doubt based upon his reputation in a different field, and probably proved an unprofitable investment.

Surprise will probably be felt when it is stated that Scribe has produced more poetry than either Lamartine or Victor Hugo. Those familiar with his plays will not fail to have noticed that they are liberally interspersed with verses. These, if collected, would make a volume of formidable proportions. Their merit, however, is very slender, as probably no one knew better than Scribe himself. They were written because the prevailing fashion in dramatic composition required them, and, though faulty, even in mechanical structure, they answered the purpose for which they were designed. In the first piece

which met with decided favor, the verses were contributed by Casimir and Germain Delavigne, who succeeded much better in this department of composition than Scribe.

Some of our readers will be interested in learning that Scribe furnished the *libretti* of several well-known operas, — among them of *Robert le Diable*, *Le Huguenots*, and *Le Prophète*, written for Meyerbeer. Auber also is under similar obligations to him.

The prodigious amount of literary work with which Scribe must be credited, after making all reasonable allowance for the contributions of his collaborators, makes an inquiry into his habits of labor a matter of interest. It was his custom, we are told, to rise at five, winter and summer, — a habit, it may be remarked, much more general in France than in our own country. He at once stationed himself at an elevated desk which permitted him to write standing. He was occupied with the task of composition until noon, when he breakfasted. Of course he had previously, on awaking, made a slight, informal meal. After breakfast he perhaps bent his steps to one of the theatres, if he had a new play under rehearsal, or mentally arranged the plan of the next day's composition. On Thursday evenings he was in the habit of receiving his friends, on which occasions no one knew better how to play the agreeable host. During the summer he retired to a country estate, which liberal means, under the direction of good taste, had converted into a terrestrial paradise. Here he enjoyed all the consideration of a grand seigneur, and was regarded with reverence and affection by the poor of the neighborhood, to whom he was liberal in his benefactions.

At a comparatively early age, as far back as 1836, he obtained an honor which every Frenchman of scientific or literary taste covets, — admission into the ranks of the French Academy.

It is an amusing illustration of the business-like method which Scribe carried into his compositions, that one day, looking over the titles of his plays, he found that all the letters of the alphabet were represented except K, Y, and X. Anxious to remedy this unintentional slight, he at once set about writing *Le Kiosque* for the Opéra Comique, *Yelva* for the Gymnase,

and *Xacarilla* for the grand Opéra. After this, as his biographer naively expresses it, the alphabet had no cause of reproach against him.

Scribe's disposition is characterized by his biographer as amiable, his manners as affable and pleasing. Though the large concourse of authors in attendance at his funeral testifies the regard which he inspired in his own class, it is not perhaps singular that his brilliant and overshadowing pre-eminence should have stirred the hearts of some to envy. In the provinces, and in some Continental cities, he was credited with even more than his due, so that, we are told, it was not unusual to see such announcements as the following, on the posters of country theatres: "TARTUFFE, a comedy in five acts, by M. Scribe. — LUCRÈCE, a tragedy in five acts, by M. Scribe, etc." Another cause, reflecting only credit upon our dramatist, is assigned for a certain lack of cordial regard on the part of some of his *confrères*. Scribe, though affable and easy of access, was quiet in his tastes, and was never seen in the *estaminets*, or beer-shops, where those of his class were much in the habit of meeting. In spite, however, of these drawbacks, he won the cordial respect and regard of those authors whose good opinion was best worth having. This he richly merited, since no one labored more zealously than he to establish the rights of authorship, and to obtain for authors more adequate compensation than before his time had been conceded to them. He was the founder of the society of Authors and Dramatic Composers referred to in the early part of this article.

So engrossed was Scribe with his multifarious labors, that it was not until the age of forty-eight that he found time for matrimony. He selected Madame Biollay, the widow of a wine-merchant. His choice appears to have been a wise one, and productive of much happiness. It is to the lady's credit that, previously to her marriage, she enjoyed the acquaintance and friendship of Béranger.

Enough has been said to give a general idea of Scribe's merits as a dramatist and a miscellaneous writer. Though we cannot allow him genius, applying this word in its broadest and highest sense, he blended tact and talent in a remarkable degree; and this happy conjunction gained for him a success

which never would have accrued to genius alone. Vitet, Director of the French Academy, gives the following just analysis of his prominent characteristics : —

“ His wit was supple, inventive, adroit, never-tiring, full of unexpected turns and sprightly sallies. Eager for success, he knew how to bear failure ; he was impatient only of repose. One success only urged him to attempt another. His most dazzling triumphs served but as a spur to his activity. Thus for fifty years his inexhaustible talent was employed in the service of four theatres at one and the same time. He devised plots by hundreds, created characters, imparted to the improbable all the charms of reality, accomplished in his single person more, perhaps, than all his rivals together, and, rounding off a half-century of labor, has left us the charming recollection of his talents and his virtues.”

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ART. III. — *The Trial of the Constitution.* By SIDNEY GEORGE FISHER. Philadelphia : J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1862.

THE trial of the Constitution has been in progress ever since it was adopted. At that time the authority of the nation, as it existed under the Revolutionary government, and under the Confederation, had become practically extinct, for the want of power to enforce such ordinances and requisitions as it was constitutionally authorized to make. The national authority had to be organized anew, and on the basis of an entirely new fundamental law. The only practically efficient power was then exercised by the local authorities, not by constitutional right, but by usurpation against the national authorities, who were denied the power to perform their own constitutional duties, or even to defend their own existence. They could not protect their own frontiers, execute their own laws, pay their own debts, fulfil their own treaties and contracts, or even defray the necessary expenses of their own nominal administration.

It was necessary to make an entirely new adjustment of the relative powers and duties of the general and local governments. Obviously this could not be done by those governments

themselves, by any treaty, league, or contract among them. It could be done only by the whole people, who had a right to control all the powers, general or local, to be exercised under or upon themselves. Accordingly, the Constitution was made by them, distributing so much of their power as they chose to delegate, and establishing the law, and the jurisdiction, by which every claim of power under them, or any of them, must be finally adjudicated and settled.

But this distribution was not made by parcelling out the powers numerically to the one government and to the other, saying that the general government shall have this, and the State governments that, and so on through the catalogue. They foresaw that such a course would place the governments in collision at every step. Alexander Hamilton said "that no boundary could be drawn between the general and State legislatures"; and Mr. Madison said substantially the same: "To draw the line between the two is a difficult task. I believe it cannot be done." The Convention and the people were apparently of the same opinion, for they made no such attempt. They conferred no powers on the State governments, in reference to their local jurisdiction. They assigned to them certain *duties* in relation to the administration of the general government, and growing out of the provisions of the Constitution. But the Legislature of Virginia, in their elaborate Resolutions of February, 1820, on the Missouri restrictions, ask emphatically, "What rights are *conferred* by the Federal Constitution? Upon the federal government," they answer, "many; upon the State government, or upon the citizens, none; one only excepted, the right of a citizen of one State to the privileges of a citizen in all the States." While nothing is *conferred*, there is but one existing power specially and expressly *reservea* by the Constitution to the States; and that is "the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline provided by Congress."

Instead of conferring powers on the States, what they actually attempted and did was to "establish this Constitution for the United States," "in order" to effect six specified objects, by means of the execution of certain powers therein granted, which powers were to be carried into execution by any "laws,

necessary and proper" for the purpose. The Constitution and laws so made were to be "supreme" over all other laws and institutions whatever; and any powers of the people not thus "delegated" to their government were "reserved" to themselves or to the States.

The Constitution was much opposed in the general and State Conventions, previously to its adoption, and obviously on grounds other than those most loudly insisted on in debate. These were generally too insignificant to be supposed capable of influencing the minds of sober men, when acting on a subject of momentous import; yet it is worthy of note, that the determined opponents of the national system never abandoned the most futile exception that was ever alleged against its details.

When the system first went into actual operation, few topics of internal regulation pressed on the immediate attention of the general government. While the external relations of the country demanded much attention, domestic affairs were naturally permitted to keep mostly in their former course. It had been foreseen and foretold that the operations of the general government would be most extensive and important in times of war and danger; and those of the local governments in times of peace and security.\* Such a beginning tallied well, for the time, with the policy of both parties. The friends of the new system were naturally desirous to avoid any unnecessary alarm or agitation of the public mind, or excitement of old prejudices, by unlooked-for changes, before the beneficent character of the agent had approved itself to the understanding, by a practical application of its remedial powers to the more immediate and palpable evils connected with the international relations of the country. Their opponents were certainly not less pleased with a course of events, which, while it removed the national government to the greatest distance from the people, and reduced it, in their view, to the smallest dimensions, left everything in which they had occasion to recognize the action of government to the management of the local authorities, thus magnifying their importance at the expense of the national.

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\* Federalist, No. 45.

This method of beginning tended to establish an idea precisely the reverse of the plan of the Constitution ; giving to the States all the general powers of ordinary government, and *reserving* to the United States only such extraordinary powers as the States separately could not execute ; whereas the Constitution first vests in the United States government the control of all the means “ necessary and proper,” or appropriate and convenient, for executing the provisions of the Constitution, and every part of it, and then *reserves* to the States or the people any residuum of power not so delegated. This error has inflated some of the States with the idea, that supreme sovereignty belongs exclusively to them ; that they are entitled to the primary allegiance of the people ; and that consequently all that is left — *reserved* to the United States — is the right to be seceded from, just when any State may choose.

The direct results are seen in our present experience. The rebellion, however, is only one of these results. The Constitution has, in the mean time, attained a gradual development, and a settled practical construction of some of its powers, and is now, under the discipline of this rebellion, developing itself more rapidly and more beneficially than at any former period of our history. It is our present purpose to note some of the points in which a progress has been made, or is now making, in this regard.

“ *Fas est ab hoste doceri.*” In our endeavors to ascertain the true character of our Constitution, and of the government instituted by it, the importance of the views entertained and expressed by its opponents ought not to be overlooked. Their ostensible principle being jealousy of power, and their vocation to defeat the grant, or weaken its exercise, by exciting the prejudices and fears of the people, they were more astute and persevering in finding out what might be done, than its friends in designating minutely what ought to be done, under it. In perfect accordance with these opposite views, the opponents of the Constitution developed and exposed the particular forms and modes in which the government would be able to interfere with or influence the ordinary course of events to the annoyance of the people ; while its friends, without denying or discussing these particulars, usually contented themselves with

proving that the powers in question were necessary for the legitimate purposes of government, at the same time admitting that "the legislative power, however formed, would, if disposed, be able to ruin the country," and that universal "distrust was inconsistent with all government."

Under these circumstances it is obvious that we are to look for an authentic and undisputed, as well as unfriendly, interpretation of the Constitution, among the contemporaneous sayings and doings of its adversaries. This was the interpretation under which they put it to the people for their judgment, and under which it was approved and adopted. Such a construction would be likely to include all the powers on which the friends of the Constitution relied to give it the efficiency which they contended it ought to have, in order to make it what they were expected to produce, — a "firm national government," as understood by the Congress which instituted the Convention.

It is to be recollected that the Convention of 1787 was assembled under the direct sanction of the Congress of the United States, for the "express purpose" of making such provisions as should, when agreed to and adopted, render the "Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union." The Union was not then to be formed, nor nationality to be inaugurated. Both these had been done thirteen years before, by the Congress of the Revolution. They pronounced our Union perfect, and proceeded to assume and exercise, "in the name and by the authority of the people," the rights and powers of distinct nationality and absolute sovereignty. They and their immediate successors levied war, raised and maintained armies, equipped navies, contracted alliances, and regulated the foreign commerce of the country. By the Declaration of Independence they rendered this national unity and sovereignty perpetual and irrevocable. They, not as individual States, but as "ONE PEOPLE," dissolved the political bands which had connected them with *another* people, and assumed a separate and equal station among the powers of the earth, specifying particularly the rights of a perfect sovereignty. Again in 1781, by the Articles of Confederation, including similar powers of national sovereignty, the faith of the people is solemnly plighted and engaged, "that the Union shall be perpetual."



The Congress of the United States, which was the government, decided and announced "that there are defects in the present Confederation," and the task therefore assigned to, and assumed by, the Convention, was to provide a Constitution adequate to the preservation and government of such a Union. There can be no doubt that every member of the Convention who favored this great object entered fully into the views of the Congress of the United States, and intended to adopt what appeared to him "the most probable means of establishing in these States a firm national government." In this Convention neither the independence, unity, sovereignty, or nationality of the country was discussed or questioned, and their labors were concentrated on the modes of organizing a government of adequate power to preserve and defend them.

Their first Resolution, which lay at the foundation of all they afterwards did, and was not departed from, was in these words: "That a national government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary." It was adopted on full consideration, and was considered as settling the great principle, that the new government should act directly upon the people of the whole nation, and not indirectly, like the Confederation, through the medium of the State governments. It was proposed and insisted on by the Virginia and South Carolina delegations, and was practically carried out when their work announced itself to be a Constitution of the United States, and the first three Articles made provision for the legislative, executive, and judicial departments.

All this was well understood both by friends and foes. Judge Yates, a most zealous and persevering opponent of the whole scheme,—who resisted it in the Convention, and finally retired in disgust, resisted it before the people, in the Convention of New York, and, like his class of politicians generally, scarcely ceased when the Constitution became the supreme law,—says that when, in the discussion of this first Resolution, it was asked, whether the State governments were to be annihilated, "It was answered, 'Only so far as the powers intended to be granted to the new government should clash with the States, when the latter were to yield.' " What was intended, and actually accomplished by the Convention, could not now be better

stated in so few words than it was seventy-five years ago in this language of Chief Justice Yates. They intended to establish a fundamental law for the purpose of effecting certain great national objects, to make it the duty of their government to accomplish those objects, and to give it, almost without limitation, the means of doing so. State governments, and whatsoever else stood in the way of the legal operation of this supreme law, were to be superseded. Whatever the national government could rightfully and constitutionally do, was law; and nothing was "reserved" for the States but what it could not do, — what was "not delegated to the United States." He and his colleague, Chancellor Lansing, said that the object was "the consolidation of the United States into one government," and to "deprive the State government of its most essential rights of sovereignty, and to place it in a dependent situation." Mr. Lansing said, "I am not authorized to accede to a system which will annihilate the State governments, and the Virginia plan is declarative of such extinction." Gouverneur Morris told them, "that in all communities there must be one supreme power, and one only." Alexander Hamilton said that "two sovereignties cannot coexist within the same limits." Mr. Madison said, "If we do not *radically* depart from the federal [i. e. confederate] plan, we shall share the fate of ancient and modern confederacies." Mr. Gerry agreed with Messrs. Yates and Lansing that the Constitution was "a system of national government." Mr. George Mason said that Congress might "extend their powers as far as they should think proper; so that the State legislatures have no security for the powers presumed to remain to them." The Constitution, said Mr. Lansing, "absorbs all power, except what may be exercised in the little local matters of the States, which are not objects worthy of the supreme cognizance." The fundamental Resolution in favor of a National Government was brought directly into competition with a Confederacy of the States, and debated, after a postponement for preparation, for three successive days, when the confederate plan was rejected by a decisive vote.

Immediately on the organization of the government all this language of the State Rights party was at once changed and

contradicted. Instead of great and undefined powers, they now said that the Constitution gave very few and strictly limited powers, so that they found almost every proposed act of the government absolutely unconstitutional, on account of the straitened limits of its authority. Even so necessary a law as the first one enacted, providing for administering and recording the official oaths prescribed by the Constitution, and essential to enable the officers to act at all in their official capacities, and to set the machine in motion, was objected to on the ground of a want of constitutional power to enact it. But since the present rebellion the State Rights party have admitted and reaffirmed the truth of the original interpretation, by inserting such provisions in their own Constitution as make it conform to their views; and at the same time have convicted themselves of dishonesty in their endeavors to make us believe that our Constitution meant the same thing without their alterations, as they have made their own to mean by them.

Notwithstanding "this Constitution" is declared on its face to be "the supreme law of the land," and the President, in whom the executive power is vested, is expressly required to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and is under the solemn obligations of an oath to do so; and notwithstanding Congress is under equal obligations "to make all laws necessary and proper to carry into execution the powers" thus vested in this or in any other department of the government, occasions have not been wanting for denying to the general government adequate power to execute the fundamental law which it was created to administer. Such an objection to the execution of the whole Constitution, and every part of it, including every rule, order, precept, right, duty, or prohibition it contains, will hardly be listened to hereafter. A duty imposed implies a power to perform it. "No maxim," said Mr. Madison, "is more clearly established in law, or in reason, than that, wherever the end is required, the means are authorized; wherever a general power to do a thing is given, every particular power necessary for doing it is included." The idea, then, that the Constitution cannot be carried into effect because the government has no right to execute it, may probably be considered as obsolete.

In regard to any supposed danger of collision between the government and the States, as co-ordinate powers, all reasonable fears of such a result are understood to have passed by. The complete supremacy of the general government, as to all matters coming within its sphere, with the "reservation" to the States of a part only of the "powers not delegated to the United States," connected with the right of final decision, through its Judiciary, of all cases "arising under this Constitution," renders it perfectly certain that no such difficulty can ever arise. If an act of the general government is constitutional, — and this they must decide for themselves, — all question in regard to its validity is ended. The great purposes and objects for which the government was instituted are few and specific; but in the selection of means for their accomplishment, in deciding what may be "necessary and proper for carrying them into execution," under all the varied exigencies of times and events, the field is as broad as the whole range of legislative power. Of course it can never be known, *a priori*, to what extent, and in what direction, the public exigencies may require an interference with the local and domestic arrangements of the people, on the part of the government. No specific interference is excluded, under all circumstances, or in the nature of things can be; for the power that is responsible for the public defence and safety has, and of necessity must have, entire control of the physical and moral resources of the nation, and those who unwarrantably thwart its exercise render themselves responsible for its failure.

Though the Constitution confers no powers directly on the State governments, and none are "reserved" to them but "powers not delegated to the United States," it has not been unusual for State legislatures to pass laws on subjects expressly as well as impliedly within the legislative power of Congress, provided such laws did not interfere with any law of Congress in actual force and operation at the same time. It is on this principle that State bankrupt laws, under certain circumstances, are considered legitimate. In all such cases, however, and in all others where State legislation may be well authorized and entirely unobjectionable, considered by itself merely, its "validity will depend on its interfering with, or

being contrary to, any act of Congress passed in pursuance of the Constitution." In the case of *Gibbon vs. Ogden*, the Court say: "The nullity of any act inconsistent with the Constitution is produced by the declaration, that the Constitution is the supreme law. The appropriate application of that part of the clause which confers the same supremacy on laws and treaties, is to such acts of the State legislatures as do not transcend their powers, but, though enacted in execution of acknowledged State powers, interfere with, or are contrary to, the laws of Congress, made in pursuance of the Constitution, or some treaty made under the authority of the United States. In every such case, the act of Congress, or the treaty, is supreme; and the law of the State, though enacted in the exercise of powers not controverted, must yield to it." Thus it is apparent that there can be no collision between the Union and the States, as co-ordinate powers in legislation, on any subject; for the United States are always supreme, wherever their power constitutionally extends.

If the trial of the Constitution thus far may be considered to have established these two points,—that the government has the power, and is in duty bound, to execute the whole and every part of the Constitution, and that its rightful authority cannot be rightfully counteracted by any subordinate power,—we may proceed to examine the practical operation of some of its details.

The introductory clause of the Constitution states that it was made by the "people of the United States," for "themselves and their posterity,"—"the United States"; and "in order," 1. "to form a more perfect union," 2. "to establish justice," 3. "to insure domestic tranquillity," 4. "to provide for the common defence," 5. "to promote the general welfare," and 6. "to secure the blessings of liberty." It has been said that this statement of the objects and purposes of the Constitution does not confer any power on the government created by it, nor enlarge or diminish any power otherwise conferred; but it is nevertheless true that it discloses the design and intent with which the powers were given, and of course furnishes a rule by which those powers are to be understood and construed. They were designed and conferred to

effect the six specified objects, and should be allowed and made to do so, if by law they may. The specified objects comprise all the ingredients of a perfect government.

The Constitution was "ordained and established" for the whole body politic, the United States, by the people thereof. Who are the people of the United States? Chief Justice Taney says: "The words *people of the United States* and *citizens* are synonymous terms, and mean the same thing. They both describe the political body who . . . . form the sovereignty, and hold the power, and conduct the government through their representatives. . . . Every citizen is one of this people, and a constituent member of this sovereignty." Mr. Attorney-General Bates says: "The Constitution uses the word *citizen* only to express the political quality of the individual in his relations to the nation, to declare that he is a member of the body politic, and bound to it by the reciprocal obligation of allegiance on the one side and protection on the other. . . . The phrase, *a citizen of the United States*, without addition or qualification, means neither more nor less than a member of the nation." "People of the United States," "people of the several States," "citizens of the United States," "citizens" and "inhabitants" of particular States, and of the several States, are parallel expressions often used in the Constitution. The Chief Justice speaks of citizenship "by birth-right," which the Constitution also recognizes, and the Attorney-General says: "Every person born in the country is, at the moment of birth, *prima facie*, a citizen. . . . That nativity furnishes the rule both of duty and of right, as between the individual and the government, is an historical and political truth so old and universally accepted, that it is needless to prove its authority."

Who, then, constitute the "nation," the "body politic," the "constituent members of the sovereignty," is determined by the "census or enumeration" directed by the Constitution to be taken every ten years. By the numbers so ascertained, the right of representation "by the people of the several States" is apportioned. It makes no difference, in this respect, whether men, women, and children of all classes are reckoned as exactly equal, or whether five of one sort are only equal to three

of another ; in either case they all form a part of the representative population, a part of the "people of the several States," by whom the representatives are chosen, and that whether the whole, or only one fourth part, or, as in some of the States, only a sixteenth part of the people are actually allowed the right of suffrage. This enumeration includes the whole nation, the body politic, "the constituent members of the sovereignty," — every inhabitant of the land, except "Indians not taxed." The Constitution excludes these, because, although they belong to the country and are under the protection of the government, they yet form separate tribes under their own institutions, and are not in direct allegiance to the government of the United States. Every one else, without regard to age, sex, race, color, or condition, is included, as forming a part of the nation. "The people [*citizens*] of the several States," by whom representatives are chosen, are the people (*citizens*) of the United States domiciled in particular States. They are not all "electors," though they might be ; and no others can be, because it would not, in that case, be a government exclusively by the people. There is no fitness in basing a representation, "apportioning it," on any other population.

If all the native-born inhabitants of the country, with the only exception of "Indians not taxed," are a part of "the people of the United States," and "citizens" by "birthright," according to Chief Justice Taney, or "natural-born citizens" in the language of the common law and the Constitution, it is pertinent to inquire, What are the *personal rights* recognized, conferred, or assured by the Constitution to such "citizens" in particular, and more generally to them in common with all other *persons* under the protection of the government ? The legislature of Virginia say that there is *one*, and one only. It is in these words : "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." Citizens of each State are citizens of the United States, and as such entitled to all the rights guaranteed by this Constitution, not only in the several States, but everywhere else. The clause cited refers undoubtedly to privileges and immunities held in the several States exclusively under their own local laws. These shall be extended alike to all the

citizens of the United States when subject to those laws. It includes of course only those rights that belong to all as citizens simply, not those which are enjoyed by a part of the citizens in consequence of circumstances or qualifications in addition to citizenship, and independent of it. Probably, also, the State should not discriminate against new-comers in regard to such rights as require additional qualifications. If citizens, being also freeholders, are entitled to the right of suffrage, for instance, it would be invidious and inadmissible to say that one coming from another State, though he became also a freeholder, should not be so entitled. Chancellor Kent says that he is entitled to all the privileges of citizens of the same class, or standing in the same position.

The right of being represented in Congress is conferred directly by the Constitution. Members of the House shall be chosen "by the people of the several States," and "shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand." They may not all be voters, but no others can be, for the government must be of the "people." Citizenship by birthright is indirectly recognized as a personal right by the clause restricting eligibility to the Presidency to "a natural-born citizen." The provisions respecting treason confer rights on citizens only, those owing allegiance to the country; for no others can commit treason. Those also respecting "capitation and other direct taxes" refer only to the people, the citizens; for they depend on the census, or decennial enumeration of the "persons" composing the representative population. The first amendment recognizes expressly "the right of the people to assemble and petition the government"; the second, "the right to keep and bear arms"; and the fourth, "the right to be secure in their persons, houses, papers." All these rights are held by the "*citizens*," the "*people*," under the assurance of the Constitution.

Divers other personal rights are held by all "persons" who live under the protection of our government, whether citizens or aliens, and by a similar guaranty. The right to personal liberty, and the writ of *habeas corpus* as one remedy for its violation, are necessarily implied in the clause which restricts the suspension of the writ. The right to *liberty* is still more broadly secured to every "*person*" by the fifth amendment.



The prohibition of bills of attainder, *ex post facto* laws, and laws impairing the obligation of contracts, and the grant of trial by jury in criminal cases, all secure personal rights to everybody. The same is true of the clause in favor of the claim of a person having legal right to the personal services of another. Besides the rights in the body of the Constitution, the amendments mention several equally applicable to every "person" who is subject to the government. "Free exercise of religion," "freedom of speech" and "of the press," the legal formalities of "warrants," exemption from trial for crimes unless on "indictment by a grand jury," from being a "witness against himself," being "deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," having "property taken for public use without just compensation," "the right to a speedy and public trial" for crime, by a "jury of the State," on a known "cause of accusation," with witnesses in court, and assistance of counsel and witnesses in defence, with exemption from "excessive bail" and "cruel punishments," are among the important rights secured to *everybody* by these amendments.

To consider all these personal rights as *conferred* by the Constitution, and mere restrictions on the government, is to disparage the rights themselves, and to degrade the Constitution and the people who made it. They are regarded as inherent pre-existing personal rights, founded on the principles of eternal justice, and solemnly recognized in the Constitution, as to be protected and defended by the government against all assailants. It is a heresy not to consider them as inviolable personal rights under the guardianship and protection of the government. No subordinate power should be allowed to impair them. Is the general government to stand still and look on while the "people," its "citizens," or others under its protection, are hung, incarcerated, made slaves, their property confiscated, and other rights violated with impunity? The principles of our Constitution ought not to be so interpreted, nor the duty of the government so understood or performed.

Such being the rights of all "persons," citizens and others, recognized by our Constitution, it would hardly seem possible

to inquire further, What are the constitutional rights of slavery? Lexicographers define slavery as "the state of absolute subjection to the will of another." One in that state is "the property of his master." His body is not his own, but his master's, and, if protected at all, it is so on account of his master's interest alone. He cannot defend it himself, even for the sake of his master. He is a chattel, sold and transferred as property, and of course can have no rights. The distinction between *persons* and *property* was as well understood by the Convention as it is now, and when they decided that every man was a *person*, they decided that no man was *property*, and when they decided that every *person* had inherent or constitutional rights, they decided also that no *person* was destitute of rights.

Those bound to service for a term of years were *free persons*, those bound by a longer tenure were "*other persons*," and included as such in the enumeration of representative "*persons*," but nowhere as *property*. No distinction of race or color is recognized in the Constitution. The clause in regard to the "migration or importation" of *persons* prior to 1808, is now obsolete. It made no provision respecting the *status* of such *persons*, and Congress, by another part of the Constitution, had the right to make them all citizens by naturalization if they chose. This was well understood, and spoken of in the Convention. The only other place in the Constitution where slaves are supposed to be alluded to, is the clause respecting fugitives. Here the "*persons*" spoken of are considered as debtors, owing personal service, and are reclaimed for specific performance. The terms doubtless include the "*free persons*" mentioned in the first article as bound for a term of years, all apprentices, those bound by contract, and divers other classes of free "*persons*"; and if the Constitution anywhere established or admitted the *status* of slavery, or the right of *property* by one man in another, they might also include that. But slave or slavery, either in express words or by any circumlocution meaning the same thing, is not to be found in the Constitution. The subject of the absolute dominion of one man over the will and person of another, or the right of property in man, is not named or described by any

words whatever, in any part of that instrument, and of course is not recognized, sanctioned, or guarantied to anybody. The rebellion has furnished us with the honest opinion of the slaveholders themselves on this point. After clamoring against us for more than half a century for violating what they pretended to call the guaranties of the Constitution in favor of slavery, they now admit that the guaranties are not there, and supply the deficiency by placing them in their own Constitution.

The duties of the government are due to the "people," the "citizens," of the United States. They owe nothing to slaves, as such; for they ignore their *status*. They owe nothing to their masters, as such; for they ignore their assumed rights. The slaves must be a part of the "people," or they are no part of the nation. Assuming, then, that they belong to the nation, and are a part of the "people," it lies directly in our way to inquire by what powers of the Constitution the government can reach them so as to effect their personal and relative rights and duties. The idea has been so long and so sedulously inculcated by the Secession school of politicians, that slavery was something so sacred that it could not be touched, debated, or even considered, — that no petition from it could be allowed, and none respecting it could be answered, and that government could do nothing about it but defend and enforce it, — that we had come, from the mere force of clamor and habit, almost to the condition of actual belief that four millions of our people were absolutely beyond the protection of the Constitution, and out of the pale of the nation. But the rebellion, among all its other consequences for evil or for good, has fortunately set us free from this spell, and we are now at liberty to look into the Constitution and ascertain what our rights and duties really are.

All the slaves, as well as all the other inhabitants of the land, are either natives or aliens. If natives, they are citizens by birthright, which is the best right to citizenship, and with most of us the only right that we can boast of. If they are aliens, they may be naturalized and made citizens, at the will of the government. Probably there are now no persons except natives actually and legally held in servile bondage for the benefit of their masters. Aliens imported in 1807, or before, are

probably too old to have their labor of any value beyond the cost of their support. Those imported since were imported contrary to law, and even *State-rights* law would not support a title so acquired. If natural-born or naturalized citizens, they are entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of other citizens under the Constitution, and subject to the same duties and liabilities, and no others.

Foreign territory has been acquired, and aliens of all colors, races, and conditions have been adopted and naturalized by treaty; both territory and people have been alienated and transferred, and duties and liabilities discharged and abolished in like manner; nor has it been doubted that other similar changes in the relations and obligations of individuals or classes could be made by the same power.

By the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, Congress have prohibited the foreign slave-trade, punished the participants in it, and freed the subjects of it. By the power to regulate commerce among the several States, they may do the same with the domestic or inter-State slave-trade any day when they choose. The "*migration*" of persons, which Congress may prohibit after 1807, is not simply *immigration* from foreign lands, or *emigration* from our own, but *migration* especially from place to place within our own land. Many intelligent slaveholders have expressed the opinion, that slavery could not live after being circumscribed and confined to any limited territory. What, then, would be its fate if every slave were restricted to the place of his birth or present ownership, and made transferable only with the soil on which he labors? How long would slavery last in the Border States under such a regulation?

What may not Congress do, legitimately, with slaves or anybody else, under the power to declare and prosecute war? To raise and support armies and navies, they may enlist, draft, and even impress slaves, hired laborers, apprentices, minors, and others. It is believed that all these things have been done. By the power of "*organizing*" the militia, Congress provides for the enrolment of the militia, and by the express terms of the present law actually includes, and undoubtedly intended to include, every able-bodied man between eighteen and forty-

five years of age, belonging to the country, whether bond or free. No power is *reserved* to the States in the case, except to “*officer*” and “*train*” them “according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.” Who will undertake to say what Congress may not accomplish, under the possible exigencies of the future history of the country, by the power to make all laws necessary and proper for executing the Constitution? In the selection of means they seem to have a *carte blanche*, as broad as the field of legislative power, and the States have none to interfere with it, for all their *reserved* powers are only such as are *not delegated* to the general government.

None of these passages in the Constitution say explicitly that Congress may emancipate all the slaves, or abolish slavery in the States, nor do they say that Congress may pass a fugitive slave law; but they obviously confer powers that may be used to “promote the general welfare” of the country, and the interest of the slave in particular, as well as the exclusive interest of the slaveholder. Doubtless it was not expected or intended that slavery should be at once abolished by the government, and the slaves set free; though such might have been the real effect of it if it had been administered, and its powers strictly enforced, in that spirit and for that object. But it was expected and intended that slavery should gradually die out, and in the mean time continue only by sufferance. No sanction was to be given to it, no permanence, and of course no recognition in the Constitution. The Constitution expressly recognizes freedom, and totally ignores slavery. Mr. Iverson of Georgia, in a speech in the Senate of the United States, December 5, 1860, said: “The power of the federal government could be so exercised against the institution of slavery in the Southern States, as that, without an *overt act*, [meaning without any violation of their rights according to their own construction of them,] the institution would not last ten years.” The institution has been continued and strengthened through the sympathy and assistance of the general government; and if only a withdrawal of their patronage, and an indirect influence in favor of liberty, without any *overt act*, would accomplish its destruction in ten years, what might not be expected from “the swelling of Jordan”?

No part of the Constitution has been the occasion of more discussion than the first clause of the eighth section of the first article, relating to the "common defence and general welfare." The whole clause, as it now stands, is a piece of patch-work, in these words: "To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." The section begins with the words, "Congress shall have power"; then follow the above and seventeen other separate items, each beginning a line, with a capital letter, and a verb in the infinitive mood; and ending with a semicolon and a break, as the end of a paragraph. The clause, though originally single, is now in three parts, embracing different subjects, introduced for different purposes, by different persons, at different times, separately discussed and matured, without any reference to each other, and finally thrown together, not on account of any congeniality, but merely for convenience in locating independent propositions not elsewhere disposed of. The first part, which was originally the whole, giving the power of taxation, was introduced May 29, 1787, as a part of the South Carolina plan, in the exact words in which it now stands, — "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises"; — forming the first item in the list of enumerated powers, drawn up in the precise form of the present eighth section. This plan, together with the New Jersey plan, and the Virginia plan as amended in the course of two months' discussion, was referred to a select committee for the purpose of reporting a Constitution. August 6th, the committee reported the "Draft of a Constitution," following in relation to the legislative power the form, and in most respects the substance, of the South Carolina plan, in eighteen distinct items. These items were more or less altered in the progress of discussion; but in form the eighth section is the same as reported by this Committee of Detail, and as it was originally in the South Carolina plan; and in relation to this power of taxation, and several others, it remains through all its stages precisely in the words originally proposed. No qualification, limitation, or alteration of any kind, except an exemption of

exports, was asked or suggested by any one to the first clause as it then stood. It was concluded that this was not the proper place for the exemption of exports, and the taxation clause passed, August 16th, almost unanimously, in the words now composing its first line.

The second part of the clause, "to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare" of the United States, was much longer under consideration, and assumed many different forms. On the 18th of August, Mr. Madison and Mr. Charles Pinkney proposed sundry additional items of legislative power, in the same form as those already adopted, and among them this, "To secure the payment of the public debt"; — all of which were referred to the Committee of Detail, whose first report was still under examination. On the same day, Mr. Rutledge moved and obtained a "Grand Committee" of one from each State, to consider the assumption of all the State debts. The "Grand Committee" reported on the 21st, embracing both subjects, as follows: "The legislature of the United States shall have power to fulfil the engagements which have been entered into by Congress, and to discharge, as well the debts of the United States, as the debts incurred by the several States during the late war, for the common defence and general welfare." Which report was laid on the table. The next day the "Committee of Detail" reported an addition to the taxing clause, as follows: "For payment of the debts and necessary expenses of the United States; provided that no law for raising any branch of revenue except what may be appropriated for the payment of interest on debts or loans, shall continue in force for more than — years." At the same time the report of the "Grand Committee" was taken up. The words, "The legislature shall have power to fulfil the engagements which have been entered into by Congress," being under consideration, Mr. Ellsworth "argued that they were unnecessary. The United States heretofore entered into engagements by Congress, who were their agents. They will hereafter be bound to fulfil them by their new agents." Mr. Randolph "thought such a provision necessary; for though the United States will be bound, the new government will have no authority in the case, unless it be

given to them." Mr. Madison "thought it necessary to give the authority, in order to prevent misconstruction. He mentioned the attempt made by the debtors to British subjects, to show that contracts under the old government were dissolved by the Revolution, which destroyed the political identity of the society." Mr. Gerry "thought it essential that some explicit provision should be made on the subject; so that no pretext might remain for getting rid of the public engagements." Mr. Gouverneur Morris "moved by way of amendment to substitute, 'The legislature *shall* discharge the debts and fulfil the engagements of the United States,' " which was agreed to, — all the States voting in the affirmative. Thus far it is obvious that the sole and exclusive object of what is now the second part of the clause was to confer a distinct, substantive additional "*power*" to pay the existing debts, and in the last resort to *require* the exercise of it.

On the 23d of August, this additional substantive "*power*" and "*duty*" was first incorporated into the first clause of the eighth section, as follows: "The legislature *shall* fulfil the engagements and discharge the debts of the United States; and shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises." In this form it again passed the Convention; but Mr. Butler feared that it would compel the payment of the speculating holders of the debt, while he wished to discriminate between them and more meritorious creditors. He therefore, August 25th, moved a reconsideration. Colonel Mason said that "shall discharge the debts" was too strong; and he was afraid it might extend to all the old Continental paper. Mr. Langdon wished only to "leave the creditors *in statu quo*." Mr. Gerry thought the debt ought to be paid. "Stockjobbers kept up the value of the paper. Without them there would be no market." Mr. Butler "meant neither to increase nor diminish the security of the creditors." Here Mr. Randolph moved to postpone the clause, in favor of the following independent proposition: "All debts contracted and engagements entered into, by or under the authority of Congress, shall be as valid against the United States, under this Constitution, as under the Confederation." Dr. Johnson said, "Changing the government cannot change the obligation of the United



States." Mr. Gouverneur Morris was for a "compliance with public faith. He was content to say nothing, as the new government would be bound, of course; but would prefer the clause with the term *shall*, because it would create many friends to the plan." Mr. Randolph's proposition was then agreed to, and now forms an independent clause of the sixth article.

But Mr. Sherman still "thought it necessary to connect with the clause for laying taxes, duties, &c. an express provision for the object of the old debts, &c., and moved to add," — "for the payment of said debts, and for the defraying the expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence and general welfare." But, says Mr. Madison, "the proposition, as being unnecessary, was disagreed to, Connecticut alone being in the affirmative." Thus the additions to the taxing clause, made or proposed, all related to the old debts, and involved an additional substantive "*power*" to pay those debts; and none of them related at all to any desired qualification, limitation, or explanation of the taxing power, as originally conferred.

August 25th, an independent proposition, prescribing the rule of uniformity in regard to duties, imposts, and excises, was made and referred to a committee, who reported it, August 28th, in the following form: "All tonnage, duties, imposts, and excises laid by the legislature shall be uniform throughout the United States," which, with the omission of the word "tonnage," was adopted, August 31st, without any reference to the taxing clause, but connected with the sixth clause in the ninth section of article first.

On the same day, Mr. Sherman moved and obtained a committee of one from each State on "such parts of the Constitution as have been postponed, and such parts of reports as have not been acted on." Mr. Sherman was himself a prominent member of this committee, which reported, September 4th, the taxation clause in a form embodying his rejected amendment, and which was now agreed to without debate or opposition in the following words: "To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States." Before this final alteration it was, — "The legislature *shall* fulfil

the engagements and discharge the debts of the United States, and shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises." The differences should be carefully noted ; —

1. The transposition of the two parts of the clause, " debts," and " taxes."

2. The change of the *requirement* to pay into a discretionary power.

3. The omission of the other *engagements* besides " debts."

4. The addition of " common defence and general welfare."

On these it seems obvious to remark, that neither one nor all of them could have been considered or intended to make any important change in the interpretation, or any substantial alteration in the effect of the clause. The first, the transposition, certainly could not. The subject had been critically examined and much debated, and the clause had passed with general acceptance as it stood. The change was made suddenly, with little consideration, no debate, and no opposition, which is not the course with changes of essential importance. The second removed the only objection which had been made to the original form of the clause. The third, relating to other " engagements," had been provided for in the sixth article. The fourth had been rendered absolutely necessary, in order " to exclude a conclusion." While the taxing power stood alone, or at the end of the clause, no one could doubt that the taxes were to be raised for the general purposes of the government. Of course, to have added " for the common defence and general welfare," would have added nothing to the power conferred by the clause. But when the parts were transposed, and the power to pay the debts followed the power to lay and collect taxes, the necessary conclusion would have been, that the taxes were laid, not for the general purposes of the government, but solely to pay debts, this being the only purpose named. Hence the absolute necessity of superadding those general purposes in the comprehensive summary used in the Constitution, " and to provide for the common defence and general welfare."

It will be seen by the foregoing historical sketch of the debates, that the Convention had determined to give Congress an express substantive power to pay the precedent or existing debts of the United States, in addition to the general recogni-

tion of their validity contained in the sixth article. This had now, almost by accident, become an appendage to the power of taxation. Those debts were to be paid, or at least might be paid, by the use of money raised from taxation. It would not answer to say that Congress might tax the people to pay those debts, and stop there; because that would not only exclude all the other purposes for which taxes were wanted and might be collected, but would also exclude the payment of the debts by any other means, neither of which was intended. The almost indefinite power of taxation, as well as all the other powers of the government, is given for the purpose of accomplishing all the objects of the Constitution. No part of these could be omitted, and they are all included in this short summary. The sole object of the whole addition to the taxing power was to delegate to the new government a "power" to pay the debts of the old. No desire to alter the magnitude or extent of the taxing power, by way of qualification, limitation, or amendment of any sort, was suggested. The added "*power*" authorized the payment out of the revenue raised by taxation. But they being recognized as "debts" of the nation, and their payment authorized, directly and expressly, it is not to be supposed that they might not be paid out of any funds at the disposal of the government, as well as those created by taxation. Accordingly, we find that these same "debts" were afterwards actually first secured, and then paid out of the proceeds of loans, bank stock, sinking fund, and public lands, as well perhaps as from other resources. And when the clause proceeds also to delegate a similar "power," "to provide for the common defence," is it supposable that this is to be done exclusively in the use of the single power of taxation, and not by all the powers of the government under the Constitution? This last would have been the case though the power of taxation had not been given at all. The same may be said of the other "power," conferred in the same connection, "to provide . . . . for the general welfare," however it may be construed, and there can be no reasonable doubt that it includes the designated objects of the government, namely, "union," "justice," "domestic tranquillity," the "blessings of liberty," and all the powers conferred to promote them, whatever else it may or

may not include. If Congress may regulate commerce, coin money, establish post-roads, support armies, maintain navies, carry on war, and make all laws necessary and proper for these and all other purposes of government, undoubtedly they may raise and appropriate money for such internal, as well as external, establishments and works as are adapted to promote them. This, by the express terms of the clause under examination, may be done in the use of the revenue obtained by the power of taxation, and it may and must be done by the execution of all the other powers of the government, which were delegated for this special purpose, and this only.

Thus we see that the whole object of the Convention, in making these additions to the taxing power, in either form, was to provide for the Revolutionary and Confederation debts. This was done by "delegating" a new "power" to Congress. It made no difference as to the fact of the grant of "power," whether "to pay" was compulsory or discretionary, or whether it was arranged before or after the "power" of taxation; but if it followed "the power of taxation" in the arrangement, as was finally determined, it became necessary to include in the same "grant of power" all the other objects for which revenue from taxation might be used, to bar an implication that it was applicable to this purpose and no other. Hence they were subjoined in the apt words, "and provide for the common defence and general welfare."

The express power here granted "to pay the debts," refers to the debts of the Confederation only. No one doubted or questioned the right of the government to pay any debt they had a right themselves to contract. The only question was, and the only "power" now asked was, as to the payment of pre-existing debts. These having all been paid, this power has become obsolete. The other provisions in this connection include all the purposes for which the Constitution was made and the government instituted, which may be executed by means of laying and collecting "taxes, duties, imposts, and excises," or by doing anything else for which authority is vested by the Constitution in the government, or in any department or officer thereof.

The remaining inquiry proposed relates to the third or last

part of the taxing clause. This is one of the three only qualifications of the taxing power contained in the Constitution. Direct taxes are to be laid by the rule of apportionment, indirect by the rule of uniformity, and exports are to go free. The first and the last provisions are in other parts of the Constitution. The second is here. How and when came it here? This and two other independent propositions now in the fifth clause of the ninth section of the first article were agreed to, August 31st. The Committee of Revision, which made the final arrangement of the articles agreed upon, reported, September 12th, accidentally omitting the three items of that vote. The omission was discovered quite at the heel of the session, and on the day preceding the engrossment for signature they were separated for no apparent reason, and two of them placed in the fifth clause of the ninth section, while this, "but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States," was added to the first clause of the eighth, without debate, apparently without consideration, and without objection. This shows at least that, whatever motive might have occasioned such a disposition of them, there could have been no intention, and no suspicion, that the least possible effect or influence was produced thereby on the construction or interpretation of either of the clauses to which addition was thus summarily made. So the first two parts of the taxation clause have the same force and effect, and should be construed in the same manner, as though the "uniformity" part had been left where it was originally, in connection with the matters in the fifth clause of the ninth section.

The foregoing exposition of the first clause of the eighth section has been made upon the presumption that it means what the Convention intended and endeavored to make it mean. If any different construction is attached to it, it ought at least to be left in the shape they gave it. The Committee introduced it in two parts, reversing the former arrangement, placed a semicolon between them, as before, and after the manner of every other clause in the section; and in this form it was passed without a dissenting voice by the Convention. In the same form it was reported by the Revisory Committee, and again passed unanimously. Judge Story says that "the clause

was separated from the preceding exactly in the same manner as every succeeding clause was, namely, by a semicolon and a break in the paragraph; and that it now stands in some copies, and, it is said, in the official copy, with a semicolon interposed."

Mr. Madison, however, uniformly omits the semicolon, and says that the clause ought not to be so separated. He says, also, that his is "an exact copy" of the original report, and that "the variations in the printed journal are occasioned by its incorporation of subsequent amendments." But as no amendments were made in this part of it, this reason for a change in the punctuation would not apply. He says, in regard to the revisory report, that his "is a literal copy." It is undoubtedly so, as he says, *literatim*, but may not be so *punctuatim*. Mr. Brearly, who was chairman of the first committee, and also furnished the copy of the revision for the journal, is more likely to be correct in this respect. But, after all, it is not certain that the difference is very material, for Mr. Madison, in his report on the Virginia Resolutions of 1800, says: "There is not a single power whatsoever which may not have some reference to the common defence or general welfare, nor a power of any magnitude which in its exercise does not involve or admit an application of money. The government, therefore, which possesses power in either one or the other of these extents, is a government without limitations, formed by a particular enumeration of powers." He therefore proposes to construe it away entirely, and thus substantially to put it out of the Constitution. This is undoubtedly the safest course; for it has always been a troublesome passage for all that class of politicians. But the stubborn fact is, that it is there bodily, and is really valid in both aspects, having been passed expressly for the purpose of conferring additional, direct, and substantive power, and incidentally authorizing the execution of it by means of taxation, as well as by all the other powers of the government.

The commercial power, so far as it respects foreign commerce, has been pretty thoroughly developed in practice. Congress has not only exercised a wholesome control over commerce, but has encouraged, assisted, protected, and de-

fended it by a great variety of means, has at times restricted, hampered, and embarrassed it by annoying regulations for political objects, and has once actually abolished and destroyed it altogether for the time being by a law permanent on its face, though afterwards repealed. These measures have been generally approved by the nation, and sustained by all departments of the government, — the last probably not so much on the ground of its being a wise exercise of the legislative power “to regulate commerce,” as because it was an actual exercise of political power, which the legal discretion of the judiciary had neither the right nor the ability to control. As to internal or inter-State commerce, almost nothing has been done. The power over it is in the same terms as the other, and equally extensive, and may be as broadly exercised whenever the exigencies of the times shall, in the wisdom of Congress, be thought to demand it.

Congress has the exclusive right “to coin money and regulate the value thereof.” To coin is to make, form, or fabricate. Shakespeare’s “*coinage* of the brain” was a fabrication. Dryden says, “Those motives induced Virgil to *coin* his fable.” “Government *coins* money”; rogues “*coin* lies”; “fools *coin* words.” The “value thereof” relates entirely to the value given to it by the government as money. No reference whatever is anywhere made to its having any value otherwise. Nothing is prescribed in regard to the substance to be used. It is usual to have money authenticated by a government stamp, and if the verb *to coin* absolutely includes such a stamp in the case of *money*, as it does not in the other cases cited, then it must be admitted that the substance required by the Constitution must be material. But it may well be doubted whether any such stamp is absolutely essential. Perhaps Congress might authorize something to be used as *money* in exchanges and payment of debts, as Virginia once did with *tobacco*, without any stamp whatever. However this may be, there is nothing in the Constitution requiring the substance to be mineral or vegetable. Both were in use for the purpose at the time the Constitution was made, and it prescribes neither. Its value as money depends on the regulation of Congress, and whether it has any and what value otherwise is entirely imma-

terial so far as its legality is concerned, though not as to its expediency. When the Constitution was made, the mineral currency of the country consisted of gold, silver, and copper. Congress soon afterward authorized a new coinage of all three, and they have since added nickel to the list. No doubt they had the same legal right to use iron, tin, or lead for the purpose. There was an attempt made in the Convention to exclude paper; but the expediency of this was doubted by many. It was said that the war of the Revolution could not have been sustained without it; and the efficacy of such a prohibition was doubted by many more. Congress had and must have the right to borrow money. If so, they must promise to pay. The value of the promise would be influenced by the facility of transfer. So the restriction was abandoned.

Whatever is legal money must be used as such, in all exchanges, payments, and transactions of business requiring it. Every contract has reference to the legal currency, the lawful money of the country. Congress, having the sole right to say what shall be money, must of course regulate the whole matter. The States cannot make money, emit bills, or even render the United States copper and nickel coin a legal tender. Mr. Webster said, nearly thirty years ago: "It is an imperative duty imposed upon this government by the Constitution, to exercise a control over all that is in the country assuming the nature of a currency, whether it be metal or whether it be paper; all the coinage of the country is placed in the power of the federal government; no State, *by its stamp*, can give value to a brass farthing." He added: "The power to regulate commerce between the States carries with it, not impliedly, but necessarily and directly, a full power of regulating the essential element of commerce, namely, the currency of the country, the money, which constitutes the life and soul of commerce."

The only reference in the Constitution to the writ of *habeas corpus* is in these words: "The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it." This language implies the existence and universality of the privilege or right. If it did not exist, it could not be suspended, and to prohibit the suspension would be idle. The language also im-



plies that the existing privilege may be suspended in the specified cases. Saying that it "shall not be suspended" in other cases, implies that it may be in these. If it may be suspended or temporarily taken away in any case, it must be or remain until it is taken away. The clause, therefore, relates to an actually subsisting right or privilege. No argument is necessary to prove that the writ thus mentioned is the great prerogative writ, for the protection of personal liberty, known to the common law as the writ of *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum*. Personal liberty, then, being the purpose and object of the writ, is itself recognized and secured as a right, by the same provision which recognizes and secures the writ itself as one remedy for its violation. The recognition makes them both actual constitutional rights; but in order to be thus recognized they must have been pre-existing rights independent of the Constitution. How came they so?

Our fathers lived under the common law in England, and brought it with them when they emigrated to this country. They always claimed it as a part of their rights and liberties while they remained the King's subjects. The Congress of 1774, the first Representatives of our Union, in their famous Declaration of the Rights of the Colonies, asserted that "they are entitled to the common law of England," and such of the English statutes as they have "found to be applicable to their local and other circumstances." The right protected by this writ, and the use of the writ itself for the sake of that protection, were claimed and exercised here up to the time of the adoption of the Constitution. The clause itself has no meaning independent of the common law. What *habeas corpus* is in the Constitution cannot be ascertained, otherwise than by the common law, any more than the meaning of *bills of attainder* and *ex post facto* laws. The "privilege" thus secured from "suspension" by this clause is that of the common law writ for the protection of personal liberty, and it is immaterial whether it refers to the writ itself or to the action of the writ. So the Constitution re-enacts the common-law right to personal liberty, and to this writ, as one remedy for the violation of it. Both are founded in the common law, and are to be construed by it. The fifth amendment expressly recognizes "liberty"

as the constitutional right of every "person," and the fourth restrains all "seizures of persons." The Introduction speaks of the security of the "blessings of liberty" among the objects of the Constitution, but no other clause in the body of the original instrument actually implies and necessarily secures the right to every one. This clause does so, and if it had not been a common-law right before and at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, this clause would have conferred it. Saying that it shall not be temporarily taken away, "unless," &c., is equivalent to saying that it shall be constantly enjoyed, "unless," &c. This is consistent with the analogy of the language used in other parts of the Constitution. Section third of article first makes the Vice-President the presiding officer of the Senate, but says he "shall have no vote, unless," &c. This negative form of expression gives him a casting vote in case of division, and his right to such a vote rests on this ground, and no other. By section ninth of article first, the migration of persons "shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808." The general power to prohibit it is included in another provision; but if it were not, it would be conferred by this after 1807, by necessary implication. In the same section we have, "No capitation tax shall be laid, unless," &c., necessarily implying the power, if used in the manner proposed. Congress shall meet every year on the first Monday in December, "unless they shall by law appoint a different day," which is equivalent to saying that Congress may appoint by law any other day they please. These are only a part of the instances in our Constitution where a positive right or power is asserted or affirmed by a negative form of expression, which purports only a limited denial. The *habeas corpus* clause, therefore, while purporting only a limited denial of the power of "suspension," actually asserts that power in appropriate circumstances, and at the same time, *eodem flatu*, affirms the right to the writ, as the appropriate remedy for the violation of the recognized constitutional right of personal liberty, that being the only right to which this writ is applicable. Other and less important purposes, to be sure, are answered by process under this general name, but this is mainly intended, and, if it was not, is certainly included. The right of personal liberty, with the right to the remedial writ of *habeas*

*corpus* for its violation, and the power of suspension, under certain circumstances, are all, indirectly and by necessary implication, provided for in this clause of the Constitution.

But though these rights are recognized and guaranteed by the Constitution, they are not all rendered practically available by it, independently of legislation. Morgan might have been seized, imprisoned, transported, and executed, notwithstanding the Constitution assured to him his liberty and the writ of *habeas corpus*. The Constitution effected no more on this than it did on the subject of bankruptcies. It gave power to Congress, so far at least as it respects the jurisdiction of the evil and the remedy. This power Congress exercised at its first session, in the passage of the Judiciary Act. By that, it authorized certain courts and judges to issue the writ, and to adjudicate the case. This jurisdiction, being conferred exclusively by Congress, is of course repealable at any time by Congress, either in whole or in part, temporarily or permanently. They can do this directly, or they can authorize the President to do it, or any part of it, by proclamation, or otherwise, as in regard to other laws. They have actually exercised this power by the *habeas corpus* act of March, 1863, not by virtue of any authority under the clause now under consideration, but by virtue of their general legislative power over the whole subject. This is manifest from their having placed all arrests, detentions, and suspensions of writs, made by authority of the President, during the rebellion, on the same ground, whether made before or after the act. They are all treated as equally legal, and dealt with in the same manner, so that the *habeas corpus* clause, so far as it might be supposed to relate to the power of Congress, is simply nugatory. It would neither increase, diminish, restrain, nor alter their power. Saying to the legislator, who makes or repeals, alters or renews the law, every day, just as he pleases, that he shall not "suspend" it, is as superfluous as to say to the traveller he shall not go to London by the way of the South Pole, when all other and better ways are everywhere open to him.

What, then, is the object of this clause? In construing the Constitution, it is necessary to assume that every part of it means something, and was introduced for some distinct pur-

pose. We have seen that this was not introduced with the design to limit or restrain the legislative power, because it has no such tendency, and can have no such effect. What, then, was the object of it? This must be answered by considering, first, what it authorizes to be done; secondly, when it is to be done; thirdly, why it is to be done; and, fourthly, by whom it is to be done. 1. It authorizes a suspension of a privilege, — the writ of *habeas corpus*, — not positively, by a direct grant of power to suspend, but negatively and indirectly, by imposing a restraint on a pre-existing power. 2. When may it be suspended? “In cases of rebellion or invasion.” These are when there is internal war, civil or foreign; when the war power is called into exercise, and is supreme, for the public safety. Such cases are the only ones in which the suspension authorized by this clause is not prohibited. 3. Why is it then authorized? Because the public safety requires it; and also for the purpose of the prohibition at other times. 4. By whom may it then be done? Obviously by the power that is restrained from doing it till then. This cannot be Congress, because their power is not affected by the clause. The power that makes, alters, continues, or abolishes the law at pleasure, is not restrained by a prohibition to suspend. A very different article would be necessary to abrogate the legislative power. It cannot be the judiciary; because, whatever discretion they may lawfully exercise in refusing the writ under any circumstances, they are not officially in possession of the information that would enable them to do so for this cause. So it must apply exclusively to the executive, or war power. The rights of war are paramount to all others, as existence and safety are paramount to pleasure and profit; and those who exercise these rights disregard or suspend all civil rights standing in their way, and *habeas corpus* among the rest. It is this power only that the clause in question purports to reach and restrain, by prohibiting this particular exercise of it, except in the circumstances specified. It is extended not only to cases of actual war, when only martial law is in effective operation, but to internal war in distinction from external war, — to cases of rebellion and invasion; but even in these it is limited to the demands of the public safety. Such, then, is the obvious

purpose of this clause. It applies directly and exclusively to the executive. Any attempt to apply it to the legislative or judicial departments would render it totally useless and nugatory. It indirectly recognizes the general right to liberty, and to the use of this remedy; together with the occasional right of the war power, in appropriate cases, to interfere with both. Since the breaking out of the present rebellion, it has been so understood, used, and practised, with the general approbation of good and patriotic citizens; and by the *habeas corpus* act of March, 1863, it has received the full indorsement and sanction of the legislative department of the government. By that act the authority of the President, the commander-in-chief, is made a full and perfect defence, in all courts, to any action or prosecution, civil or criminal, pending or to be commenced, for any search, seizure, arrest, or imprisonment, "made or to be made, at any time during the present rebellion," whether instituted by *habeas corpus* or otherwise. It is to be hoped that the construction of the Constitution on this point, so used, approved, and sanctioned, may be considered as settled.

The common law of England is substantially the same. The king suspends the writ, and Parliament indemnifies his ministers. This is the established form of proceeding. But it is only a form, after all. The suspension is legal and valid, without regard to the indemnity; and if the sovereign should fail to make it in a proper case, and public detriment should accrue in consequence, no doubt his ministers would be held liable to impeachment for the neglect. Indemnity or no indemnity is only the mode of approving or changing the ministry. If Parliament should refuse the indemnity, the consequence would be that the ministry would resign, on account of the failure to carry a majority of Parliament to sustain them, but the validity of the king's act would not be in the least affected.

Under our Constitution the same form might be useful to the same extent of showing unity and strength in support of the government. But the disapproval of the legislature would not be attended with the same consequences in this country as in England. By our Constitution, the different departments of the government are intended to be separate and distinct, each acting independently, and on its own responsibility. This re-

sponsibility with the executive and judiciary is so concentrated as to be worth *something*. But with the legislature it is so diluted as to be of little if any efficacy. In England the omnipotence of Parliament effectually swallows up the other departments. One house exercises the supreme judicial power, and the other exercises the executive power, by controlling the ministry. The framers of our Constitution exhausted their wisdom in endeavors to find some check or restraint for the overwhelming supremacy of the legislative power. But it is to be feared that their failure in this respect will prove as signal, as in the mode of designating the executive.

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ART. IV. — *Manual of Geology: treating of the Principles of the Science, with special reference to American Geological History, for the Use of Colleges, Academies, and Schools.* By JAMES D. DANA, M. A., LL. D. Philadelphia: Bliss & Co. 1863. 8vo. pp. 798.

WE suppose that no naturalist in this country has achieved a more distinguished position than the author of this *Manual*. Perhaps no other has attained equal eminence in two or more very distinct departments of scientific research. Beginning with inorganic nature, Professor Dana's *System of Mineralogy* — the work of his earlier years — gained at once, and in successive editions has maintained, the foremost rank. Advancing to the organic world, and to forms which, to the general apprehension, seem to combine stone, plant, and animal in one, in his splendid volume on the Coral-Zoöphytes of the South Pacific Exploring Expedition, he proved his talent for the higher order of morphological studies, elucidated the laws of growth, and revised the systematic arrangement of these curious animals and communities. One of his earliest publications was a brief and unpretending paper upon a minute crustacean animal; in later years his elaboration of the Crustacea of the Exploring Expedition, forming an ample volume or pair of volumes of the publications of that expedition, not

only added greatly to our knowledge in this department, but led to some morphological generalizations, which he has recently applied in a very interesting way to the elucidation of one of the scientific questions of the day, namely, that of man's zoölogical position. Turning next to the special department assigned to him in the Pacific Exploring Expedition, Geology, — that science which, uniting the threads of most other natural sciences, would, as it were, weave into one connected and systematic narrative the whole physical and natural history of the earth throughout all past time, — the luminous Report in which Professor Dana published the results of his geological studies during that important exploration appears to contain the germs of most of the characteristic views which are developed, with more or less fulness, in the treatise before us.

The main ideas which underlie, and the spirit which animates, this work, may be briefly indicated by a few detached sentences of the Preface and Introduction. After stating the two reasons which have given to this Manual its American character, namely, the desire to adapt it to the needs of our own students, and a conviction that the geology of this continent exhibits a peculiar simplicity and unity, the author adds: —

“North America stands alone in the ocean, a simple, isolated specimen of a continent (even South America lying to the eastward of its meridians), and the laws of progress have been undisturbed by the conflicting movements of other lands. The author has, therefore, written out American Geology by itself as a continuous history.”

“It has been the author's aim to present for study, not a series of rocks with their dead fossils, but the successive phases in the history of the earth, — its continents, seas, climates, life, and the various operations in progress.”

“Geology is rapidly taking its place as an introduction to the higher history of man. If the author has sought to exalt a favorite science, it has been with the desire that man — in whom geological history had its consummation, the prophecies of succeeding ages their fulfilment — might better comprehend his own nobility and the true purpose of his existence.”

“The earth . . . . has been brought to its present condition through a series of changes or progressive formations, and from a state as utterly

featureless as a germ. Moreover, like any plant or animal, it has its special systems of interior and exterior structure, and of interior and exterior conditions, movements, and changes; and, although Infinite Mind has guided all events towards the great end, — a world for mind, — the earth has, under this guidance and appointed law, passed through a regular course of history or growth. Having, therefore, as a sphere, its comprehensive system of growth, it is a unit or individuality, . . . . a WORLD-KINGDOM.”

“The systematic arrangement in the earth’s features is everywhere as marked as that of any organic species; and this system over the exterior is an expression of the laws of structure beneath. The oceanic depressions or basins, with their ranges of islands, and the continental plains and elevations, are all in orderly plan, are the ultimate results of the whole line of progress of the earth; and, by their very comprehensiveness, as the earth’s great feature-marks, they indicate the profoundest and most comprehensive movements in the forming sphere, just as the exterior configuration of an animal indicates its interior history.”

So the world is regarded not only as a *cosmos*, but as an *organism*, at least as an organic whole, developed as it were from a germ in the long gestation of the ages. Thus the geographical conceptions of Ritter, familiar to us as expounded by his pupil Guyot, are by a kindred mind felicitously applied, not merely to the present configuration, but to the genesis of our world.

Under this fundamental view, *Physiographic Geology* — the general survey of the earth’s external form and systematic features — takes precedence in this Manual, and is concisely presented in forty pages. Next, about twice as many pages are devoted to *Lithological Geology*, treating of the elements of the earth’s structure, — first, of the kinds of rocks, and the materials, mineral and fossil, of which they are composed; and then of their condition, or general structure. Then comes *Historical Geology*, forming the main body of the volume, combining an account of the rocks in the order of their formation with the concurrent steps in the progress of life, — from the *Azoic* time or age, in which no records of organic things are discoverable, through the *Palæozoic* — the age first of mollusks, then of fishes, then of coal-plants\* — and the *Mesozoic*,

\* Since the publication of the work under notice, a distinguished naturalist has



when reptiles predominated, to the *Cænozoic*, to the age of Mammalia, and finally to the *Era of Mind*, the age of man, at length placed upon the completed earth "to have dominion over it," — which earth now subserves its chief and predestined end in nurturing this ultimate creation, this "archon of mammals," for a still more exalted stage, that of spiritual existence.

Finally, *Dynamical Geology*, or an account of the physical agencies or forces which have been active in the production of geological changes, and of the laws and modes of their action, occupies about a hundred and forty interesting pages; and is followed by a few words upon *Cosmogony*. The latter is merely a summary of the views of Guyot, looking to a harmony of the Mosaic cosmogony with modern science, — views which Professor Dana has adopted and maintained elsewhere more in detail, and which, under the circumstances, are naturally enough here reproduced. We regard them with curious interest, but without much sympathy for the anxious feeling which demands such harmonies. We have faith in revelation, and faith in science, in each after its kind; but, as respects cosmogony, we are not called upon to yield an implicit assent to any proposed reconciliation of the two. Yet at the same time we would reverently acknowledge the value of the fact, that the general order of events in creation, as asserted or implied in the Mosaic narrative, on the whole appears to accord, or may be fairly made to accord, with that deduced by science.

An Appendix contains a few special notes, of scientific interest, a Catalogue of American Localities of Fossils, a brief Synopsis of the contents of the work, a list of authorities, and some

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proposed the removal of the Carboniferous or great coal period from the Palæozoic to the Mesozoic, from the ancient to the mediæval geological age, drawing the great line of distinction between the Devonian and Carboniferous, instead of between the close of the latter, or the Permian, and the Triassic period or epoch. Had the innovation been earlier proposed, we do not suppose it would have been adopted in the work before us, either on the ground of change wrought by great mountain disturbance, or on palæontological data. So far as we can judge, the clearest and most marked division of all in the life of the globe seems to have been between the Permian and the Triassic, while no such chasm separates the Carboniferous from the Devonian. Reptiles (mostly Batrachian) indeed existed in the Carboniferous, but so did coal-plants in the Devonian, in numerous species, some of them true Gymnosperms even, if we may trust Mr. Dawson.

explanations of scientific nomenclature ; and at length a full Index completes the well ordered and compacted volume.

The characteristic and the more or less novel features of this volume, as a text-book of geology, seem to have been developed naturally from the author's systematizing turn of mind, and his way of looking upon nature. With him, facts, although diligently sought out and religiously respected, are valued chiefly as they illustrate ideas and take their place in a system. The fundamental idea is, as we have seen, *the world a pre-ordered, regularly developed system*. "All the world's a stage" in a wider sense than the poet ever fancied, — on which the inhabitants of age after age in their order have rehearsed the drama of being, but all in final reference to the enactment of that crowning representation in which mankind are the players. That "the earth and all the organic creation exist in reference to man," is indeed a most familiar idea, and one which has been much used, scientifically and popularly, by Agassiz and Guyot ; who, even more than Professor Dana, not to say more than rigid natural science may justify, are disposed to regard purposes and ends rather than processes, and formal rather than physical laws, — a fair offset against the materialistic and positive philosophy of the day, but environed with dangers of its own, unless cautiously and temperately handled. Our author, however, who well apprehends the strict requirements of physical research, does not confound the *whereby*, or the *how*, with the *reason why*, although he dwells upon the latter more largely and confidently than is usual in purely scientific works. This, in a text-book for educational purposes, will generally be accepted as a great recommendation. While he regards the world as a development from germ to maturity, from chaos to cosmos, upon a determinate plan to a predestined end, he carefully indicates the physical causes of the successive phenomena, the natural forces which have operated to effect the result. Beginning with the embryo earth with its newly cooled and solidified crust, covered throughout by the waters of a newly condensed ocean, the central point in Professor Dana's view — and, as such, apparently original with him — is, that, from the beginning of the development of the then featureless sphere, the continents

have always been continents, only more or less extensively submerged in earlier times, and the oceans have always been oceans, or more depressed portions. The typical form of a continent, as shown by inspection, is that of a trough or basin, the oceanic borders being raised into mountains, and these borders so directed as to face the widest range of ocean. The height of the border mountains, and the extent of igneous action along them, are in direct proportion to the size of the oceans which they face, the wide Pacific being girt by many and great volcanoes and lofty mountains, while the narrower Atlantic is bounded by lesser heights and few volcanoes. Thus the extent and the position of the oceanic depressions would appear to have somehow determined the general features of the land, the former tending downward as the incipient continents between them tend upward; and so both have been in progress *pari passu* from the beginning of the earth's refrigeration. The profounder features of the earth were sketched in the commencement of geological history; and ever since, the main outlines have only been deepened, and the traits which give the present diversity of features added from time to time, as the work went on. This is quite the opposite of the view according to which oceans and continents have changed places from time to time.

Having from observation apprehended the fundamental plan, our author looks for the instrumental cause by which the lineaments of Mother Earth have been wrought and fashioned, and varied with her years, from the characterless infantile visage of primordial days to the full expressiveness and the venerable wrinkles of age. The instrumental cause by which these results were determined he finds, primarily, in a literal wrinkling of the earth's rind through contraction in cooling.

"This contraction, going on after a crust was formed over the earth, would necessarily fracture, displace, or wrinkle the crust, as the same cause, contraction, wrinkles a drying apple. The large rind is more than sufficient for the contracted sphere, and the drawing downward of some parts must cause the bulging of others. If any large areas of the crust were sinking more than the rest, this very subsidence would necessarily push up the borders of these areas into angular elevations or folds; and it follows necessarily, that, the larger these areas, the higher

the border elevations. . . . . The oceanic basins are these areas of greatest subsidence ; and hence would necessarily flow the law, already established as a matter of fact, that, the larger the ocean, the higher the mountains on its borders, the deeper the fractures and displacements there, and the vaster the outflow of internal heat and lavas. The size, therefore, of the oceans, that is, their extent and depth, is relatively a measure of the force exerted on their sides."

Lest mountain chains should appear much too huge to be accounted as mere wrinkles on the earth's brow, we are reminded that on a section of the North American continent, drawn to a scale of twelve feet long, one ninth of an inch will stand for an altitude of 10,000 feet, one sixteenth of an inch for the White Mountains, and about three tenths of an inch for the Himalayas, — so that, on the whole, it is rather surprising that, on a globe of 25,000 miles in circumference, the tallest summits are barely 30,000 feet above the level of the sea, and less than 100,000 feet above its lowest depths. Future Alpine clubs may rest assured, upon the faith of general dynamic principles, that the summits are never likely to be higher. The earth's stability must, on the whole, increase with its age.

In this view which Professor Dana adopts as the basis of physical geology, — that is, in attributing the plications of the earth's surface, and the elevation of most of its mountains, to a thrust from lateral pressure or tension, and this the inevitable result of the contraction of the crust of a cooling globe, — we find no direct reference to the grand and ingenious, but too empirical system of Elie de Beaumont, "the King of the Mountains," as he may be called. This system, which, successfully applied in the Old World, has crowned a high reputation, assumes that mountain elevations of the same epoch have the same course, so that their direction may be used to determine their relative age. But, besides that no sufficient reason appears why it should be so, at least universally, Professor Dana \* shows that in fact the courses of mountain ranges, or lines of uplift, have often in the same region been obviously different in the same period, and, on the other hand, have in this country most largely been the same in different periods, — the whole

evolution of Eastern North America, indeed, having been effected by a series of uplifts parallel to the primordial outline of our azoic continent, repeated again and again in different ages. So, also, in a subordinate case, the trap ridges south of Lake Superior, although thrown up in the later primordial, have a course parallel to the trap of Nova Scotia and of Virginia and North Carolina, of the Mesozoic, and to the Appalachians, of the close of the Palæozoic age. It is true, however, that the courses of elevation are often different in the same region at different periods; and, under any view, the elevating force may naturally be expected to vary in direction as well as in intensity during the progress of time.

In studying the evolution of continents, Professor Dana turns with a natural preference to North America. This, he assures us, is a normal continent, a model specimen, standing by itself between the oceans, vast enough fully to exemplify the system, and with no contiguous lands to disturb or complicate the action of the organizing forces. Its geology is correspondingly simple, normal, and the best fitted for the discovery and illustration of the grand principles of the science. Europe, on the contrary, is in close contact with Africa and Asia; indeed, a large part of it is only the western border of the Great Orient, answering to North America west of the Rocky Mountains; accordingly, its geological, like its civil history, is marked with complexity, conflict, and confusion; it is full of cross-purposes and incongruities, is broken up into many basins, and broken out into mountains of all ages, even down to the tertiary. It is better adapted for the study of special and subsidiary questions than for the clear exhibition of the general phenomena of the earth's structure, and of the general laws that govern them. These are best learned from the simpler geology of our own continent. The contrast with Europe in this respect, and the principles upon which the greater simplicity of North American geology depends, — embracing the whole system of geological dynamics, — were expounded by our author in his address, as President, to the American Association in 1854, and further developed two years afterward in the *American Journal of Science*. We can here only refer to these essays, and to a brief section in the *Manual* on the evolution of the

earth's great outlines and reliefs.\* From these the general reader may readily obtain a comprehensive view of the grand scheme. As applied to our own continent, a sketch of its germ, the primal azoic nucleus, outlined upon a map of present North America, exhibits this very continent as then begun; and the argument of the book is to show how it was carried on through the ages, — “each period making some addition to the mainland, as each year gives a layer of wood to the tree,” — with many oscillations, but with a sure progress, until the continent was, as we may say, recently completed.

Other things in the volume of general interest, which strike us as characteristic, or as having a certain novelty and originality in the handling, are the admirable temperature chart; the illustration of the system of oceanic movements, with its bearing upon the distribution of animals; the difference between the amount of life in Europe and in America since the palæozoic times, as explained by the distribution of temperature; the great change in the direction of dynamical action in the later age, introducing northern movements of elevation and of subsidence since the tertiary, so determining the glacial and post-glacial periods; the introduction of the term “Age of Mollusks” as characteristic of the Silurian period, instead of Murchison's “Age of Invertebrates,” which is nearly as proper; the idea in historical geology, that an age or period has its roots in preceding time, its precursor events, and, as based on the progress of life, its precursor species (fishes beginning before the age of fishes, reptiles prophesied in species that lived in the earlier carboniferous age, mammals occurring before the close of the reptilian age, and perhaps he will have to add man before the human period); the culmination of the class of mammals, or their maximum development, in the post-tertiary age, which they distinctively characterize, and their diminution since, giving way to the “Age of Man,” which our author discriminates from the preceding (whether on sufficient grounds is not yet certain); the doctrine of *cephalization*, or the determination of the relative rank of animals in a class by a consideration of the proportion of the parts or the amount of the organism appropriated to the head, or to cephalic functions or uses

(a principle which Professor Dana brought out in the study of Crustacea, and which he is now ingeniously applying to the human question, as giving a structural or zoölogical expression of the exalted intellectual character of man); and, not to enumerate further, the order of the introduction of animals of successive ranks through what he calls *comprehensive* types. Agassiz, who long ago brought out this last idea, and insisted on its application, used the designation *synthetic* types, — a name not free from objection, “as it implies that they correspond to a combination of what was before separate, rather than to one yet undivided,” but which in our view there was not sufficient occasion for superseding.

The idea which these terms, whichever be adopted, are intended to express is, that a class or other group made its first appearance, not in its lowest species, but in some higher form, usually partaking of certain characteristics of another and superior group which was afterward to appear. To mention single but striking instances, vertebrates are said to have commenced, “not with the lowest fishes, but with a group above the true level of the fish, in a type which included several characteristics of the higher class of reptiles”; and the feathered reptile or reptilian long-tailed bird — whichever naturalists may finally agree to denominate the *Gryphosaurus* or *Archeopteryx*, found in the stone quarries of Solenhofen — is equally a comprehensive type or synthesis of reptile and bird. These and similar illustrations of “progressive departure from a general to special types” engage the highest interest, and task the conceptions of philosophical naturalists, whether, with Agassiz and Dana, they chiefly regard the plan of the Creator in the gradated connection of beings from the ideal side, or whether, with Darwin, Lyell, and Owen, convinced that “the idea of a forecasting, designing Power is not incompatible with the conception of the constitution of an organized species by the operation of forces and influences which are part of the ordained system of things,” they speculate upon “the nature and adjustment of influences forming part of the general system of our planet, acting and reacting under certain conditions so as to issue in such a result,” and not only entertain “the conception of the origin of species by a continuously operative

secondary cause or law," but also assign grounds on which they base the probability "that organic species are the result of still operating powers and influences." \*

That the most distinguished and philosophical "comparative zoölogist" of the day should thus pronounce upon these questions,—should not only maintain the probability of "a continuously operative secondary creational law," which "works by derivation of one species from a previous species, of a new from an old species," but also that "organisms . . . . are coming into being, by aggregation of organic atoms, at all times and in all places, under their simplest unicellular condition," and with "the disposition to vary in form and structure according to variation of surrounding conditions," this disposition "being greatest in these first-formed beings; . . . . [that] from them, or such as them, are and have been derived all other and higher forms of organisms on this planet; . . . . and [that] thus it is that we now find energizing in fair proportions every grade of organization from Man to the Monad,—each organism, as such, also propagating its own form for a time under such similitude as to be called its kind"; †—all this, we say, will startle many minds, yet will not greatly surprise those who have attentively watched the course of thought in science and even in Professor Owen's former writings. Indeed, he now refers to his celebrated treatises on the Homologies of the Vertebrate Skeleton, and on the Nature of Limbs, as indicating the principal zoölogical grounds for a derivative hypothesis; thus, it would appear, accepting as correct the inference long ago drawn by Professor Bowen, ‡ that the doctrines of morphology naturally and logically imply the genetic connection of the beings morphologically related.

It is proper to state that Professor Owen puts forth these views as most probable, indeed, but as purely hypothetical, and guards them by arguments to prove that in such orderly evolution "the broad features of the course may still show the unmistakable impress of Divine volition." Whether we

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\* The above extracts are selected and brought together from different passages of the Monograph on the Aye-Aye, by Richard Owen, D. C. L., F. R. S. (London 1863), pp. 60–66.

† Owen, Monograph on the Aye-Aye, pp. 62, 63, and 66.

‡ Lowell Lectures, 1849, p. 28.



like his philosophy or not, — and we incline to agree with him that it “may be called fatalistic,” — we cannot doubt that these new opinions are held theistically and reverently, and that they may “engender in such minds a spirit of grateful devotion.” However delicate the ground upon which the naturalists have presumed to tread, the arena is now fairly open. We cannot debar them if we would, nor ought we if we could. The discussion must needs proceed, and we may fearlessly await the issue. The fortress of natural theology has not become less impregnable through successive changes of its outworks. These may well assume new forms from time to time, according to the attack. None of the threatened positions command the citadel.

We are bound to add, that Professor Owen is disposed to make much of the differences between his hypothesis and that of Mr. Darwin. The differences are manifest, but, we suppose, neither fundamental nor irreconcilable. Both assert a genealogical connection between similar organic forms, and maintain the probability of an ascensive connection between the members of the whole series of forms, from the lowest to the highest. The latter sets out with certain created organisms, or even with certain primary types, whose origination, through causes now in operation, is thought to be inadmissible. The former, as we have seen, conceives of the simplest organisms as themselves coming into existence at all times and in all places under favorable circumstances, — as “now as heretofore in course of creation or formation, with innate capacities of variation and development, by the ordained potentiality of second causes,” that is, eliminating surplusage, through second causes. Owen emphatically asserts a belief that all is “a pre-ordained result of the Creator of the arrangements.” Darwin implies this. The latter sets forth a *modus operandi*, by which, as he thinks, the diversification of species may be probably explained, and so he exposes his theory fully and fairly to hostile criticism, and to scientific investigation as to whether his assumed causes are real and sufficient. The former, while suggesting the idea of “creation by law,” professes total ignorance of what the law is, and how the supposed changes have been brought about under it, and so eludes criti-

cism. One theory honestly offers a body which may be thrust at in broad daylight; the other, in dim twilight, presents a portentous shape, which cannot be struck down, because there is nothing tangible to hit. Yet, if only a cloudy pillar, it is none the less a notable sign-post on the road of advancing belief, but of a belief which far outruns demonstration.

Watching, as we must, with profound interest, all indications of the working of the minds of the leading naturalists of the time, we turn to read what Professor Dana has to say or to intimate upon these high topics. We find it in a summary, under the head of "The Progress of Life."\* First, he assures us that there is a system in the progress of life,—an ascent throughout, though not a lineal ascent, from the lowest species to the highest; that, as already mentioned, a type was not usually instituted by the introduction of its lowest species, or developed by the appearance of species just in the order of grade, the earliest types being intermediate or comprehensive types, and the progress of each being an unfolding or exhibition of it in its possible diversities, both inferior and superior, but always the general before the special; that there is a culmination in time for each group, a revelling exuberance in the display of a type after its true level is attained, and at length a decline, sometimes a strongly marked decline, in the character of the species that preceded its final extinction. As to the relation of the history of life to the physical history of the globe, his propositions are:—

"1. That the plan of progress was determined with reference to the last [we suppose the present, regarded as the final] age, with all its diversities of climate, continental surfaces, and oceans, as its era of fullest exhibition."

"2. The progress in climate and other conditions involved a concurrent progress from the inferior living species to the superior."

"3. The progress in climate and in the condition of the atmosphere and waters involved a localization of tribes of time, or chronographically, just as they are now localized by climate over the earth's surface, or geographically. . . . . No species survived through all time, and few through two successive periods. The oldest now existing began in the middle tertiary, and these were only invertebrates. The oldest quadruped dates no farther back than the post-tertiary."

"4. The extermination of species was in general due to catastrophes, while the extinction of tribes or higher groups may have been a consequence of secular changes in the conditions of the climate, atmosphere, or waters."

As in the great systems of theology, so here in geology and natural history, all is regarded from the highest, that is, the Divine point of view, the plan or purpose of the Creator being presumed or inferred; but the operations, in all except the introduction of the successive species, are supposed to be physical and natural. Climates and other conditions are referred to as instruments or operating causes of the localization and duration of species, but not in the way of *preternatural* coadaptation, if we may use this word, as the views of Agassiz would seem to imply. When we come to the question of the origination of the species themselves, Professor Dana emphatically pronounces his opinion that here geology suggests no theory of natural forces; that it is legitimate and right to search out Nature's methods, and to employ her forces in the effort, vain though it prove, to derive thence new living species. But he insists that the study of fossils has brought to light no facts sustaining a theory which derives species from other species, either by a system of evolution or by a system of variations of living individuals. Geology, he declares, bears strongly against both hypotheses. And in a peroration, of which all must admire the spirit, and of which Professor Owen, we presume, from the same point of view, would equally adopt the sentiment and the language, he declares that

"Geology appears to bring us directly before the Creator; and while opening to us the methods through which the forces of nature have accomplished his purpose,—while proving that there has been a plan glorious in its scheme and perfect in system, progressing through unmeasured ages, and looking ever towards Man and a spiritual end,—it leads to no other solution of the great problem of creation, whether of kinds of matter or of species of life, than this:—*DEUS FECIT.*"

Let us remark, in closing, that—notwithstanding the attractiveness of these high themes, and notwithstanding the general predilection evinced in this country for elementary and theoretical geology—this Manual is not a book for popular reading. However clear (and no book was ever clearer), it is

too complete, too massive, and too strictly conscientious and particular for that, — too encyclopedic, systematic, and compacted. It should be received for what it professes to be, — a manual for systematic instruction and reference, a thoroughly elaborated text-book. As such, it is worthy to take its place along with the "System of Mineralogy," upon which the author first established his fame at home and abroad. As far as possible, the Manual of Geology "has been adapted to two classes of students, the literary and the scientific, by printing the details in finer type," by a well-digested synopsis, and by gathering into "general observations," at the close of each period, a summary of the leading facts and the more important deductions; so that, while for the American geological student this work is all-essential, the general inquirer who takes it up in the spirit of a student, and turns to its pages again and again, will be amply rewarded.

A full treatise, like this, was first and most wanted, and the desideratum is now supplied by the most competent hand. Improvements and minor changes will of course be suggested from year to year, — indeed, from month to month. Next to the labor and care of constructing such an edifice is the charge of keeping it in good repair. We cannot expect, and could not wish, to see this work shorter in future editions. Yet, for the majority of classes, and as a text-book for elementary instruction, it is superabundant. We bespeak from the same masterly hand a syllabus, or a strictly elementary Introduction to Geology for classes, on the plan of the present work.

- ART. V. — 1. *The Patience of Hope.* By the Author of “A Present Heaven.” With an Introduction by JOHN G. WHITTIER. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1863.
2. *A Present Heaven. Addressed to a Friend.* By the Author of “The Patience of Hope.” Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1863.
3. *Two Friends.* By the Author of “The Patience of Hope,” and “A Present Heaven.” Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1863.

THOSE who have been close students of outward nature, the naturalists, the hunters, the poets, the astronomers, the

“Lone readers of the woods, the waters, and the skies,”

have been amply repaid for their labors by the intimate knowledge they have gained of all things in that outer world. Their writings are fresh with discoveries, suggestions, inferences; they speak of what they alone know; and they command attention. To this cause, Cooper, and Christopher North, and Thoreau, owe much of their popularity; to this, Wordsworth is indebted for his position as the father of modern poetry; by this, Humboldt and Agassiz hold their rank as naturalists. It is very true that, if we wish to win a secret, we must make an effort, and no more true in outward nature than in the hidden life of every man. They who listen to the beating of their own hearts, who question actions and thoughts, who sound the depths of their inward being, gain a knowledge which throws upon many a dark problem in human nature the light of spiritual truth. If this introspective study does not degenerate into sentimental feeling, but is carried on by sound healthy thought, it brings to knowledge new facts; it reveals in our minds to a great extent the working of other minds; one person becomes the microcosm of humanity. Hence the value of these meditations; they are not to be set aside as idle dreams, but esteemed as contributions to the yet unwritten philosophy of human life. Works of this class have, indeed, been always highly prized, yet rather by a sect than by the world at large. They are generally personal revelations, the confessions of some lone spirit who, in default of friends, has begged the great world

to listen. But they often cut the knot of questions which have been asked for centuries, simply because they disclose some new fact or some fresh application of a known truth. They are the writings which descend by degrees into the common currency of thought, and give it depth and life.

To this class of books we are glad to add the volumes named at the head of this article, — “Two Friends,” “The Patience of Hope,” and “A Present Heaven.” They were written by Miss Dora Greenwell, a native of England, and a communicant of the English Church. She has also published a volume of poetry which has not yet been reprinted here, but which, if we may judge from the extracts we have seen, differs from her prose writings only by the accident of verse. She writes with a certain masculine freedom of expression, in a style at once strong, clear, and poetic, without much logical sequence, but yet with a firm, nervous grasp of thought. She so states her views that they seem to be *intuitively* true; they do not need argument; they require meditation; they appeal to your thoughtful experience; they demand the still hour, the quiet, trustful heart, the sympathy of a warm religious faith; and when read in this spirit, they unfold an unusual richness of thought and experience. She is familiar with the best things in literature, has a highly cultivated mind, and yet she does not travel at all in hackneyed paths. She has marked out an original course of thought. Her writings have a strong, yet genial personality. They are distinct from whatever has been heretofore written upon these topics. Hence their value is the greater, as the unmistakable testimony of an original mind. We should think the writer had been much alone, working out, like “Carrer Bell,” the problems which beset her own life in silence and in familiar study of the Book of books. It would be difficult to find in all the current writings of women any work which can compare with these little volumes in respect of subtile, fine, spiritual thought. Such books are always the fruit of a meditative life. They grow, like plants, by inward forces unseen by the eye, unheard by the ear.

What, then, is their subject? It is no easy question to answer. They are all meditations upon the solemn, spiritual realities of life. They deal familiarly with topics which are

seldom spoken of even among intimate friends, but which are ever haunting our thoughtful hours. The religious life is the grand theme; and the treatment is easy and episodical, like conversation. He who looks into them for the commonplaces of religious writing will find nothing to his taste. They are not mawkish, nor sentimental, but strong and deep and quiet. They breathe freely the thoughts and feelings of one to whom spiritual things are real and familiar. The Christian life, the daily teaching of personal experience, the power and weakness of Christianity, its special application to our own time, the peculiar work of the Holy Spirit, are all treated with fulness, point, and originality.

We turn now to the special examination of the books themselves. The "Two Friends" is made up apparently from the conversations of two friends upon a variety of religious topics. This is a popular yet ancient way of bringing together disjointed fragments of thought. It allows the freedom of saying what you please; it removes the stiffness of professed book-making. The friends are the author and Philip, who appears as the rector of an English parish church. The book is prefaced by a curious and needlessly involved allegory of human life. The writer wanders by a stream which flows out into the great ocean. The stream is the world, growing more confused and unsteady, as we embark more entirely upon it; but followed up to its source, a babbling brook, a rivulet, a spring, it is seen to come from God alone. The writer is guided in her allegory by the teachings of an ancient book; and in the mountains whence the stream issues she meets Him of whom the ancient book speaks. He unfolds to her the secrets and the meaning of life. The teaching of the allegory seems to consist of the experiences of one who wanders away from God, and yet turns back to him as the only safe guide into all truth. It thus embraces the whole cycle of experience through which any one mind may pass.

Philip enters upon the scene at the close of the allegory. Peace had come to the writer's heart. She had passed over the threshold of a new existence. She says of this change:—

"There are some days, even moments, in our lives, *upon which the*

*burden of the whole seems laid*, which, as in a parable, condense within them the mystery, the contradiction of our existence, and *perhaps hint at its solution*. After such times, life grows clearer before and after. These seasons are set apart from the rest by a solemn consecration. We feel that we are anointed ‘above our fellows’; it may be for the joy of the bridal, for the wrestler’s struggle, *or against the day of our burial*, we know not which.” — pp. 25, 26.

Each had freely used the ancient book; each had that diverse experience which drew each to the other; and when they met, “the dying light, the faint shiver of the leaves above us, the mystery, the solitude that enclosed us, — all seemed to exalt, to deepen our converse, to shorten our way into each other’s hearts, by removing all that oftentimes drops like a veil between soul and soul, changing us from our truer, better selves in an evil transfiguration.” The passages which describe the effect of the interview upon the writer’s mind are chastely beautiful in thought and expression. And the character of Philip is drawn by no unloving hand. There he stands upon the page, perhaps as true a conception of spiritual manhood as woman ever gave shape to, — a strong, self-centred nature, dependent in the highest things, a lover of truth, a firm, faithful Christian thinker and worker. “His spirit was that of one to whom the day of life, from dawn to dusk, was emphatically the Day after which the Night cometh, wherein no man can work; and yet there was in him I know not what sweetness and candor of nature, that saved him from the narrowness that so often marks the compact, established mind.” A delightful character, sunny, genial, manly, and, if somewhat ideal, yet none the less useful. The portrait here so lovingly painted lends a charm and confidence to all the discussions in the little volume.

These discussions so vary, as the conversation winds in and out of great spiritual truths, that our only resort, to give any adequate idea of the topics discussed, is quotation. Philip and the author are one so far as opinion is to be valued, but each presents different sides of the same subject. There is all the life of real dialogue. It is not the paragraphs of a book distributed to wooden actors. Philip, if entirely a creation of the brain, holds his own individuality admirably well; if, as is



most likely, he has the lineaments of an intimate friend, he endears himself in these pages to every reader. He gives this simple and beautiful thought on the usefulness of the Ideal, as follows : —

“ There is a region within him [man] in which she also *serves*, and serves no less truly because her action is, like all spiritual forces, irregular and intermittent, — an influence which comes unwooed, and departs unbidden, no more to be trained and disciplined than the lightning can be steadied into the fire of a household hearth, to live by and cook by. I have long loved art and poetry, because I saw that they had a power to raise and soften Humanity ; more lately I have seen that *they are good in themselves*, — or whence, but from their native affinity with the things that are more excellent, should come this acknowledged power ? ” — p. 38.

The same thought is further developed with reference to the future life : —

“ Man, it is evident, even in that part of him which is sensitive, is forever touching upon a system of things upon which, under the present conditions of his being, he cannot fully enter. There is within him an enchanted land of mystery and beauty, a land where all slumbers, until some outward shock, like the kiss of the Fairy Prince, comes to awake it from sleep. So, in that part of our nature which is spiritual, there is a region into which man cannot ascend until he is lifted there by God through that supernatural action upon the soul which we call *grace* ; the voice of the Divine Spirit wakening up the human spirit to its true life.

“ And hence the connection of Christianity with poetry, music, nature, with all the purer and more exalted movements of the natural heart. These are helps, *lifts* to the soul ; and people feel better, more able to believe, to love, to pray, when the finer springs of existence have been touched through any of these. Genius, like Christianity, sees all things in their mutual relation ; its tendency is to throw the many-chambered mansions of the soul into one. The simplest song, where its breath is felt, stirs something which goes through the whole. Is there not a delight, almost a religious pleasure, in a work of true imaginative genius ? a delight kindred to that which is derived from the contemplation of nature, — the delight of being carried out of one’s self into something greater and *truer* than self, because more universal. It often seems to me that Imagination is the highest faculty of man. It starts, as Faith does, from a higher level than any of his other powers, and on that level meets and familiarly accosts truths which reason must struggle up

to. And reason *does* reach them, when they are thus foreshown, though, left to itself, it could never either have foreseen the glorious end, nor even the way that led to it." — pp. 46 – 48.

There is ever, in all these volumes, this blending of fine thought with spiritual truth. The writer sees things from a high point of view. She has the insight of the poet, — that finely imaginative faculty which lends a precious seeing to the mind's eye. Her thoughts are so expressed that they at once engage the attention of cultivated readers. She passes beyond the limits of the mere religionist to a perfectness, a literary finish, which attracts even the irreligious mind.

Here is a thought which we have never seen more truly expressed : —

"It is among the ignorant, the out-of-the-way, the *commonplace*, that the Christian's daily lot is thrown, and their daily appeals are to him as sacred as those which come more seldom, and with a louder knocking at the gate. That Christianity should so fit in with the ordinary and mediocre has always seemed to me a proof of its crowning excellence. 'A little child shall lead them,' this, it seems to me, is the pass-word into this kingdom of greatness and simplicity. All other ideals draw away the heart from real life; the poet, the artist, is continually trying to break out of the narrow circle of visible things; he 'asks for better bread than can be made with wheat.' The Christian ideal alone meets the habitual, the practical, — *meets it while immeasurably transcending it*, — embraces it, and walks with it hand in hand." — pp. 57, 58.

Miss Greenwell has scattered along these pages many hints and suggestions, each of which would furnish materials for a volume. She has glanced keenly into the religious motives and life of the present day. In the following sentences she says what many have felt : —

"In all that concerns Christianity under its present dispensation, we must be prepared to meet with a certain degree of check and disappointment." — p. 150.

"Mere spirituality seems to exhaust the soil that rears it, so that Christianity must always gain much from extraneous sources. It does so, in our own day, from science and general social progress. These are its friends, though sometimes disguised ones; and Christ still gathers where he did not straw, and reaps where he did not sow." — p. 149.

“There is something in Christianity, if we examine its history closely, which always for its full development requires an inner circle, a church within the church.” — p. 104.

These sentences put into words the silent, unventured convictions of many minds. They reach down to that undercurrent of thought and feeling which flows beneath outward and familiar things. They speak the language of the spiritual life. The “Two Friends” abounds in thoughts which are more rarely spoken than felt. The author’s point of view is not only religious, but philosophic. Hence there is a broadness and catholicity which seldom enter into merely religious writings; hence she addresses the intellect no less than the affections; and hence these volumes have a special attraction to literary men. They speak to those who have a finely cultivated sense of religious truth, to those whom sermons do not often hit, to those who are often led to pay too much deference to taste or to the demands of a strong intellect. They unite fine social and mental culture with a rich spiritual insight.

“The Patience of Hope” and “A Present Heaven” strike a deeper vein than the “Two Friends.” They are more theological, and yet they contain, not the dry bones, but the marrow, of theology. “The Patience of Hope” might perhaps be called *Meditations upon Christ and his work in the individual heart*. Our union with him, the temptations and departures of a religious life, the many-sided lights of the world let in upon religious truth, the strength of the spiritual man, the changefulness of godly experiences, the many glimpses of “thoughts that wander through eternity,” are discoursed upon with loving fondness. The thought is rich; the feeling is healthy and pure; the tone of the whole book is such that one instinctively makes it the companion of his private hours. The reserve of religious experience is taken away; it is the answer of heart to heart; all is laid bare. Here are some quotations which show its strata:—

“There is much even in the renewed mind which, if suffered to remain there, would gradually eat away the heart of its strength and purity; something in each believer, which he imagined he had left behind when he forsook all and gave himself up to follow Christ, but he finds that it has rushed after him, like Care in the ancient proverb, and holds to him with as tight a grasp as ever.” — p. 140.

“With regard to many of the truths of Christ, we are surely learning to be no more children, ever looking at things ‘in part,’ but men, able to appreciate them as they bear upon each other, and upon the facts with which life brings them into relation.” — p. 111.

“Is there not something in the very nature of spiritual Truth which demands for its reception more than the mere intellect, let it strive as it will, can compass, and something, too, in our own nature which makes us, as responsible beings, *answerable* for what, as regards this Divine truth, we see and hear? To put this in other words, Can a spiritual truth be apprehended otherwise than *sacramentally*?” — p. 106.

We might continue these quotations; but enough have been given to show the spirit of the author. She is alive to every influence which affects the religious life; her writings abound in seminal truths; she strikes directly at the root of things.

The “Present Heaven” has a higher character than either of the other volumes. It is a treatise upon the office and work of the Holy Spirit, — a living treatment of the subject, “Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God.” It is divided into five parts, — the Introduction, the Gospel received *Partially*, the Gospel received *Historically*, the Gospel received *Prophetically*, the Gospel received *Implicitly*. It opens finely: —

“Every man that cometh to God, darkly as he may feel after, and imperfectly as he may find Him, comes to Him under the twofold conviction upon which the Apostle bases the existence of Faith itself; he must be persuaded ‘that God is, and that He is the rewarder of such as diligently seek him.’” — p. 1.

Beginning thus strongly, the author goes on to show the different degrees of Christian belief, and their several effect upon personal character. There is here less of episode; the subject draws the writer up to its own sublime heights. And her mind has received such a strong nurture from a hearty study of the Scriptures, a catholic study of church symbols, and a genial acquaintance with literature and art, that she is entitled to speak with some degree of authority. Her familiar expositions of the working of Divine grace will touch the experience of the vast majority of religious persons in all communions. The greater part of this volume is grouped about a passage from Newton, which she quotes in a note, and which is really the centre to which all her thoughts converge:

“Religion stands upon two pillars, namely, what Christ did for us in His flesh, and what He performs in us by His Spirit. Most errors arise from an attempt to separate these two.” It is an illuminating commentary upon the more mystical and profound parts of St. Paul’s Epistles. It is peculiarly fitted to be the companion of a religious mind. The author lives so deeply and familiarly in the atmosphere of spiritual things, that the influence of these writings is at once stimulating and refreshing to the soul. They come from the heart; they return thither. To those who live in the deeper, holier realities of their faith, they must be unspeakably precious. They are a living voice of cheer in a dreary land. They assure us that in an age when the greater number show a practical, if not a theoretical, disbelief in the immortality of the soul, there are yet “some who live in the faith of an intimate communion between God and man.”

Such, then, is a partial, cursory statement of what these volumes contain. It is impossible to classify or epitomize the thought. It must be taken all together, or not at all. But enough has been quoted and said to show that they are a remarkable contribution to our higher literature. If they needed an authoritative introduction to us, Mr. Whittier has admirably performed that service in the delicate and appreciative pages which preface “The Patience of Hope.” But such books make their own way in the world. They have an inherent worth which cultivated minds are not slow to find out. We have no hesitation in calling Miss Greenwell the Thomas à Kempis of the nineteenth century. She has written so entirely to the condition of all devout minds, that her “Present Heaven” will no doubt take the position in this century which the *De Imitatione Christi* did in the fifteenth. It is a complete and original manual of the religious life. And what is true of this volume is also true in a great measure of the others.

They are all mystical writings; but there is nothing ascetic in them, nothing morbid. They are so thoroughly seasoned with the New Testament, so thickly sown with Scripture quotations, so informed with the best culture of the age, that the tendency is not so strong as in kindred writings of former

days to build up an intricate fabric of spiritual truth. They are at once Protestant in the openness and freedom of their comments, and Catholic in the correct presentation of the Christian life. Their great defect is the defect of all mystical writings, — the slight value attached to outward life and positive institutions and ordinances. But even here they are a vast improvement on Thomas à Kempis and the *Theologia Germanica*. These books are self-destructive, — they teach self-sacrifice, seclusion, renunciation, self-loss; but Miss Greenwell never forsakes the plain, homely highway of the religious life. She writes for the learned and the unlearned alike. An unlettered Christian can understand her, and the philosopher can do no more. Much of this universality of adaptation is due to her literalness. She is always couching her sayings in some Bible phrase, as clear and weighty as Anglo-Saxon can make it. She has the literalness of St. Bernard, with the depth, the incisiveness, of Pascal. The "Present Heaven" is far more practical than theoretical. It is tangible; it finds out the reader's own thought; it raises him to its own high spiritual level. And this cannot always be said of the old mystics. In their attempt to escape from the intense ecclesiasticism of the age, they shut themselves up like oysters in the shell of their own self; and there they tried to heal spiritual diseases by steadfastly looking into their own hearts, when they might have found the true remedy in the Latin Vulgate. But here the English Bible, and the social and widely separated intellectual movements of the day, have imparted to mysticism a freedom and a truthfulness which could never be found within convent walls. In the old sense, it is not mysticism: it is mysticism breathed upon by the nineteenth century.

Accordingly, these books have an important bearing upon the religious questions of the day. They are the testimony of a hitherto silent but catholic mind to the old beliefs. With unerring insight she sees where we are at fault. And she speaks with authority to that large class of literary men who have divorced the intellect from a living faith in Christianity. Let us hear her words: —

"We are met, comparatively speaking, by little direct opposition to revealed religion; its moral teaching is respected; the sacred person

of its Founder is held in reverence ; it is as a power that Christianity is denied. Our age has nothing in common with the degrading scepticism of the past century, which casts its scorn up to God through the foul dishonoring of His image. We believe, as I have said, in Man ; and our noble and tender faith in Humanity is one which works by love, showing itself in persevering and arduous efforts after social amelioration. . . . . The prophets who come in their own name, the apostles of human development, of social progress, find a willing hearing ; but where is our recognition of a divinely appointed agency, . . . . where is our faith in that which hath appeared to man ? ” — *The Patience of Hope*, pp. 78, 79.

“ The lightest leaf will show the way the wind is setting, and I know not where we are met by a plainer expression of this tacit, and in some degree respectful denial, than in the popular literature of the day. Here we see a systematic ignoring of Christianity, combined with a rather inconsistent exaltation of the benevolent aspect peculiarly belonging to it. We find in such writings many flowers to please us, but see that, as in a child’s garden, they are stuck into the ground by their stalks only, *and have not grown where we now see them.* ” — *Ibid.*, p. 78, *note*.

“ Literature and art, even Nature herself, — these which for freer spirits had a charm of their own, and needed not any other, — now breathe and burn in the fulness of a parasitical life ; the fever of man’s conflict has passed across them ; their bloom and fragrance feeds and is fed by fire kindled far down at the central heart. ” — *Ibid.*, p. 100.

“ To know more of ourselves, and to know meanwhile no more of God, makes our present anguish and desolation. But what if even here were our safety ? What if it were through this very wound that the good Samaritan as he journeys designs to pour in the wine and oil of his consolation ? What if, in learning more of the awful and tender mystery of our own nature, we become acquainted with the yet more awful, more tender mystery that encompasses it ? ” — *Ibid.*, p. 101.

“ My intimate conviction [is] that we shall find, so we do but pierce deep enough, that inward decay and outward disorder — all things which, whether in the heart or the community, spring up to trouble and defile — hold by one common root, — Unbelief in God’s Word and in His Work. ” — *A Present Heaven*, p. 18.

“ It sometimes seems to me that we are on the verge of a great constructive era. Men are beginning to repair the old wastes, the desolations of many generations. The Critical is now having its day ; we may compare its work to that clearing away, which is the first sign of improve-

ment; but its day must pass, as nothing of a simply negative kind can be lasting. Then comes a glad rebuilding, of which I can but prophesy dimly; but I foresee that the person and work of Christ will be its centre. And 'He, when he is lifted up, will draw all men unto him.' — *Two Friends*, pp. 87, 88.

"It seems to me that in no other age of the world has the attraction of the Cross been so deeply felt as it is in this, — perhaps because it has been never so much needed as it is now to explain the dark parables of nature; the grievous contradictions of life." — *Ibid.*, p. 165.

Here are clearly indicated in broad outline the causes and the cure of our present religious disorders. The humanitarian literature of the day is feverish and untrue to nature. The free strength of a sound Christian manhood is sadly wanting among popular literary men. But no literature can retain a permanent hold unless its foundation be laid in Christ. A literature of unbelieving men is at once vapid and uncertain; it is not strong and healthy. Shelley and Byron had not even a parasitical attachment to Christianity; and their poetry, while passionately beautiful, does not ring with true and earnest feeling. But when a man believes earnestly, and has a heart at rest, he is prepared to think at least with a sane mind; and if he be rooted in the Christian faith, though he never so much as alludes to it openly, yet the feeling, the atmosphere of faith and hope and love will diffuse itself through all his writings. It is quite as important to breathe good air as to eat good food. How many men have stifled genius by low associations, giving to impurity what was meant for the service of God! How many books exhale all their goodness (if they ever had any) before the ink dries upon their pages! The strength, the power, the life, of the intellect flows through the heart; and if the heart be turned away from a deep and vital faith in Christ, the mind is feeble and dry and juiceless; it spends its strength upon trifles; it never attains to the full expansion of its powers. Miss Greenwell has written wise words for literary men. If any delineation of the Christian life can have an attraction for the cultivated thinker, he will surely find it in these pages.

Nor does she despair of the common faith while her own communion is rocked to and fro by the upheaval of old beliefs.



She has a word of comfort and cheer, and, amid all the discussion of the inspired character of God's Word, she has perhaps touched upon the real state of the case better than any one else. She says: "Revelation is the coming forth of the Father to meet His Son, while He is a great way off; it is as the Spirit of God moving upon the darkened surface of man's heart and intellect, and saying, 'Let there be light.'" There is real joyfulness in her assurance that the old truths shall yet prevail. She sees all sides of our present unbelief, and with a loving hand she applies the balm of healing. We may all take courage when a spiritual Joan of Arc opens the way to escape from the sorest enemies,—unbelief and doubt and a dead faith. So true it is that, after we have spent half our days amid the distractions of religious discussion, and gone the whole round of religious experiences, the few sharp, intuitive strokes of woman's logic clear away the cobwebs of intellectual refinings, and bring back peace to the troubled heart.

Miss Greenwell is not the only writer who in these days has entered within the veil of spiritual truths. Whatever may be the case with popular writers, a portion of our literature partakes largely of this religious element. And this to many is the only redeeming feature in it. The influence of Wordsworth—his lofty and devout spirituality—has given tone and depth to many minds. It is seen, for instance, in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*,—perhaps the most purely religious poem of the age. Roscoe and Sterling and Vaughan—all now gone to their rest—gave their best thoughts to this kind of literary effort. Carlyle has all the mystic fervor, but none of the quiet self-loss, of the older writers. He inclines largely to German mysticism, which is mostly too obscure, too intangible, for the common understanding. Robert Browning is a genuine mystic; his thoughts run deep, yet too much in by-paths to give him a wide popularity. But Robert Suckling surpassed them all, while an unknown parish priest, in the simplicity of his piety and the manly strength of a Christian understanding. His biography is the companion volume to the "Present Heaven."

The lyric poetry of the day has also a finely mystical element. It is not all sad, nor all joyous. The sunlight of a warm religious faith shines through it. Miss Waring, in the

Hymns and Meditations, has struck a tender, delicate, yet truly simple vein of religious feeling. Mrs. Stowe's poems reflect a loving and devout spirituality. Jones Very has always piped the sweet, sad notes of religious melancholy. Dana writes with a wise, strong spiritual energy. The author of "Night-Watches" has breathed out, in poetry beautiful and soothing, the sick-room meditations of a Christ-like spirit. Harriet McEwen Kimball and Mary Clemmer Ames — each as yet unbooked in song — have both published poems which are kindred in depth and in Christian joyousness to the writings of Miss Greenwell, — full of rest and peace and hope. The later poems of Whittier deal with thoughts and aspirations which reach far into the future life. They penetrate within the veil. This lyric poetry is all freighted with rich, tender, and vital Christian experience. Crowell and Keble and Coxe, and the numberless writers of *one good hymn*, all belong to the same blessed fellowship. The collections of pious lyrics from the Ancient Greek Fathers, from the Roman Breviary and Missal, from the German mystics, from the older English poets, are daily growing more popular with devout minds. The *Lyræ Collectaneæ* are in every library. May not this demand be taken as a sign of the return of many to the old and simple ways of religious devotion, — to the great catholic truths which underlie, and give strength to, religious lyric poetry? And may we not note another joyful sign in these very mystical writings which find so warm a reception among religious persons? May we not gather hope for the future from the fact that our Quietistic literature is so largely informed by the spirit and teachings of Christ? Our mystical writers do not attempt to run Christianity into their peculiar moulds of thought, but rather to drink in inspiration by a devout study of the Divine Word; and if they draw more meaning out of certain passages than the less intuitive mind can decipher, it does no harm; and they *may* be right. No mind can see all sides of any one truth; and it is almost certain that a writer of clear spiritual insight will discover many hidden gems. It is safer to follow the mystic, especially the mystic of our own day, than the hardened theologian. He has the essence of truth, if not its shell.

We thankfully accept these little volumes, then, as a most

valuable contribution to our Christian mystical literature, as a thoughtful solution of many religious problems, as a wise unfolding of the depths of religious consciousness, as a manual of holy living and holy dying which both literary and working men will find to contain the right word in the right place for each and all. They speak tender sympathy to the afflicted ; they comfort the weak-hearted ; they lead the weary into the green pastures of God's love ; they give the soul peace and rest. This Vesper Hymn, the only one of Miss Greenwell's poems for which we have room, " beautiful in its Christian humility and self-abnegation," breathes the very spirit and tone and life of all her writings : —

" When I have said my quiet say,  
When I have sung my little song,  
How sweet, methought, shall die the day  
The valley and the hill along !  
How sweet the summons, Come away !  
That calls me from the busy throng !

" I thought beside the water's flow  
Awhile to lie beneath the leaves ;  
I thought in autumn's harvest glow  
To rest my head upon the sheaves.  
But lo ! methinks the day is brief  
And cloudy ; flower, nor fruit, nor leaf,  
I bring, and yet, accepted, free,  
And blest, my Lord, I come to Thee !

" What matter now for promise lost  
Through blast of spring or summer rains ?  
What matter now for purpose crossed,  
For broken hopes and wasted pains ?  
What if the olive little yields ?  
What if the vine be blasted ? Thine  
The corn upon a thousand fields,  
Upon a thousand hills the vine !

" Thou lovest still the poor, — O blest  
In poverty beloved to be !  
Less lowly is my choice confessed,  
I love the rich in loving Thee.  
My spirit bare before Thee stands ;  
I bring no gift, I ask no sign ;  
I come to thee with empty hands,  
The surer to be filled from thine ! "

ART. VI. — *Lectures on Heat considered as a Mode of Motion: being a Course of Twelve Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in the Season of 1862.* By JOHN TYNDALL, F. R. S., &c., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Royal Institution. With Illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. 12mo. pp. 480.

A FEW years ago the scientific men of Europe were delighted as well as astonished by the wonderful discovery of Kirchhoff and Bunsen, that the light from many metals in combustion, when decomposed by the prism, gives a spectrum marked with transverse lines, — a fact already observed by Fraunhofer in the sun's spectrum, — and that these lines vary in size and position as the substance is changed. The lines formed by a large series of substances were noted, and, on comparing them with those produced by the sun, it was discovered that, among many other elements, iron plays a principal part in the luminous atmosphere around that body. There seemed no obstacle to a full and intimate knowledge of the fuel of that great fire, which at the distance of ninety-five millions of miles furnishes us with light and heat.

Fortunately, before a full chemical analysis of the sun's particles had been published, it was discovered that the degree of heat to which the substance was subjected was an important factor in the spectrum produced. Until, then, we ascertain the temperature of the sun's surface, and can distinguish the luminous photosphere from the solid cone which it surrounds, this process will not reveal us the exact constitution of the great luminary. For a moment the weakness of human knowledge is shown. But, far from being discouraged, science is pushing its way on in another direction, which may at last establish the results of Kirchhoff and Bunsen. We turn from the sun's light, and regard its other munificent gift, heat; and it is our purpose to glance at the results of the latest theory of heat, following for our guide an author well known to science, especially by his work on the Glaciers of the Alps.

The old theories of heat are well known; but at present the theory that heat is a substance united in certain definite pro-

portions to ponderable matter seems to be losing ground ; while to take its place we are offered the theory that heat is a result of molecular action, — as we know it is a result of friction. This theory of molecular motion is the one amplified and illustrated in the Lectures which have been made the basis of this article ; and whatever importance be attached to the Lectures themselves, it cannot fail to be observed that the present theory more simply, more clearly, and more satisfactorily than any other explains the phenomena of heat with which we are all familiar. Indeed, the importance of investigating the causes and relations of heat — that potent force which seems indeed the lever by which the Almighty moves the earth and conducts all the operations of nature, from the dew which falls noiselessly while we sleep, to the volcano bursting from its prison, hurling itself high into the air to bury cities and countries — far transcends the ordinary labors and themes of the laboratory and scientific societies.

As in the vast arrangements of the universe, so in the microcosm of man, heat is all-important. When heat is no longer produced, we die ; when more than is needed is produced, we are feverish ; and if it be increased still more, we are consumed. By the heat of our body we are able to raise our arms to work, and by the motion heat is consumed and passes off into the air.

With the importance of the results at which we may arrive constantly in view, the energies of men have been strained to catch the first glimpse of order, to obtain the clew which shall lead them through the labyrinth of nature's laws. Heat has long seemed the focus to which all the searchers for the correlation of forces have been tending. Foremost in years past was Rumford, who, by his famous experiment of boiling water by the heat evolved in boring a cylinder of iron by a rod of steel, demonstrated the conversion of mechanical force into heat ; and he further proved that heat in the iron was inexhaustible. As long as iron remained to be rubbed, so long was heat evolved ; thus proving that there could be no definite combination of heat with the iron.

Joule in England and Mayer in Germany pursued their investigations still further, and measured the mechanical force,

finding that, to raise one pound of water one degree Fahrenheit in temperature, as much heat was required as would, if applied mechanically, raise seven hundred and seventy-two pounds one foot. This gives us the *mechanical equivalent* of heat. From the English investigator this is often called Joule's equivalent.

The sun in former ages gave light and heat to trees and plants which have since been converted into coal, to be again used as the storehouses from which we draw light and warmth. To form the coal, heat was taken ; in destroying it, heat is evolved ; and every degree of heat imparted to a fern in the coal-ages of the world can be ascertained by the amount of work it will do. The same degree of mechanical force, however applied, will always produce the same degree of heat. Instead of using the coal reservoirs of concentrated heat, we can use the less convenient but equally potent sun-heat of to-day. Indeed, in the seventeenth century the sun was used to raise water from mines and to supply fountains, — the very purpose for which the steam-engine was invented. The sun's heat of to-day gives life to the plants, and by eating these plants animals produce heat, which in its turn produces work. In whatever way either heat or motion is produced, an exact equivalent of the other is consumed.

The theory of equivalents has not, indeed, been carried to its fullest extent. The equivalents into which heat may be resolved are not all determined, and those that are well known are so adapted to a course of experimental lectures, that, when deprived of the illustration by experiment which an apparatus so expensive as that of the Royal Institution permits, their mere statement seems bare of results. Description cannot supply the sight of actual observation ; yet, to convey a just idea of the "mechanical theory," we may rely partly on experiments well known, while several of the more novel experiments are worthy the attempt at a brief description.

What the telescope is to the astronomer, the *thermo-electric pile* is to the student of heat. This little instrument, which wholly displaces the common thermometer in delicate experiments, is simply a series of bars of bismuth and antimony arranged alternately, and soldered at their ends. This combination possesses the remarkable property of exciting an electric

current when the temperature of the opposite ends or points of juncture of the bars varies. Such is the delicacy of this instrument, that the warmth of the hand, placed several feet from the end of the multiplier, will excite a strong current. The force of the current can of course be measured by any galvanometer. With this delicate index we arrive at the most pleasing results. Variations in temperature which have been the parents of elaborate theories, could never have been detected by any other known means.

Examples to illustrate this theory of heat may be taken from the work of man; but the illustrations Nature offers should claim our first attention. The theory being that heat is a motion, let us first see where it is produced by motion. By a sensitive thermometer, we find that the water of the Niagara River is warmed several degrees by its violent motion over the falls. Water, as is well known, is difficult to heat, and so great motion might well be required to heat the vast body in this case even three degrees. The sailor's tradition, that the ocean is warmer after a storm, is perfectly true; for the motion of a wave against its neighbor-wave produces a degree of heat which even the winds that cause the motion share, without being able to render it insensible. The effect is grander in the heavens, where the motion is greater. The most probable theory of the shooting stars supposes them to be small planetary bodies drawn from their orbits by the attraction of the earth, and heated to incandescence, or even dissipated in vapor by friction against our atmosphere, which thus proves to be an armor sufficient to protect us from celestial bombardment.

When motion is suddenly converted into heat, the elevation of temperature is far greater than would be supposed. Thus, a leaden rifle-ball, moving at a velocity of two hundred and twenty-three feet a second, on striking a target would raise the temperature of itself and the target together thirty degrees. The iron shot used in recent experiments on iron-clad ships have their motion converted into such a degree of heat as to cause flashes of light whenever they strike. From such data, we can calculate the effect of a sudden stoppage of the earth in her orbit. The calculation has been made by Mayer

and Helmholtz, and it is found that the heat generated by this colossal shock would not only fuse the entire earth, but reduce it in great part to vapor. Thus might "the elements" be caused "to melt with fervent heat." Hence has arisen a speculation on the mode in which the supply of light and heat is kept up in the sun, and it is held by some philosophers that the zodiacal light is a cloud of meteoric bodies, and that they are constantly showering down upon the sun, thus converting their motion into heat. A body of the size of the earth falling into the sun would supply it with heat for a century. Professor Tyndall remarks, that the force, if in sufficient operation, is fully competent to produce the effects ascribed to it.

Let us follow Tyndall, or rather Mayer of Heilbronn, whom he quotes, still farther on this path. If we suppose an asteroid approaching the sun from an infinite distance, its velocity just before striking the sun would be three hundred and ninety miles a second. On striking the sun, the asteroid would develop more heat than could be generated by the combustion of nine thousand equal asteroids of coal. Little does it matter, then, whether these bodies be combustible or not; for even the most combustible material could add but little to the tremendous heat produced by the mechanical collision.

If this is the true source of the sun's heat, as we have seen it to be the competent source, the sun must constantly increase in bulk. Very true; but the quantity of matter necessary to produce the observed calorific emission, even accumulated for four thousand years, could not be detected by our most delicate instruments. The tides that rub against the wharves of Boston produce little apparent heat; but this is because a great part is dissipated into space. It is an interesting question what supplies this waste. The tidal wave always lies to the east of the moon's meridian, and by the satellite's attraction the wave is as it were dragged like a brake over the surface of the revolving earth. The friction thus generated supplies the heat constantly evaporated into space, so that the heat produced by the friction of millstones moved by the tidal action has a very different source from the heat produced by a similar mechanical contrivance moved by a mountain stream. The former is produced by the earth's rotation, the latter by the sun's radiation.



Thus we have seen examples of motion converted into heat. Besides the steam and caloric engines, we have other and simpler illustrations of the conversion of heat into motion.

In 1805, in one of the smelting works of Saxony, a mass of silver which had been fused in a ladle was allowed to solidify, and then was placed on an anvil to hasten its cooling. Soon a strange, buzzing sound was heard, which was finally traced to the hot silver which was found quivering on the anvil. More than twenty years after this, Trevelyan made a similar incident the subject of a careful series of experiments. The substances and the forms best suited to produce the effect were ascertained. The vibrating substance is called the "rocker," and the experiment can be performed by balancing a heated brass poker on two edges of sheet-lead half an inch asunder, when a musical tone will be produced. The principle is this: the hot surface in contact with the lead raises a nipple on the surface of the lead by expansion, which tilts up the rocker, throwing the heat into another place, where the operation is repeated; the vibrations being rapid enough to produce a note. The same effect is often noticed when a tea-kettle is placed on a hot stove.

A grander though not more wonderful example of motion produced by heat is seen in the Great Geyser of Iceland. This consists of a tube seventy-four feet deep and ten in diameter, surmounted by a basin fifty-two feet across from north to south, and sixty feet from east to west. The interior of the tube and basin is covered with a beautiful siliceous plaster, so hard as to resist the blows of a hammer. "Previous to an irruption, both the tube and basin are filled with hot water; detonations which shake the ground are heard at intervals, and each is succeeded by a violent agitation of the water in the basin. The water in the pipe is lifted up so as to form an eminence in the basin, and an overflow is the consequence." Professor Bunsen succeeded in determining the exact temperature of the tube from top to bottom a few minutes before a great irruption; and these observations revealed the astonishing fact, that in no part of the tube did the water reach its boiling point. Knowing the temperature of the tube, Professor Bunsen explains the action in this simple way. At a point, A, thirty feet

from the bottom, the boiling point of the water is  $123.8^{\circ}\text{C.}$ , while its observed temperature is  $121.8^{\circ}\text{C.}$  At a point six feet above, or thirty-six from the bottom, which we will call B, the boiling point is only  $120.8^{\circ}$ . When, therefore, these detonations occur (caused by local generation of steam), which elevate the water in the tube at least six feet, the water at A, heated to  $121.8^{\circ}$ , is carried to B, where its boiling point is only  $120.8^{\circ}$ . The excess of heat instantly generates steam; the column is elevated higher, and the water below is further relieved. More steam is generated; the column of water bursts into ebullition from the middle downward; the water above, mixed with steam, is ejected into the air. This beautiful theory can be verified by experimenting with an iron tube six feet long instead of seventy-four.

Pressure increased the boiling point in the long column of water, and the same thing occurs in another form where the melting point of solids is raised by pressure. All solid substances which expand on assuming the liquid form may be exposed to a much higher temperature, if the pressure is increased, without melting. Hence it has been supposed that the crust of our earth may be much thicker than has been stated, since the enormous pressure to which the interior of the earth is subjected would require a very high temperature in order for it to assume the liquid state, — much higher, in fact, than the calculated heat of the interior of the solid crust, as now figured in geological or physiological charts.

One more example of the forces into which heat resolves itself, and that is one familiar to many. We refer to the expansion of water by freezing. In the third Lecture of the present series, Professor Tyndall exhibited two iron bottles, — the walls more than half an inch thick, — which he completely filled with water, closing the apertures with a screw. These were placed in a freezing mixture, and the water, expanding as it turned to ice, required more room, and pressed against the rigid iron walls of its prison. “The rigidity of the iron is powerless in the presence of the atomic forces. These atoms are giants in disguise; you hear that sound; the bottle is shivered by the crystallizing molecules, — there goes the other; and here are the fragments of the vessels, which show their

thickness and impress you with the might of that energy by which they were thus riven." This wonderful property of water, which causes it to expand and thus to grow lighter when frozen, alone keeps our ponds and rivers from becoming in a single winter a solid mass, which our summer's heat would be wholly incompetent to melt.

We have seen instances of the heat produced by motion, and also of the conversion of heat into motion; we may now examine briefly the motion of heat itself. We find it reflected, conducted, and absorbed; but it is only its absorption that we can notice now. Experiments have been tried by passing the rays of heat through a vacuum, and through air and different gases, and it is found that, while sulphurous acid absorbs 8,800 rays of heat, *dry* air absorbs only one. On a dry day, therefore, the sun's rays come to us with their greatest intensity; and likewise, in a dry, clear night the heat passes away from the earth with the greatest rapidity into space, almost without hinderance. Moisture in the air absorbs the rays of heat to a great extent, and by absorbing them becomes warmed, while the fiercest rays of the sun may pass through a dry atmosphere without heating it above the freezing point. This explains the sudden fall of thermometers on lofty mountains when the sun goes down. With no cloak of vapor to restrain the radiation, the mountain-top cools rapidly. Indeed, so great is the radiation, that unprotected thermometers fall fifteen or twenty degrees below those properly covered, in the same position. The coldness of mountains eminently fits them for condensers of the vapor carried in the wind. The Rocky Mountains thus condense the vapor from the Pacific, and the result is that the dried west wind makes a desert of their eastern slopes. The ice on the top of Mont Blanc is exposed to greater intensity of sun-heat than rests on the plains below; but there is nothing to keep the heat there, and it flies off. Travellers who ascend this summit of ice have to protect their faces from the heat, direct and reflected, which would else blister and burn them, while at the same time they are slipping over ice that shows no signs of melting.

The same remarkable changes in day and night temperature are seen in less elevated but equally *dry* regions. On the Sa-

hara, where "the soil is fire and the winds flame" during the day, at night the cold is painful, and ice is sometimes formed. In Australia, the daily range of the thermometer is more than 45 degrees. In Bengal, advantage is taken of dry nights to obtain ice from water, placed in shallow pans in pits on dry straw to increase the radiation and to cut off all heat from the earth. In this case it is noticed that on cloudy nights ice is never formed, and not always on clear nights; for though clouds are an indication of dampness, clearness does not always prove that the atmosphere is dry.

The warmth of the sea-coast and of islands is accounted for by the protecting vapor which always pervades the air, and retains during the night the heat that the sun has given during the day. On this account the winters in Iceland are not more severe than those in Lombardy, since, in spite of the higher latitude of the former, its vapory cloak lent by the sea counterbalances the radiation of dry Lombardy. It has been shown that, if the vapor of England could be removed for one winter, every tree and plant that could not bear a severe frost would become extinct. May not the cold of Central Asia at the present time, while anciently the elephant found the climate genial, be accounted for by supposing the moisture of the atmosphere to have been removed by the upheaval of mountains which act as condensers on the moist winds blowing north and west?

The heat of our summer does all the work of vegetation. Every particle of heat that is not dissipated into space is converted into some tiny bud, which grows only by converting more heat into its cells and fibres. Where the season of warmth is short, mosses and lichens grow. As we recede from the arctic regions, the summers are longer and hotter, and the vegetable growth becomes more complicated and extensive, until where summer is perpetual plant-life reaches its maximum, as animal life does also. To the plant, whose office is to grow, heat and moisture are requisite; but, for the reasons we have seen above, in a moist atmosphere the heat received will not escape; so that a more sensitive organization, like that of man, cannot endure what in a dry air would be neutralized by the evaporation of perspiration. Men have remained in a dry oven while a steak was cooked at their side; but in

steam of the same temperature they would have been boiled to death. Perhaps in no department of science does the careful providence of the Creator illustrate itself more richly to our distinct cognizance than in this.

In the Lectures under review, the want of actual experiments which presents itself to readers on this side of the water — a want which must continue to be felt until we have more ample scientific endowments than at present — is compensated by illustrations and exceedingly lucid explanations. The fact that the lecturer has discovered or amplified many of the phenomena he treats of, gives to the work a life and interest seldom found in so-called “popular scientific lectures.” It thus becomes, not a dry compilation of facts, but an illustrated history of the progress of the branch of science to which Professor Tyndall has devoted many years of careful study.

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- ART. VII. — 1. *Lectures on the Science of Language, delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, in April, May, and June, 1861.* By MAX MÜLLER, M. A. London. 1861. New York. 1862.
2. *De l'Origine du Langage.* Par ERNEST RENAN, Membre de l'Institut. Paris. 1859.
3. *First Principles.* By HERBERT SPENCER. London. 1862.

In the beginning of that instructive and very amusing dialogue, the Cratylus, Plato makes the sophist observe “that there is a propriety of appellation naturally subsisting for everything that exists, and that this name is not what certain persons conventionally call it, while they articulate with a portion of their speech; but that there is a certain propriety of names, naturally the same, both among Greeks and among Barbarians.” In proof of this, Cratylus denies that his friend Hermogenes is correctly so called; because, being neither wealthy nor eloquent, he manifestly cannot be deemed, in any sense, the “offspring of Hermes.” The ensuing discourse, to which these remarks are

the natural prelude, proceeds to treat of the true signification of names, the derivation of words, and the origin of human speech. It is, so far as we know, the earliest contribution to philological science. Previously to the time of Plato, the inquiries of men were conducted, not only without conscious regard to those logical rules to which all investigation must conform, but also without conscious regard to the true significance of those terms and phrases with which no investigation can dispense. "It is a dominant characteristic of intelligence, viewed in its successive stages of evolution, that its processes, which, as originally performed, were not accompanied with a consciousness of the manner in which they were performed, or of their adaptation to the ends achieved, become eventually both conscious and systematic." \* The gradual change from unconscious action to conscious action, which accompanies the development of intelligence, may be seen equally in the growth of every child and in the growth of the human race. Just as men called the moon "the measurer," without knowing the cause of her periodic movements; just as they floated their canoes and lighted their fires, though ignorant of the laws of hydrostatics and chemistry; just as commerce, manufactures, and agriculture flourished for centuries before the generalizations of political economy were reached; just as induction and syllogism were in familiar use when the categories and predicables of Aristotle had not been heard of;—so, in like manner, the use of complex forms of speech preceded by ages the first investigations into the structure and composition of language. In the infancy of the world, whole nations lived and died, as it were unconsciously, without leaving record of their existence; and similarly, we know that men must have talked, and even written, when scarcely more than half conscious of the mere existence of language,—a consideration which needs to be duly taken into account by those who maintain that language is a product of human invention.

It is to Plato's *Cratylus* that we must look for the germ of philological science. But we need not look there long without

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\* Spencer, *Principles of Psychology*, p. 339.

perceiving the vast difference between the germ and the full-grown organism. With Plato, inquiries into the significance of speech were but operations subsidiary to philosophy. Every science, as Müller remarks, originated in some practical necessity. Geometry was once the measuring of land, astronomy and metallurgy were ancillary to navigation and weapon-making, and philology was the servant of dialectics. Moreover, the Greeks could no more construct sound linguistic theories without a knowledge of foreign languages, than they could construct sound political theories from the scanty facts lying within the limited range of their own experience; and in this respect, Plato's Republic and his Cratylus are in the same category. The erroneous derivations which fill the latter work are the natural results of the ignorance of "barbaric" dialects, and the consequent realism which so injuriously affected the entire course of Grecian speculation.\*

We do not now propose here to give a history of philological inquiry, or to notice, otherwise than to express our admiration for it, Professor Müller's sketch of the empirical stage of the science. Passing over the purely grammatical achievements of Aristarchus and his compeers, and the more comprehensive labors of Leibnitz and Hervas, if we contemplate the present condition of the science of language, we shall be compelled to acknowledge that, though important inductions have been made, and wide generalizations arrived at, the science still presents more or less of an empirical character. It is empirical in the qualified sense in which chemistry is empirical, as having hitherto discovered no ultimate law from which the genesis of its phenomena may be explained. Though the philologist at present compares, analyzes, and classifies the facts before him, he is yet unable to affiliate those facts upon any primordial principle. In these days, when the science of language is invoked, on the one hand to illuminate psychological problems, and on the other hand to arbitrate in ethnologic controversies; when it has opened up and made real to us the wondrous vision of that pre-historic time when the ancestors of the Celt, the Indian, the Roman, and the Teuton,

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\* Lewes, History of Philosophy, pp. 12, 27, 154, 257; Lersch, Sprachphilosophie der Alten, Vol. I. pp 52, 90, Vol. III. p. 21.

forming a single rural community, lived together on the highlands of Central Asia, in the sacred Aryana-vaëdjo ; and when it promises to give us the key to the long-sealed mysteries of ancient mythology and symbolism, — the vast importance of the discovery of some such fundamental law must be obvious to all. Not only will the acquisition of a more rational character by the science of language further our knowledge of psychical and ethnic science ; not only shall we thereby obtain still surer indications of the early phases of religion and society ; but at the same time that light will be thrown over the whole field of our philosophic thinking. Whenever new uniformities in nature are disclosed, or new phenomena brought out from the realm of chaos into the realm of order, our belief in the unity of the absolute cause of phenomena is rendered firmer and more valid ; for “ community of result implies community of causation.”

Enough has been said to indicate what is here purposed. An attempt will be made to show how the growth of human speech has conformed throughout to a fixed and regular law of evolution. But it will be first advisable to examine some of the theories which have from time to time been maintained respecting the origin and growth of language.

“The philosophy of the eighteenth century,” says Renan, “showed a marked preference for artificial explanations in everything concerning the *origines* of the human mind.” As an example, we might cite Rousseau’s theory of a social contract. Assembled in high parliament, this theory assumes, our antediluvian ancestors discussed, like the Persian conspirators in Herodotus, the different forms of government, and the conditions of social existence. Peering with telescopic vision down the vista of future ages, and foreseeing the requirements of humanity, they framed for posterity a constitution incapable of amendment or repeal. This contract, it is maintained, is the keystone of the social arch. The annulling of this wondrous ordinance would involve universal disintegration ; and it would thus seem that — to reverse the *dictum* of Mackintosh — constitutions do not grow, but are made, or at least were made, once for all, by our legislation-loving progenitors. Theories of this sort, the serious refutation of which would now be



almost superfluous, were in great favor a century ago; for they were the natural growth of that revolutionary feeling whose tendency was to seek the origin of all social phenomena in the individual will of man. Language accordingly was interpreted as an artificial product; and this view was maintained by Condillac, Maupertuis, Volney, Rousseau, and Condorcet. Of the French philosophers, Turgot alone seems to have been free from this universal tendency to look upon language as a material entity. Such a theory is open to grave objections. Manifestly, if the growth of language were in any way dependent upon determinate volition, an incalculable element would at once be introduced into our problem. But this is not the case. The most potent sovereign and the wisest senate would find themselves utterly unable to control one iota of grammatical structure, or to introduce a single phonetic change; while the arbitrary metamorphosis of a neuter into a feminine, though boldly attempted by the Emperor Sigismund,\* is no more possible than the conversion of an adult working-bee into a queen. Changes in the grammars and vocabularies of languages are constantly taking place, it is true. The language of Virgil and Catullus has become that of Dante, of Corneille, of Camoens, and of Lope; the language of De Montfort's Parliament has been gradually transmuted into the vernacular of the Thirty-Seventh Congress; and the noble Sanskrit of Kalidasa's dramas has lapsed into the jargon of the Sepoy. But none of these changes were produced by the conscious intervention of man. On the contrary, they have often taken place in spite of the united exertions of fastidious scholars, of academic bodies, and of the elect of society. There follows the obvious comment, that an invention which is unmodifiable by human caprice presents a very suspicious anomaly. Mankind invent locomotives, chronometers, torsion-balances, and floating batteries; and an action for infringement of patent awaits the too slight innovation of some luckless after-experimenter. Legislative assemblies frame laws which in the ensuing session are repealed. The statute-book may be burned, the charter rescinded, and the monarch dethroned. But not

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\* Müller, p. 47.

one of the laws of lingual growth can thus be suspended, and the inference is obvious, that what is not amenable to human control cannot be the product of human invention. Add to this, that language can hardly be considered, as on this theory by implication it must be considered, a material entity. Even were the proposed solution accepted, however, it would be no solution; for we should still have to inquire how language was invented. Inventive art implies science, science implies observation, observation implies phenomena to be observed; and hence, as we have seen, philology became possible only at a late date, and after a large accumulation of facts had been made, to serve as materials for theory. Accordingly, language could not have been framed without some *a priori* knowledge of linguistic structure, which being impossible, the theory ends in absurdity. The vast fabric of human speech was not, then, the lucky notion of some primeval Yankee, nor could it have been devised by a conclave of patriarchal *savants*, who bequeathed it as an heirloom to posterity. Those who assert that such was the case have forgotten to explain to us how in that archaic Quaker meeting there was effected the interchange of ideas necessary for carrying on the discussion.

The reaction against the revolutionary philosophy, which took place early in the present century, was attended by the development of a new theory in respect to the origin of language. The failure of all attempts to explain language as a product of human ingenuity led philosophers to consider it as a Divine gift, supernaturally bestowed upon man; and this theory was upheld by De Maistre, De Bonald, Lamennais, and Gioberti. With reference to this theory we may observe, that it offers us, not a real, but a verbal explanation. As Cousin acutely writes, "The institution of language by the Deity removes the difficulty, but does not solve it: the revealed signs would be for us no signs at all, but things which it would be forthwith necessary to elevate to the rank of signs, by attaching to them certain significations."

From this inevitable conclusion, let no one infer that the phenomena of language are not, in common with all other phenomena, the divine manifestations of Omnipotence. An atheistic supposition, such as that language sprang up of it-

self, would, in its denial of universal causation, be the most obviously absurd of all. In the sequel, we shall find the rational interpretation of linguistic phenomena bringing us ultimately to the First and Inscrutable Cause. Our present conclusion is destructive only of that crude and irreverent anthropomorphism, which, like the declining spirit of the Greek tragedy, introduces the *deus ex machina* whenever some Gordian knot in its theory needs cutting.

As the sole remaining alternative, we are obliged to look upon language, not as a material product, but as an organic growth, conforming to definite laws of development, and determined by conditions partly physical and partly social. This view, the only one consistent with the present state of scientific knowledge, has received the sanction of nearly all the most eminent philosophers and philologists of the age, and is expressed, with more or less distinctness, in the writings of Schelling, Grimm, Humboldt, Bunsen, and Müller. It is the only view which will permit linguistic phenomena to be interpreted in accordance with some law of nature. Before proceeding, however, it is advisable to guard against a misconception which may arise from the use of so vague a word as *growth*, — a word which, being commonly employed to denote the development of plants and animals, is apt to suggest incorrect analogies. In the widest sense, indeed, all growth is one and the same process. But in none save the most abstract sense can the growth of language be conceived as at all similar to the growth of a tree; and the comparison instituted between the two by Friedrich Schlegel is vicious even as an analogy. We derive little mental illumination from the assertion that “all parts of language are implicitly contained in the primitive germ, just as the parts of a plant potentially pre-exist in the seed.”\* The latter statement is more than questionable, and the former requires for its mere comprehension that ter-

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\* This is distinctly asserted by Renan, in the following singular passage: “Un germe est posé: le germe se développe; mais rien ne se crée, rien ne s’ajoute; tout y était.” (*Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*, p. 461.) This excites the laughter of Steinthal: “Nun denke man an den Keim, aus dem ein Aehre, ein Baum wird; an das Eichen, aus dem ein Thier, ein Mensch wird; an Adam, aus welchem Aristoteles, Leibnitz, Shakespeare, u. s. w. geworden sind! Sie wären alle schon in Adam und Eva gewesen!” (*Ursprung der Sprache*, pp. 138, 139.)

rible metaphysical acumen which has hitherto been vouchsafed to Germans alone. But speculations like this of Schlegel, though more poetic than philosophical, were still held in some favor as long as the terminations of words were supposed to be mere excrescences, entirely devoid of meaning, and growing out from the root of the word much in the same manner as the branches of a tree appear to grow out from the trunk. It was thought that there could be no alternative between this opinion and that which assumes that terminations were originally adopted by mutual agreement, to express with algebraic brevity the different shades of thought. Be this as it may, the alternatives are alike absurd. When, at last, terminations were shown to be the remnants of significative words, these opinions were deprived of all plausibility, and the way was paved for a scientific analysis of language.

The real nature of grammatical terminations was first divined by the acute and penetrating genius of John Horne Tooke. But that eminent philosopher was prevented from proving, or even correctly illustrating, his admirable suggestion, by the scarcity of facts at his command. It was reserved for the present century, and for the labors of Humboldt, Bopp, and Garnett, to develop the conception of Tooke, and from the widest possible induction to establish the original independence of all terminations in all languages. The way was opened in 1816, by the *Conjugationssystem* of Franz Bopp, and in 1833 appeared the "Comparative Grammar" of the same author,—a book which "will form forever the safe and solid foundation of comparative philology," and a great part of which is devoted to showing the pronominal character of terminations and their once independent power. Its successors, the "Etymological Researches" of August Friedrich Pott, the "Teutonic Grammar" of Jacob Grimm, and the gigantic work on the Kawi and Polynesian languages by Wilhelm von Humboldt, are all founded on the same general principles. But although with immense learning and admirable acuteness the same universal fact is in these writings set beyond dispute, a still further step was needful before the discovery could be completed. It was proved that the endings of words were originally pronouns; but the manner in which the pronoun

was joined to the root had not yet been thoroughly investigated, and it was supposed by these writers that to the root in its crude form was appended the pronominal termination in the nominative case. The fatal objection to this is almost too obvious to need mention. All nominative cases must at some time have had case-endings, and these, like all endings, must once have been pronouns. Now, if these terminal pronouns were also nominative cases, we are at once forced to postulate other pronouns as their case-endings, and we are thus introduced to an infinite series of repetitions, from which there is no escape. Other difficulties presenting themselves when we consider the logical connection of root and termination, we are led to suspect that the pronominal affixes were joined to the root, not as nominatives, but as crude forms destitute of inflection. This was shown to be the case in 1849, when, after elaborate analytic researches in more than eighty languages, Mr. Garnett announced that word-endings were originally uninflected pronominal roots, with a locative signification. In a paper on the "Nature and Analysis of the Verb," contributed to the records of the London Philological Society, this brilliant discovery was first given to the world; and though the labors of its accomplished author were soon after brought to a close by his too early death, it found a worthy expounder in the learned Donaldson, whose works on the classic languages furnish at once its ample proof and its extensive illustration. A more important and prolific discovery than Mr. Garnett's has hardly ever been made in the science of language. It entitles its author to the first place among English philologists. It leads on the one hand to an ultimate analysis of human speech, and on the other hand to a philosophical classification of all languages.\*

Schlegel's theory of word-vegetation must thus give place to the discovery of the real nature of terminations, and the way

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\* See Müller's *Lectures*, p. 251; Renan, p. 12; Garnett's *Philological Essays*, pp. 96, 214-227, 289-342; Donaldson's *New Cratylus*, p. 572; Varronianus, p. 407; Hebrew Grammar, p. 35; Bopp, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, Vol. I. pp. 194, 242-545, Vol. II. pp. 253-310; Rodet, *Grammaire Sanscrite*, p. 29; Tooke's *Diversions of Purley*, p. 190; and the excellent notes of Roorda in Gericke's *Javanese Grammar*.

is cleared for that analysis and classification which must precede the statement of the law of linguistic evolution. In reviewing the labors of the last half-century, it is seen that every inflected word consists of two parts, — the root, expressing the material idea of the word, and the termination, which is itself a pronominal root, expressing the idea of locality; while words which cannot be inflected may be considered as unmodifiable roots. To roots we are thus brought down, as the ultimate, undecomposable elements of speech. And since roots are all that is primitive in language, in a very ancient dialect we should expect to find the sentences consisting simply of juxtaposed roots, with no appearance of inflection. This is actually the case in the Chinese, and a few examples taken from that language will serve to illustrate the general principles here referred to. In Chinese, *ten* is expressed by *shǐ*, and *two* is expressed by *eúl*; if we wish, therefore, to say *twenty*, we join the two, and have *eúl-shǐ*. The process here is transparent; but it requires a prolonged study of philology and acquaintance with the Gothic language for us to be able to say that the English *twenty* was likewise originally *two-ten*.

“The locative is formed in various ways in Chinese: one is by adding such words as *éung*, the middle, or *néi*, inside. Thus *kúŏ-éung*, in the empire; *í súí éung*, within a year. The instrumental is formed by the preposition *ŷ*, which preposition is an old word meaning *to use*. Thus *ŷ ting*, with a stick, where in Latin we should use the ablative, in Greek the dative. Now, however complicated the declensions, regular and irregular, may be in Greek and Latin, we may be certain that originally they were formed by this simple method of composition. There was originally, in all the Aryan languages, a case expressive of locality, which grammarians call the *locative*. In Sanskrit, every substantive has its locative, as well as its genitive, dative, and accusative. Thus, *heart* in Sanskrit is *hṛid*; in the heart, is *hṛidi*. Here, therefore, the termination of the locative is simply short *i*. This short *i* is a demonstrative root, and in all probability the same root which in Latin produced the preposition *in*. The Sanskrit *hṛidi* represents, therefore, an original compound, as it were, *heart-within*, which gradually became settled as one of the recognized cases of nouns ending in consonants. If we look to Chinese, we find that the locative is expressed there in the same manner, but with a greater freedom in the choice of the words expressive of locality.” — *Müller*, p. 219.

It is thus apparent that the locative, which is the most primitive case, arose by the addition of a pronominal root, and Professor Müller goes on to show that the later cases, such as the genitive and dative, were formed in the same manner. A similar explanation might be given of the origin of the various forms of the verb.

In showing how language has been reduced to roots as its ultimate units, we have tacitly recognized the existence of different kinds of such units. Between the root which always retains its radical character, and the root which eventually lapses into a mere termination, the difference is sufficiently obvious, and has been usually recognized by grammarians, in their classification of the elements of speech. Thus, Becker, in his able work, distinguishes between roots notional and roots relational, the former expressing ideas, and the latter expressing relations of ideas,\* — a nomenclature which is sufficient for all practical purposes, though it might be objected that a relational root expresses an idea in denoting locality. We shall employ, as more satisfactory, the terminology of Müller, who designates the two fundamental elements of speech as *roots predicative* and *roots demonstrative*. There is some difficulty in accurately distinguishing the two kinds of roots, which seems to countenance Garnett's opinion, that there was originally no difference between them. Whether a purely etymological analysis is likely ever to enable us to derive the one from the other is still uncertain, though Garnett's attempts in this direction have been attended with signal success.

Considering, however, for present purposes, both classes of roots as equally primitive, we have now to illustrate the manner in which they are naturally affected by being joined. Predicative roots denote either existences or actions; demonstrative roots mark the position or locality of actions and existences. A concrete example will render this more intelligible. The root *kill* or *killing* simply expresses an action, without giving us any further information; the roots *here*, *there*, and *yonder* designate certain positions in which any action, such as killing, may take place. They are the conditions under which

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\* Becker, *Organism der Sprache*, p. 158.

the phenomenon is realized in thought, — its *forms*, as our metaphysical friends would say. Putting together these roots, — enveloping the act in its conditions, — we have the paradigm :

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Killing - here,} \\ \text{Killing - there,} \\ \text{Killing - yonder,} \end{array} \right\} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Killing - near - me,} \\ \text{Killing - near - you,} \\ \text{Killing - near - him.} \end{array} \right.$$

Philology tells us that this is the way in which the persons of the verb were formed, and that even the time-worn endings of our English verb were once locative roots. An affix signifying that the action is performed *here*, near the speaker, converts the crude root into a first person, and similarly with the other affixes. Our paradigm, therefore, becomes

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Killing - near me,} \\ \text{Killing - near you,} \\ \text{Killing - near him,} \end{array} \right\} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I kill,} \\ \text{Thou killest,} \\ \text{He kills.} \end{array} \right.$$

The action is thus subjected to the limitations necessary for its realization. Instead of the mere skeleton-idea represented by “kill,” we have simply to put on a termination indicative of subjective proximity, and we shall at once have the constable at our heels.

It is pleasant to find that these results coincide with those which are obtained from an analysis of ideas. The ultimate elements of all knowledge are Space, Time, Matter, Motion, and Force ; of which the first four may be interpreted in terms of the last.\* Our notions of Matter and Motion are gained through experiences of resistance occurring respectively in co-existent and sequent positions. Space is the abstract or blank form of all experiences of coexistence, and the abstract of all experiences of sequence is Time. Of Force we can have no immediate knowledge. We know it only as manifested to us in the forms of Matter and Motion, under the conditions of Space and Time. Since the expression of our knowledge must come under the same law as our knowledge itself, it follows that language must have an element to express Matter and Motion, which are the *contents* of mental relations ; and likewise an element to express the *forms* of mental relations, which are Space and Time. These requirements are fulfilled

\* Spencer, First Principles, pp. 228 - 237.



respectively by predicative and demonstrative roots: so that the inductive discovery of what the constituent elements of language are is in harmony with the deductive discovery of what those constituent elements must be.

It will now be necessary to explain the principles upon which a rational classification of languages is founded. Before we can trace the law of dialectic evolution, we must glance at the different stages in which that evolution appears.

If we were to attempt, without any knowledge of the structure of language, to arrange in a system all the dialects spoken over the earth, we should naturally make our classes coincide with geographical and chronological divisions. The languages of America would constitute one class, those spoken in Asia a second, and so on; while the disused dialects of antiquity would be ranked apart from those which form the medium of communication in modern times. Upon some such implied basis as this was founded the vague division of known languages into Oriental, Classical, and Modern, which prevailed until the middle of the last century. But with the advance of etymological knowledge it was perceived that such a classification unites many languages whose vocabularies differ, and separates some whose vocabularies are alike. It was seen that the Hebrew and Arabic dictionaries contain scarcely any words in common with those of Tartaric dialects; while the discovery of Sanskrit offered an example of an Oriental language whose stock of words was almost identical with that of the so-called classic tongues. The first and most obvious step to be taken in advance of the old classification was to arrange languages according to the similarity of their vocabularies. But it was soon perceived that, on this principle, some languages, as the English, could not be classed at all. Twenty languages or more contribute, each its quota, to the filling of the English dictionary; and "on the evidence of words alone, it would be impossible to classify English with any other of the established stocks and stems of human speech." Even after leaving out of account the lesser ingredients, as it was found that the words of French descent were about equal in number to those of Saxon origin, it was concluded to regard English as formed from a mixture of the Latin and Gothic stocks. But while the English

vocabulary thus defied all attempts at classification, the English grammar was seen to be unquestionably Teutonic. "Hervas was told by missionaries, that in the middle of the eighteenth century the Araucans used hardly a word which was not Spanish, though they preserved both the grammar and the syntax of their own native speech." It was further perceived that, though the Turkish dictionary was filled with Persian and Arabic words, yet the grammatical structure of the Turkish rendered its classification with those languages impossible. A second step was accordingly taken, and grammatical structure was made the basis of classification. Mixed languages were no longer thought of. The English fell at once into its place by the side of the German and the Dutch, and the other European tongues speedily found their proper positions. With truly poetic vision, Friedrich Schlegel "embraced in one glance the languages of India, Persia, Greece, Italy, and Germany, and riveted them together with the simple name of Indo-Germanic"; and his idea, when taken up in Germany, "led almost immediately to a genealogical classification of the principal languages of mankind."\* The Semitic family came, ready to hand; and many of the nomadic dialects of Africa, Eastern Asia, and Polynesia were arranged in groups according to the relationship indicated by their common structure.

But a comprehensive principle of classification had not yet been discovered. Two families indeed — the Semitic and the Aryan — had been established, and their relations to each other had been well ascertained. But the languages of Eastern Asia, though disposable in many subordinate groups, refused to submit to any of the rules of classification as yet laid down. While their mutual likeness was vaguely surmised, the nature of that likeness could not be formulated. Some held that they were the degraded forms of more highly developed languages. Some held that the relationships already perceived were the only ones existing; and that each group had its separate origin. Some transferred to philology the antiquated zoölogical doctrine of types, and maintained that each class of languages was formed upon its own primordial plan. A universally applica-

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\* Müller's Lectures, pp. 84, 85, 165.

ble method of classification was not suggested, until the series of analytic researches above mentioned, culminating in the great discovery of Garnett, enabled Max Müller to classify all languages according to the manner in which their ultimate elements are compounded. In a letter to the Chevalier Bunsen, published in 1854, Müller announced the principles of his *morphological* classification; applying them to the nomad languages of Asia and Polynesia, which, with a philosophic insight not inferior to Schlegel's, he brought together in one group, and riveted with the single name Turanian.\* Müller's discovery is cavilled at by Renan, who, with extreme lack either of candor or of discernment, says that "the idioms united under the name Turanian have only a single character in common,—that of being neither Aryan nor Semitic."† M. Renan's own views will be examined further on. At present we must confine ourselves to the elucidation of Müller's classification, merely remarking by the way, that, in our judgment, Müller's opinions are separated from those of Renan by a distance as vast as that which separated the Copernican system of the universe from the Ptolemaic. It will soon become evident that the Turanian languages are united by positive as well as by negative characteristics; and, moreover, that we owe to Max Müller a method of classification which is absolutely universal.

Analysis brought us down to roots—predicative and demonstrative—as the ultimate units of language; and all grammatical forms have been seen to arise from the coalescence of the two. It is the *degree of this coalescence* which forms the basis of Müller's classification. No conception could be clearer or more philosophical. We have here a principle of universal applicability.

"According to the manner in which roots are put together, we may expect to find three kinds of languages, or three stages in the gradual formation of speech.

"I. Roots may be used as words, each root preserving its full independence.

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\* Bunsen's *Christianity and Mankind*, Vol. III. pp. 263 – 521; Müller's *Survey of Languages*, p. 90.

† Renan, *L'Origine du Langage*, p. 41.

“II. Two roots may be joined together to form words, and in these compounds one root may lose its independence.

“III. Two roots may be joined together to form words, and in these compounds both roots may lose their independence.

“The first stage, in which each root preserves its independence, and in which there is no formal distinction between a root and a word, I call the Radical stage. This stage is best represented by ancient Chinese. . . . . The second stage, in which two or more roots coalesce to form a word, the one retaining its radical independence, the other sinking down to a mere termination, I call the Terminational stage. This stage is best represented by the Turanian family of speech. . . . . The third stage, in which roots coalesce so that neither the one nor the other retains its substantive independence, I call the Inflectional stage. This stage is best represented by the Aryan and Semitic families.” — *Müller*, pp. 286, 287.

Languages in the first, second, and third stages have been also termed, respectively, Monosyllabic, Agglutinative, and Amalgamative. After what has been said in respect to the structure of language, this grand and luminous system will require but little explanation. It has already been noticed that the Chinese say *ỳ cáng*, “with a stick,” where in Latin we should say *baculo*; here the *ỳ* is not a simple preposition, like the English *with*, but it is a verb, and when used as such means *to employ*. So that, for “with a stick,” a Chinaman says “employ stick.” In the Chinese there is nothing except monosyllabic roots, which may be used as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, or whatever else is required.

“As long as every word, or part of a word, is felt to express its own radical meaning, a language belongs to the first or radical stage. As soon as such words as *tse* in *ỳi-tse*, day, *li* in *ủ-ly*, at home, or *ỳ* in *ỳ cáng*, with the stick, lose their etymological meaning, and become mere signs of derivation or of case, language enters into the second or Terminational stage. By far the largest number of languages belong to this stage.” — *Müller*, p. 288.

Not only the nomadic dialects in Asia and Oceanica, but the refined Turkish, the venerable Basque, the many-syllabled tongues of America, and perhaps also the innumerable idioms of Africa,—all go to make up the vast Turanian family.\*

\* Rapp, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, Vol. I. p. 11; Beltran, *Gramática de la Lengua Maya*, pp. 16–108.

The Turanian are distinguished from the Inflectional languages by the circumstance that in them the root is never blended with the termination, but always stands out clear and distinct. This is sufficiently illustrated by the following paradigm, from the Maya, an old dialect of Yucatan. From the root *xic*, to go, compounded with *bin*, the sign of the future tense, we have

bin - xic - en,	bin - xic - on,
bin - xic - ech,	bin - xic - ech,
bin - xic ;	bin - xic - ob.

And similarly, in Turkish, from the root *bakar*, to regard, we have

bakar - im,	bakar - ir,
bakar - sin,	bakar - sinir,
bakar ;	bakar - lac.

A Latin paradigm will show the contrast in the Inflectional languages, where the root is blended with the termination, and more or less obscured. From the root *es* we have

's - um, e - s, es - t,	's - umus, es - tis, 's - unt.
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And an Aryan conjugation, like the Hindustani

hun, hai, hai,	hain, ho, hain,
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is evidently incompatible with the genius of the Turanian languages.

Not only, therefore, do the languages of Turan negatively agree in being neither Aryan nor Semitic, but they also positively agree in the manner in which they combine roots into words. The degree of coalescence exhibited by them, intermediate between that which takes place in Chinese and that which takes place in Hebrew or Sanskrit, is common to them all ; while the differences in their vocabularies are no greater than might be expected in languages spoken by nomadic tribes destitute alike of literature and of political organization. With the establishment of the Turanian family, Müller's classification becomes universal ; and analysis shows that it depends upon a universally applicable principle.

Having hastily traversed the difficult and possibly uninviting field of philological induction, we recur to our fundamental problem. On the one hand, an analysis of language

has brought us down to roots — predicative and demonstrative — as its ultimate elements ; while, on the other hand, it has been shown that the rational system of classification is that which is based upon the degree of coalescence exhibited by the two orders of roots, when they combine to form words. Are these empirical results to be taken as ultimate laws ? or can they be affiliated upon some principle deeper and more comprehensive than any which the mere contemplation of roots and inflections can reveal to us ? The last of these conclusions is that which we are obliged to accept. Whether we watch the phenomena of language in the concrete, or reason abstractly from analogies furnished by other phenomena, we are alike compelled to believe that the inductions of philology are affiliated upon some all-pervading law of linguistic growth.

The law of organic development, announced in the early part of the present century by Goethe, Schelling, and Von Baer, and vaguely expressed in the formula that “ evolution is always from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, and from the simple to the complex,” has recently been extended by Herbert Spencer, so as to include all phenomena whatever. Long ago, the researches of German physiologists had shown “ that the series of changes gone through during the development of a seed into a tree, or an ovum into an animal, constitute an advance from homogeneity of structure to heterogeneity of structure.” Between the primitive germ, uniform in its physical texture and chemical composition, and the adult organism, multiform in its complex combination of tissues and organs, the contrast is sufficiently striking, and it was here that the true nature of evolution was first perceived. In 1828, it was demonstrated by Von Baer, that the change from homogeneity to heterogeneity is that in which all organic evolution essentially consists : \* and his discovery, admirably applied and illustrated by Milne-Edwards and Lewes, has taken its place among the indisputable truths of science. What Mr. Spencer has done is to show “ that this law of organic evolution is the law of all evolution. Whether it be

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\* Von Baer, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, Vol. I. p. 153.

in the development of the earth, in the development of life upon its surface, in the development of society, of government, of manufactures, of commerce, of language, literature, science, art, this same advance from the simple to the complex, through successive differentiations, holds uniformly. From the earliest traceable cosmical changes, down to the latest results of civilization, . . . . the transformation of the homogeneous into the heterogeneous is that in which evolution essentially consists.”\* The stupendous induction, from all classes of phenomena, by which Mr. Spencer proceeds to establish and illustrate his theorem, cannot be given here. A few examples, intended to facilitate its comprehension, must suffice, ere we pass on to that special application which more nearly concerns us.

Differentiation is the arising of an unlikeness between any number of the units composing an aggregate. Omitting, as irrelevant, the details of the nebular hypothesis, attention is called to the contrast between the originally homogeneous matter from which the heavenly bodies were formed, and the highly heterogeneous solar system, in which planets and satellites exhibit differences in bulk, weight, velocity, and temperature,—in their period of rotation, their distance apart, their orbital and axial inclination, their physical constitution, and their specific gravity. In the formation of a thin crust over the once molten but gradually cooling earth we observe a marked differentiation; and the resulting condensation of water previously existing in a vaporous state ends in a differentiation between land and sea. Upheavals follow, entailing differences of level, which in turn cause the downward flow of precipitated water in rivers; and these, carrying along masses of rubbish in their course, give rise to differences of stratified deposits. Step by step arise, over the earth’s surface, differences in climate, soil, and magnetic condition,—differences thermal, chemical, electric, and hygrometric,—until that surface changes its characteristics from mile to mile, presenting phenomena so infinitely varied, that the scientific labors of centuries have as yet but partially enumerated them. The

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\* Spencer’s First Principles, p. 148.

development already noticed of a germ into an adult animal is a series of conspicuous differentiations, among which may be mentioned the embryonic separation of a part of the alimentary canal into a bile-secreting gland, as well as the separation of the heart from the median bloodvessel, of which it originally formed an indistinguishable portion. The facts of political economy may be cited *en masse*, in illustration of this law. The earliest shape assumed by society was that of a collection of individuals with like offices to perform, and like abilities to exercise in their performance. Every warrior made his own bows, arrows, and slings, built the rude hut which was to shelter him from the inclemency of the weather, and roamed the forest or searched the stream in quest of food for the support of life. A differentiation, however, soon arises between the governors and the governed; and then between the religious and the civil rulers, who have hitherto been blended in some weird and hazy form, like Menes or Odin. With the advance from nomadism to agriculture comes the differentiation of laborers from proprietors, and afterwards of proprietors from capitalists. Coincident with the progress to higher and higher grades of civilization appear the various and diverging forms of labor, ever more multiplied and distinct. Agriculturists, manufacturers, merchants, bankers, inventors of processes and discoverers of laws, legislators, justices, soldiers, and policemen are now co-operating members of that complex social organism which in the course of ages has been evolved from a homogeneous multitude of barbarians. The phenomena of "division of labor" are so obviously instances of differentiation, that they were alluded to as such by Goethe half a century ago. From Mr. Spencer's work examples innumerable might be culled, did space permit, illustrating and confirming the law in the development of the varied products of civilization,—painting and sculpture, music and poetry, science and literature, customs and manners.

Equally in the rise of parts of speech, in the coining of words to express new ideas, in the divergent meanings acquired by words originally synonymous, in the perpetual outgrowth of provincial dialects, and in the branching off of languages from a common stock, may be seen a manifest differen-



tiation, involving a gradual change from simplicity to complexity. Whether an etymological analysis will ever allow of our reducing the primitive elements of language to predicative or to demonstrative roots alone, is, as we have seen, uncertain; but what has been already accomplished enables us to point to an early phase of speech, in which the distinction between the two orders of roots is not clear. In the Chinese, in which the only parts of speech are roots, and a predicative root may be used at will as a demonstrative root, as in the phrase *ỳ cáng* "employ stick," the homogeneity of structure is manifest. We have already adverted to the multifarious purposes which may be served by a single Chinese word. Without any change of form, the sound *ta* may mean *great*, *greatness*, and *to be great*. But this is nothing to what occurs in the Annamitic and the Cochinchinese, where the same syllable may be made to signify twenty-three entirely different things, according to the way in which it is accented. Thus, in Annamitic,

Ba      bà      bā      bá

means, when rightly pronounced, "Three ladies gave a box on the ear to the favorite of the prince."\* The homogeneity of this will probably not be disputed.

The first differentiation arises when, by the varying collocation of two or more roots, nouns and verbs are formed; and when a pronominal root is appended to a noun, converting it into an adjective, a second differentiation takes place. In like manner, by further differentiations, arise adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and articles; while the once uniform verb has become multiform through the successive appearance of moods and tenses, numbers, persons, and voices, until, as in Greek, if conjugated throughout, it yields about thirteen hundred forms. Originally all nouns were concrete. "There are dialects spoken at the present day which have no abstract nouns, and the more we go back in the history of languages, the smaller we find the number of these useful expressions. As far as language is concerned, an abstract word is nothing but an adjective raised into a substantive."† See here the con-

\* Max Müller, Introductory Lecture on the Science of Language, delivered at the Royal Institution, the 21st of February, 1863.

† Müller, Comparative Philology, p. 33.

spicuous differentiation, — first of nouns into substantives and adjectives, and then of the latter into adjectives proper and nouns abstract. Those verbs and adjectives which denote actions and qualities not sensuous, have arisen by differentiation from those which express sensuous qualities and actions. Witness the adjective “right” and the verb “reflect,” which we habitually use without thinking of “straightness” or of “bending back.” Yet contemporaneous with their derivative meaning is their primary signification still in use; as when we speak of “reflected light,” or of a “right line.” In the evolution of families of words from a common root, the process may be likewise traced. From the single root *spac* have arisen, in English alone, words so different as *bishop*, *spy*, *respectable*, *sceptic*, *spite*, *suspect*, *despise*, *conspicuous*, *speculate*, *auspicious*, *species*, and *spice*. From the root *ar* we have, in various languages, *aratrum*, *aroma*, *art*, *earth*, *arbeit*, *errand*, *ὑπὴρέτης*, and *oar*. More notable instances of differentiation could not be desired. Once more, in the evolution of families of languages from a common stock, we find still further illustrations of this process. The generation of the six Romance dialects from the Latin, and of the various Teutonic languages from the slightly divergent idioms of the Gothic, are examples which will occur to every one; while in the development of thirty or more Aryan languages from a common ancestor, we have a still more prominent fact of like implication. Add to these, that, in our own time, a slight differentiation is traceable between English as spoken in America and the same language as spoken in England.

Enough has been already said to show that the evolution of language is a change from homogeneity to heterogeneity, through continuous differentiations. But on carefully reconsidering the matter, we shall become convinced that this generalization does not express the whole truth. It does not include all the phenomena of evolution, to the exclusion of all other phenomena. “That there are changes from the less heterogeneous to the more heterogeneous, which do not come within what we call evolution, is proved in every case of local disease. A portion of the body in which there arises a cancer, or other morbid growth, unquestionably displays a new differ-

entiation.”\* Yet such a change, so far from constituting a further stage of evolution, is a step toward dissolution. An example from philology is not easily found, yet when we reflect that in many languages which have no literature, like the Iroquois, the Huron, and the Palenque, differentiation goes on so fast as completely to change the vocabulary of the language in less than twenty years, we are inclined to suspect that such rapid differentiation cannot be strictly termed growth. The suspicion is aroused, that the formula of evolution above given does not contain all that it should, but that an important element has been omitted; and such Mr. Spencer has shown to be the case.

“At the same time that all evolution is a change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, it is also a change from the indefinite to the definite. As well as an advance from simplicity to complexity, there is an advance from confusion to order, — from undetermined arrangement to determined arrangement. In the process of development, no matter what sphere it is displayed in, there is not only a gradual multiplication of unlike parts, but there is a gradual increase in the distinctness with which these parts are marked off from each other. And so is that increase of heterogeneity which characterizes evolution distinguished from that increase of heterogeneity which does not. . . . This advance from the indefinite to the definite is obviously not primary, but secondary, — is an incidental result attendant on the finishing of certain changes. . . . That is to say, the acquirement of definiteness is simply a concomitant of complete union of the elements constituting each component division. Thus, evolution is characterized, not only by a continuous multiplication of parts, but also by a growing oneness in each part. And while an advance in heterogeneity results from progressive differentiation, an advance in definiteness results from progressive integration.” — *First Principles*, pp. 177, 196.

Evolution is accordingly a change from indefinite homogeneity to definite heterogeneity; and this definition is strictly universal. The arising of an unlikeness within an aggregate between any number of its component units is differentiation; while integration is the separate grouping of those units which are similarly differentiated. A few examples will render this clear. When autumn leaves are blown from their branches

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\* Spencer, *First Principles*, p. 175.

by an equinoctial gale, the strong current of air fails to detach those which have remained green ; while the red and yellow leaves, whirled about by eddying gusts, are at length collected by themselves in ditches and around stone walls. On any unpaved road in March, upon which, under the influence of a uniform wind, the mud is beginning to dry, we may see incipient integration exemplified in the separate linear heaps which are formed respectively of fine dust, coarse sand, and pebbles. When the Rhone comes tumbling from its Alpine sources into the Lake of Geneva, its contained sediment, according to the size of its particles, is deposited in different strata along a slope of nearly two miles in length, the boulders being at the mouth of the river, while the fine mud lies at the end of the slope ; and a like phenomenon occurs when the sea tears off and carries to a great distance a part of the eastern coast of England. On letting a handful of powdered sugar fall to the ground in a slight breeze, the fragments will fall in lines more or less inclined, according to their weight ; the lumps falling perpendicularly, while the small particles are carried several yards off. The separating power of currents, whether of air or water, is recognized in the winnowing of chaff, and in the manufacture of emery ; and the Sheffield knife-grinder wears a magnetized mask, by which to separate the steel-dust from the waste of the stone. In each of these cases is exhibited that segregation of like units which follows the exposure of an aggregate to the action of a uniform force ; and this is what is meant by integration. In the formation of the solar system, the matter composing each planet and satellite was not only separated from the surrounding matter, but was concentrated into a distinct body of definite shape. Among telluric phenomena may be cited the advance from the earth of the primary period, covered with innumerable islands, to the earth as it now is, with ocean and continent clearly marked out and separately integrated ; the collection of detritus into strata, and of strata into systems ; the “ unification of similar elements ” which occurs in crystallization wherever the conditions allow of it ; and the integration of climates which has resulted from the growing difference between the sun’s heat and the heat of the earth. From the phenomena presented by living organisms, countless

instances of integration might be culled. Witness the progressive concentration of the segments of articulate animals, made manifest by contrasting the centipede with the crab, or the caterpillar with the butterfly ; and, in higher animals, the union of the anterior vertebræ to form the skull. In the rise of families, and their coalescence, first into tribes and ultimately into states, and in the partial union of these states in federations, as well as in the growing interdependence, political and commercial, of nations in themselves distinct, still further illustration is found.

Rude and fragmentary as our illustrations have necessarily been, they still have all the same implication ; and if they facilitate the apprehension of what is to follow, their object will have been attained. We are now to consider the process of integration as a part of the evolution of language.

Whoever has studied the excellent "Grammar of the Romance Languages," by Diez, will not fail to have been struck by the progressive concentration of syllabic sounds, with the consequent contraction of words, which has attended and in part constituted the change of colloquial Latin into the modern dialects of the South of Europe. The differentiation of the mother tongue into Italian, French, and the kindred languages, whereby it has become notably heterogeneous, is not more marked than the accompanying integration of vast numbers of words, evidenced by such changes as those of *pater*, *catena*, *blasphemare*, *captivus*, *sacramentum*, *separare*, *focus*, *prataria*, and *de illo*, into *père*, *chaine*, *blâmer*, *chétif*, *serment*, *sevrer*, *feu*, *prairie*, and *du*. It may be objected that *chétif*, though a more integrated form than *captivus*, is no better adapted to express an idea, and that therefore such integration as this can hardly be considered part of an evolution from an incomplete state to a state of completeness. To this it may be answered, that, inasmuch as each of the sounds composing any word must awaken a separate sensation before the perception of the entire word can be followed by the idea of the thing which it signifies ; and as these sensations, though rapidly successive, are still successive and not simultaneous, the fewer the sounds which go to make up any word, the sooner must the word be represented in consciousness. In short, the more

concentrated are the component elements of a word, the sooner will it be followed by its corresponding thought, the sooner will it be understood. And this difference, though wholly inappreciable in the case of any single word, is yet quite perceptible in a moderately long sentence, in which the frequent occurrence of compounds or of polysyllabic words usually somewhat retards our apprehension of the meaning. Accordingly, since language must be deemed perfect in so far as it tends to call up definite ideas, — or, technically speaking, since the perfection of language must be rated according to the degree in which words are integrated with their corresponding thoughts, — it follows that the integration of words, for the reason just mentioned, must be a part of the evolution of language from an incomplete state to a state of completeness. Unimportant as may seem the change from *captivus* to *chétif*, it is nevertheless one of a host of like changes, which form an essential feature of linguistic development. On turning our attention to languages of a very low order, the force of these considerations will become still more apparent, and we shall be convinced that a clumsy and lumbering language must necessitate clumsy and lumbering thought.

“In a Ricaree vocabulary extending to fifty names of common objects, which in English are nearly all expressed by single syllables, there is not one monosyllabic word; and in the nearly-allied vocabulary of the Pawnees, the names for these same common objects are monosyllabic in but two instances. Things so familiar to these hunting tribes as *dog* and *bow* are, in the Pawnee language, *ashakish* and *tee-ragish*; the *hand* and the *eyes* are respectively *ikskeeree* and *keereekoo*; for *day* the term is *shakoorooeshairét*, and for *devil* it is *tsaheekshka-kooraiwah*; while the numerals are composed of from two syllables up to five, and in Ricaree up to seven.” — *First Principles*, p. 204.

The *right hand*, in the Cherokee, is denoted by *tsikatesixquo-yeni*, and in the Mohawk by *gowweeintlataquoh*; while in the Okanagan, *woman* is euphoniously termed *tukulthlimeilooch*. Nor is this polysyllabism a peculiarity of the American tongues; for if we visit the coast of New Guinea, we shall hear the *eyebrows* called *matatangowarah*; and, in Western Tasmania, no shorter name can be found for the *eyelashes* than *matara-pulupulura*. But the most prodigious example of all is to be

seen in an old Mexican Paternoster, where "amen" is obliged to content itself with the substitute *chontacholacahuanla*, and where "Forgive us our sins" is neatly expressed by "Caquila-matzancaniuhquintacallitcan" !

"That the great length of these familiar words implies a low degree of development, and that in the formation of higher languages out of lower there is a progressive integration, which reduces the polysyllables to dissyllables and monosyllables, is an inference fully confirmed by the history of our own language." Mr. Spencer cites the consolidation of the Anglo-Saxon words *steorra*, *mona*, *sunu*, and *nama* into the English forms *star*, *moon*, *son*, and *name*. And in the shortening of the Anglo-Saxon plural in *as* to our plural in *s*, as well as in the displacement of the terminal *an* in infinitives by the single letter *e*, he finds still further confirmation. The Elizabethan *tellen* has lapsed into *tell*; *burnèd*, except in the Church service, has become *burnt*; and, similarly, the dissyllable *bre-ad* has become, except in some rustic localities, the monosyllable *bread*. To which it may be added, that the *naow* and *dew* and *waal*, which are frequently heard from uncultivated persons are expressions far less integrated than their civilized equivalents. A remarkable example of integration is found in the coalescence of "God be with you" into "Good by": and the French *même*, the Danish *erzbisp*, and the Italian *darottelo*, when compared with their ancestral forms, *semet-ipsissimus*, *archiepiscopus*, and *dare-habeo-tibi-illud*, exhibit the process in its extreme phase.

The part played by integration in the evolution of language has been noticed by Müller, who, however, utterly failing to perceive its true import, has named it "phonetic decay," and continually speaks of it as "disease," "corruption," and "taint." But we are now about to show that it is upon the comparative degrees of integration exhibited by different languages that his admirable classification is entirely and exclusively founded. And when we find that it is by means of this "phonetic decay" that all grammatical forms have arisen, enabling language to delineate the faintest shades of thought, we can no longer have any hesitation in admitting integra-

tion to be an indispensable part of the process of linguistic growth.

The earliest, or Radical stage of language, represented by the old Chinese and its cognate dialects, is distinguished by the almost entire absence of integration. Every word is simply a monosyllabic root, and every root maintains its independence. Root and termination are as distinct as the segments of the terebella; and, like the head and tail portions of that many-jointed animal, each can be used without the other. This absence of inflection prevents any intimate union of the different parts of a sentence, such as becomes possible when either inflections or relational words are introduced; and the expression of ideas is consequently vague and ill-defined in the extreme. The lack of coherence between the elements of words entails a corresponding lack of coherence between the elements of a proposition. And so incoherent and indefinite is the character of conversation in the Celestial Empire, that a Chinaman, in order to signify that he is journeying from Peking to Canton, must resort to the following sentence, to our ears hardly intelligible: "Going-blockhead \* origin Peking end Canton."

Yet even the Chinese, which is the monosyllabic and uninflected language *par excellence*, exhibits, in some of its dialects, signs of incipient integration. As Dr. Latham remarks, "The separate words most in use to express relations may become adjuncts or annexes." This is seen in the phrase *uo-li* = *domi*, at home, where *li*, originally meaning *interior*, is losing its independent signification. When this coalescence has taken place to such an extent that an entire set of words have lapsed into mere terminations, used only in combination with other words which stand to them in the relation of roots, language has passed into the second, or Terminational stage. On turning back to our remarks upon Müller's system of classification, it will be seen at once that it is their more complete integration, shown in the partial merging of the termination in the root, which distinguishes the Turanian

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\* So transcendent are the politeness and humble self-abnegation of the Chinese, that, to indicate the first person, they are in the habit of using such words as *tshin*, subject; *iu*, blockhead; or *tsie*, thief. See Müller's Introductory Lecture.



languages from the Chinese and its allies. And when we come to the Semitic and Aryan families — whose distinctive mark is, that in them both root and termination have lost their individuality, and are significant only when combined — our statement, that a high degree of integration is attended with a high degree of evolution, is so verified as to exclude the possibility of denial. An investigation of the true principles of classification, discovered by Müller, shows us that the phenomena classed by him under the head of “phonetic decay” are in no way symptoms of any disease or taint, but are, on the contrary, indispensable phases in the evolution of language. Were it not so, the English — the most highly integrated of all languages — would have to be rated lower than the Chinese; and the fact that it expresses so much more perfectly than the latter the thoughts and feelings attendant upon an advanced stage of civilization, could in no wise be accounted for.

A third kind of integration must be briefly defined. We have seen that the development of language, and its gradual perfection as a means of expressing thought, must be dependent upon and accompanied by an increasing logical coherence of the elements of propositions; and the progressive integration, first of constituent sounds, and secondly of component roots, has been pointed out as tending to this result. But the logical coherence of sentences is furthered by still another process. Accompanying the integration of sounds and words, there is an integration of clauses.

“After the development of those grammatical forms which make definite statements possible, we do not at first find them used to express anything beyond statements of a simple kind. A single subject with a single predicate, accompanied by but few qualifying terms, is usually all. If we compare, for instance, the Hebrew Scriptures with writings of modern times, a marked difference of aggregation among the groups of words is visible. In the number of subordinate propositions which accompany the principal one, in the various complements to subjects and predicates, and in the numerous qualifying clauses, — all of them united into one complex whole, — many sentences in modern composition exhibit a degree of integration not to be found in ancient ones.” — *First Principles*, p. 207.

The rational interpretation of the phenomena of language

would be incomplete without some allusion to the causes of differentiation and integration. In bringing the growth of speech under the formula of evolution in general, a class of less familiar facts is ranged along with classes of facts that are more familiar, and is, to that extent, explained. But to perfect the explanation, it will be desirable to hint at the principles which necessitate evolution, and, after showing that a certain set of changes invariably take place, to show likewise why, in the nature of things, they must take place. This latter point has been treated by Mr. Spencer with a learning and a power no less conspicuous than are displayed in his treatment of the former ; and our fast-diminishing space, as well as the necessity of viewing the subject in yet other phases, will oblige us here to confine ourselves to the mere reproduction of his illustrations.

It results from the fundamental principles of all science, " that, in the actions and reactions of force and matter, an unlikeness in either of the factors necessitates an unlikeness in the effects." When the different portions of any homogeneous aggregate are exposed to the action of unlike forces, or to unequal intensities of the same force, they are of necessity differently affected thereby. Between the unequally exposed parts there arise structural differences, entailing differences of property and function. That which before was homogeneous has become heterogeneous through the appearance of certain unlikenesses ; and, under the name of differentiation, the rise of such unlikenesses has already been described. All that remains is to show that such unlikenesses cannot but arise, — that differentiation must needs take place. It must take place, because it is inconceivable that *all* the parts of any aggregate should be similarly conditioned with respect to any incident force. Whether it be the mechanical vibrations caused by a blow, the lengthened undulations constituting heat, or the shorter undulations constituting light, that are propagated through any body, it equally follows that the respective vibrations will be communicated in different degrees to those particles which are situated on the nearer and on the farther side of the body, and to those particles which are laterally near to or remote from the line taken by the incident force. The dif-

ferent particles will be variously moved, heated, or chemically affected, and a whole series of differentiations will thus have arisen. In the impossibility of balancing an accurately made pair of scales, in the equal impossibility of keeping a tank of water free from currents, in the rusting of iron, in the uneven cooling of a heated metal, and in the presence of onion-shaped bodies in quarries of trap-rock, this principle is manifest. We need go no further than the kitchen, to perceive that the crust formed on a loaf of bread, or a joint of roast meat, is due to the necessarily unequal exposure of outside and inside to the incident force coming in the shape of heat from the walls of the oven. Universally, the tendency of things, amid the conflict of unlike forces, is toward heterogeneity; and this tendency is expressed in the formula, that "the state of homogeneity is a state of unstable equilibrium." The more heterogeneous an aggregate becomes, the more rapidly must differentiation go on, because each of its component units may be considered as a whole, bearing relations to the other units similar to those which the aggregate bears to other aggregates; and thus the differentiation of the whole must be followed by differentiation in each of the parts.

Coincident with the differentiation of aggregates, there is a differentiation of the incident forces. When a body is broken up by collision, its original momentum is severed into a group of momenta, which differ both in amount and direction. The ray of solar light which falls upon the foliage of a tree and upon the wall of the brick building behind it, is separated by reflection into red and green rays, in which the undulations differ, both in height and in breadth. Each portion of the differentiated force must in its turn enter as a factor into new differentiations. There must thus be a multiplication of effects, — a multiplication increasing with the heterogeneity; because the forces which all bodies mutually exert upon one another must become ever more varied and complex in their amounts, intensities, kinds, and directions.

From these examples, which, meagre as they are, will suffice to illustrate what is meant by the instability of the homogeneous and the multiplication of effects, it will be seen that differentiation is a necessary consequence of the fundamental

properties of matter and force. And that of these fundamental properties integration is also the necessary consequence, will become evident when we reflect that, "in the actions and reactions of force and matter, in the absence of unlikeness in either of the factors the effects must be alike." Differently affected units must be differentiated, and similarly affected groups of units must be integrated. Throughout the known universe, the change from indefinite homogeneity to definite heterogeneity must, therefore, ever go on, and the ratio of its progress must be a geometrical ratio. Without transgressing all our experiences of force and matter, no other result is conceivable.

In the phenomena of language, the instability of the homogeneous is best seen in the acquirement of unlike meanings by words originally synonymous. This process, which Coleridge terms "desynonymization," is so admirably described by Mr. Spencer, that we cannot do better than cite the whole passage.

"In the old divines, *miscreant* is used in its etymological sense of *unbeliever* ; but in modern speech it has entirely lost this sense. Similarly with *evil-doer* and *malefactor* ; exactly synonymous as these are by derivation, they are no longer synonymous by usage ; by a *malefactor* we now understand a convicted criminal, which is far from being the acceptation of *evil-doer*. The verb *produce* bears in Euclid its primary meaning, — to *prolong* or *draw out* ; but the now largely developed meanings of *produce* have little in common with the meanings of *prolong* or *draw out*. In the Church of England liturgy, an odd effect results from the occurrence of *prevent* in its original sense, *to come before*, instead of its modern specialized sense, *to come before with the effect of arresting*. But the most conclusive cases are those in which the contrasted words consist of the same parts differently combined ; as in *go under* and *undergo*. We *go under* a tree, and we *undergo* a pain. But though, if analytically considered, the meanings of these expressions would be the same were the words transposed, habit has so far modified their meanings that we could not without absurdity speak of *undergoing* a tree and *going under* a pain. Countless such instances might be brought to show that between two words which are originally of like force an equilibrium cannot be maintained. Unless they are daily used in exactly equal degrees, in exactly similar relations (against which there are infinite probabilities), there necessarily arises a habit of associating one rather than the other with particular acts or objects.

Such a habit, once commenced, becomes confirmed ; and gradually their homogeneity of meaning disappears. In each individual we may see the tendency which inevitably leads to this result. A certain vocabulary and a certain set of phrases distinguish the speech of each person ; each person habitually uses certain words in places where other words are habitually used by other persons ; and there is a continual recurrence of favorite expressions. This inability to maintain a balance in the use of verbal symbols, which characterizes every man, characterizes, by consequence, aggregates of men ; and the desynonymization of words is the ultimate effect." — *First Principles*, pp. 378, 379.

In our attempt to show that the evolution of language has been a change from indefinite homogeneity to definite heterogeneity, no explicit allusion has been made to the opposing theories in regard to the common origin of languages. To the acceptance of the doctrine here defended, it is not of vital importance that this much disputed question should be answered either affirmatively or negatively. Whether or not it be decided that all the varieties of human speech have descended from a single ancestral language, it still remains true, that, as whole families like the Aryan and Semitic have demonstrably arisen from a common source, the growth of language has been marked by continuous differentiation. Whether we accept the monogenetic doctrine of Müller, or the polygenetic doctrine of Renan, we must admit that the difference between the higher and the lower forms of speech is the difference between their comparative degrees of integration. Even though language may never have been absolutely homogeneous, yet, since it can be shown that its progress has been from relative homogeneity to relative heterogeneity, our position is in no wise altered, nor is the opinion here maintained in the least invalidated. Yet, on account of the interest attaching to the inquiry, it is well to notice some of the arguments of those who deny the possibility of a common origin for all languages, as well as some of their subsidiary statements, which are at variance with any theory of evolution whatever.

After pronouncing the less highly integrated Greek and Sanskrit "superior" to the more highly integrated modern languages, on account of their greater wealth of inflections, M. Renan proceeds to the startling assertion that the Sanskrit

and the Greek are types — perhaps even degraded types — of the primitive Aryan speech. The opinion of Renan is that of a large but rapidly decreasing number of philologists, among whom we are sorry to mention the acute and learned Donaldson.\* These eminent scholars apparently perceive no incongruity in the supposition, that the language of the naked, hand-to-mouth-living savages who first of men peopled the earth was superior in complexity and richness to that language which has served as the medium of thought for a Mill, a Newton, and a Herschel, — in which have been conceived and written the magic prose of De Quincey and the divine poetry of Tennyson. The incongruity is, however, one which cannot here be passed over. When we are explicitly told that the savage in praying to his fetish makes use of a rich and perfect idiom, while the philosopher in working out his profound generalizations makes use of an idiom that is imperfect and meagre, — when we are implicitly told that there is no such thing as an evolution of language, but only a perpetual dissolution, — we shall be slow to believe such an astounding statement, except on the strongest and most abundant evidence. But such evidence is never brought forward. Many content themselves with vaguely asserting that complex languages, like the Sanskrit, could never have existed in any simpler state; and this is the chief argument adduced by Renan. This, however, is simply begging the question; for to say that a complex language must be primitive *because* it could never have existed in a simpler state, is to say that a complex language must be primitive because it must be primitive, — an argument in which, unfortunately, the assumed premise is identical with the disputed conclusion. Against this somewhat reckless reasoning may be urged a consideration which will tend to prove that a primitive language *cannot* be like the Latin or the Sanskrit, — cannot be other than simple. There can be no words without some knowledge of the objects which they represent, and there can be no grammar without some perception of the relations in which things stand to one another. Now, if any one will venture to say that a race of primeval savages, with their very limited knowledge of surrounding objects, and with their

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\* New Cratylus, pp. 87, 389.

rudimentary and undeveloped perception of the relations borne by those objects to one another and to themselves, did nevertheless make use of a language more copious in words and more intricate in inflection than the idioms of the civilized Greeks and Hindoos, we shall be at a loss whether to suspect his candor or his sanity. But M. Renan contends that, throughout the period which we know historically, all languages have been becoming, not more complex, but more simple, and that there is no reason for supposing that the process of simplification has not gone on from the beginning. He appears unaware that the etymological simplicity entailed by long-continued integration is far more than balanced by the syntactic complexity arising from long-continued differentiation. Though the English, by the absence of inflections, may be said to be simpler than the Sanskrit, yet by the presence of countless relational words it must be pronounced far more complex than the latter language. Its greater heterogeneity cannot for an instant be denied.

There is one consideration which completely destroys M. Renan's oft-repeated assertion that the inflectional languages never could have existed in a state analogous to the Chinese. The analysis of the ultimate elements of words in the Aryan languages, so admirably achieved by Humboldt, Bopp, and their compeers, has shown that all terminations and other inflectional modifications had once their proper meaning, which is now obscured and lost by their fusion with the root. The particulars of this analysis have already been narrated. Now where, in a survey of the Aryan languages, does this independent meaning appear? If we go back to the earliest extant fragments of the Lithuanian, Zend, and Sanskrit, we find the termination still blended with the root, its meaning still chopped and defaced. Will M. Renan put us off by saying that these terminations never really had a separate meaning, but *arose with their original significations already obscured*? To do this would be to put himself into a position like that taken by the old opposers of geology, who accounted for the existence of fossils by assuming them to be the *relics* of animals created in an already defunct state. The discovery of the once independent meaning of terminations compels us to believe that

language once existed in a state in which that independence was fully recognized, and in which that meaning was fully felt; and such a state could be no other than that in which we still find the Chinese.

Thus vanishes the difficulty of proving a common origin for languages. If we have reason to believe that the common parent of the Saxon, the Latin, and the Sanskrit must, at some remote period, have passed through the radical and terminational stages before reaching its inflectional state, then all the impassable barriers set up between different families of speech are thrown down. The three great divisions of languages must come to be looked upon as three successive epochs of linguistic development; and we shall be vindicated in having all along implicitly treated them as such. One remaining objection must, however, be noticed. Probable as it doubtless is that a language should pass from one stage into another, it may still be said that we have no inductive evidence that such has been the case. It is said that no intermediate links can be found. But this is far from being universally true. "In Chinese, and particularly in Chinese dialects, we find rudimentary traces of agglutination." As before remarked, the words oftenest used as affixes are apt gradually to lose their proper meaning. "A modern Chinese is no more aware that *li* (a locative affix) meant originally *interior*, than the Turanian is of the origin of his case-terminations." The integration just becoming perceptible in the Chinese has been observed by Stanislas Julien, who traces it in numerous compounds. Though in the literary language of the Mandarins little advance has been made,\* in the provincial dialects integration is beginning to show itself. "In the Shanghai dialect, *wo* is to speak, as a verb; *woda*, a word. Of *woda*, a genitive is formed, *wodaka*; a dative, *pela-woda*; an accusative, *tang-woda*." † "In agglutinative languages, again, we meet with rudimentary traces of inflection. Thus, in Tamil, the root *tāngu*, to sleep, has not retained its full integrity in the derivative *tūkkam*, sleep." In certain Kalmuck dialects, there is a partial blending of termination and root.‡ And "such

\* Bazin, Grammaire Mandarine, p. xvii.

† Müller's Lectures, p. 330; Bazin, Principes Généraux du Chinois Vulgaire.

‡ Rémusat, Recherches sur les Langues Tartares, Tom. I. p. 180.



has been the advance which Turkish has made toward inflectional forms, that Professor Ewald claims for it the title of a synthetic language, a title which he gives to the Aryan and Semitic dialects after they have left the agglutinative stage.”\* We need, therefore, be no longer puzzled by the absence of transitional phases, when we find that alleged absence to be a figment. Nothing remains to deter us from accepting the doctrine of the common origin of languages. Equally in the presence of intermediate forms, in the original significance of terminations, and in the psychological impossibility of the existence of an Aryan language in a primitive state of society, we see cogent reasons for believing in such a common origin, while this belief is strengthened when we reflect that on any other supposition it would be impossible to account for the origin of the more complex varieties of speech. To an ancient Greek it might have been easy to believe that language sprang full grown, equipped and armed, from the mind of man, like Pallas from the brain of Zeus; but to those familiar with modern ideas of development, any such notion is utterly inconceivable.

From the conclusion that all languages have had a common origin, the inference need not be drawn that there was ever a time when the thoughts of men were exchanged through the medium of a single vocabulary. Not the original unity, but the original homogeneity of language, is here maintained. If, in an analysis of language, there be one conclusion more deeply than any other impressed upon us, it is the conclusion that for all primitive languages there can be but one kind of grammatical structure,—that structure of which the Anamitic and the ancient Chinese afford the best examples. That all the elements of speech, whether predicative roots or roots demonstrative, had once their several independent meanings, is a fact which cannot be gainsaid without rejecting nearly all that inductive philology has hitherto accomplished. But a language in which predicative and demonstrative roots have each their separate meanings is a language in which there is little or no integration;—witness the Chinese. It is a language in which there is little or no differentiation of parts

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\* Müller, p. 337.

of speech ;— witness also the Chinese. It is a language in which existing words may readily die out and new words may readily come into use, because no permanent integration has as yet linked large classes of words indissolubly together ;— witness the Annamitic, and those lower Turanian dialects, like the Tahitian and Rarotongan, whose integration is only incipient. It is, in short, a language that is both indefinite and homogeneous. But while the primitive homogeneity of language precludes us from accepting any doctrine of polygenesis, its primitive indefiniteness is at the same time inconsistent with the theory of a unity of origin as commonly understood. To suppose that there was ever a single definite language, from the modifications of which all others have since sprung, is much like supposing the solar system to have arisen from the modifications of some primitive heavenly body. Metaphorically speaking, we may suppose language to have had a sort of nebular origin. Reasoning as we must, in the absence of inductively ascertained data, we can only take the lowest form of language known to us, and infer therefrom, as the original speech, a form still more homogeneous and indefinite than that. Such a kind of speech might less properly be termed a language, than a mass of ill-defined though articulate sounds, onomatopoetic to a certain extent, and to a certain extent interjectional, but to a still greater extent the accidental accompaniments of vague endeavors to communicate thought by gesticulation. Though the existence of any such embryonic language is purely hypothetical, it is nevertheless countenanced by whatever scanty evidence can be gleaned from the study of the lowest forms of speech which are known to us. Alike in the negro describing his adventures and in a gang of quarrelsome Chinamen may be seen that proneness to gesticulate which characterizes the lower races ; and in proportion as the speech is inadequate, is gesticulation prevalent. Nor is there any reason to doubt that the casual occurrence of a semi-articulate sound simultaneously with the gesture called forth by the sight of an external object, would give rise to a mental association between object, gesture, and sound. Thousands of synonymous sounds might thus become successively associated with the same object ; and the nascent language

thus formed would bear the same relation to the Chinese that the Turanian dialects bear to the Sanskrit. As soon as, by a process of "natural selection," certain of the roots thus miscellaneously arising had become permanently associated with certain external objects, this nascent speech would have passed into the radical stage, and language would have arisen.

But what is it that occasions a "natural selection" among roots? Why is it that some roots are eliminated, while others are bound up with their corresponding ideas? And why did not language remain an incoherent, homogeneous mass of indefinite sounds? In answering these questions, we shall be greatly assisted by a glance at the early formation of society. On remembering that society first became possible through the organization of the family,\* we shall be inclined to suspect that it was also the organization of the family which rendered possible the evolution of language. As long as men were not integrated into families, the spontaneous use of a new sound would be as easy as the recollection of an old one; and in such a state of things there could be none other than a merely nascent language. But consequent upon the earliest formation of families would be the persistence in consciousness of certain sounds used by the members of the family in common. The persistence of these sounds in consciousness, checking the tendency to the continual formation of new sounds, would render possible that permanent association of the sign with the object, which is an essential condition of language.

Passing from this hypothetical speculation, which may be taken for what it is worth, we find that a medium cohesion, among the elements of society is the condition most favorable to lingual no less than to social progress. Among the nomadic tribes inhabiting Africa, Eastern Asia, and America, the lack of social stability entails a corresponding lack of stability in language. In most Turanian tribes there is so little social cohesion that permanent lingual integration is impossible. Coincident with the greater social cohesion observable among

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\* "Communities began to exist wherever a family held together instead of separating at the death of its patriarchal chieftain. In most of the Greek states and in Rome there long remained the vestiges of an ascending series of groups, out of which the state was at first constituted." — Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 128.

Magyars, Turks, and Finns, we find in the language a greater stability, and an approximation to the Aryan type. But in China, where the social fixity is so great that there has been little progress for thousands of years, there is a corresponding retardation of lingual development. In highly civilized nations, where the presence of conservatism implies a certain amount of fixity, dialectic regeneration goes on most rapidly in the provinces, where the fixity is least ; and in the Chinese, such integration as there is takes place, not in the language of the Mandarins, but in the vulgar dialects.

In interpreting the phenomena of language in accordance with the law of evolution, a large class of unexplained facts is ranged along with other facts that have been explained. But, though our complex symbols of thought are thus made more simple, they are symbols none the less. Had we the seventy senses of the inhabitant of Saturn in Voltaire's inimitable satire, our knowledge gained thereby would be no less purely relative than it now is. "Never, in our highest generalizations, can we rise above the finite; our knowledge, whether of mind or matter, can be nothing more than the knowledge of the relative manifestations of an Existence, which in itself it is our highest wisdom to recognize as beyond the reach of philosophy, — in the language of St. Austin, *Cogno-scendo ignorari, et ignorando cognosci.*"

Knowing as we do the absolute only in its phenomenal manifestations, we cannot fail to derive much speculative advantage from the continual detection in those manifestations of new uniformities. Whenever apparently disconnected phenomena are brought into the formula of a common law, their community of causation is likewise disclosed. Each unclassified group of phenomena, for all our limited knowledge could tell us, might be the manifestation of some order-hating Ahriman. But when generalization has gone on till the most remote phenomena are seen to be allied, when in all parts of the universe the order of evolution is ascertained to be the same, then absolute community of causation will have been established, Ahriman will be vanquished by Ormuzd, and science and religion will be in complete accord.

ART. VIII.—*The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man, with remarks on Theories of the Origin of Species by Variation.* By SIR CHARLES LYELL, F. R. S., Author of “Principles of Geology,” “Elements of Geology,” etc., etc. Philadelphia: George W. Childs. 1863. 8vo. pp. 518.

THE writings of Sir Charles Lyell have always been favorably received upon this side of the Atlantic. Scarcely any geological treatise is better known than his elementary works on Geology. Besides the clearness with which principles are elucidated and phenomena described, his great power of generalization and his capacity of readily discriminating between worthless and valuable points in scientific argument have made his works entertaining and permanently useful. The same qualities can be discerned in his latest book, in which one particular topic of historico-geological research is treated of with great candor, comprehensiveness, and thoroughness, almost every branch of natural science being made to contribute its quota of aid to sustain some portion of the argument.

Lyell has always been foremost in the investigation of the geology of the later formations, and the terms in common use among scientific men to designate them are of his invention. Thirty years ago he proposed to call the oldest of the Tertiary series the *Eocene*, because in it is a very meagre proportion of the remains of molluscous animals identical with those now living,—the *dawn* of the existence of the *recent* systems of life; next came the *Miocene*, the *less recent*, or those strata containing a minor proportion of existing molluscous forms; and, thirdly, these were the strata containing a still greater proportion of living species, the *Pliocene*, the *more recent*. These three groups embrace all the Tertiary rocks. He now proposes to divide the Alluvium or Quaternary into two periods;—the *Post Pliocene*, or those strata containing the forms of life which flourished during the earlier portion of Quaternary time; and the *Recent*, or those strata in which the species found fossil are entirely identical with living animals. In the Eocene the percentage of living mollusks is from 2 to 3; in

the Miocene, from 15 to 20 ; in the Pliocene, from 40 to 70 ; and in the Post Pliocene, from 90 to 95. The grand distinction between the *Post Pliocene* and the *Recent* formations consists in the presence of extinct species in the former, while both contain the remains of man. The glacial or ice period of all high northern and southern latitudes is referred to the early part of the Post Pliocene.

Lyell's classification of the Tertiary rocks has been generally adopted both by English and American geologists ; whether the proposed nomenclature of the Alluvial period will be as extensively accepted remains to be seen. A more natural division, at least in high latitudes, is the common one of the Glacial or Drift period and the Alluvium proper ; or of unmodified and modified Drift. The gigantic icebergs and glaciers which have rounded our mountains and ploughed out our lake-basins are not conceived of under the mild epithet of Post Pliocene ; whereas such a prominent feature in American and European history should, if possible, be alluded to in the name. Lyell's division is very unequal, too, so far as decades and centuries are concerned. A few thousand years express the duration of the Recent period, while for a just conception of the Post Pliocene the place of the decade must be supplied by the millenium. The term Recent would be more appropriate as a subdivision of the later Alluvial period, such as that which divides modified Drift or Alluvium proper into three parts ; namely, the Beach period, when the American continent was largely submerged, and the waves formed beaches upon the higher hills and mountains ; the Terrace or Champlain period, when the greater part of the terraces upon our rivers were in the process of formation, and the waters of the coast were abundantly tenanted by mollusks, whose remains are now found at an elevation of five hundred feet above tide-water along the present sea margin and such inland waters as Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence and Hudson Rivers ; and, thirdly, the Historic period, embracing the whole time of man's existence upon the earth. The term Recent, as now used, is a subdivision of the term Historic in the more elaborate classification.

Many persons are unnecessarily startled by the announcement of the discovery of fossil men. They have insensibly

misconceived the meaning of the term fossil. Having heard of fossil saurians of extinct types, of coal-plants, of sauroid fishes and trilobites, they have fancied that whatever has been fossilized must have existed hundreds of thousands of years ago. The march of time, however, is constantly burying in the earth by purely natural causes the calcareous shells of mollusks, the bones of mammals, and the works of man. Employing the strict meaning of the word, we may say that the bones of the domesticated animals swept away by a freshet in 1850, and covered up by detritus at the mouth of the Potomac, are genuine fossils when dug up in 1860 during a summer's drouth. So, too, the mould of a shell, or the impression of a feather or a foot in clay, is a fossil, and is always recognized as such when the soft mud has become hardened into shales and sandstones. In a New England cabinet the visitor may see the print of a human foot upon clay, unwittingly left upon the soft mud in 1852 in the same layer with the prints of gallinaceous birds. Yet it is a fossil just as much as the numerous ichnites of birds and reptiles of the Mesozoic age by its side. So the numerous stone-hatchets and arrow-heads of Indian manufacture ploughed out of the soil every spring by our farmers may be considered as fossils, — scanty remains of a tribe of men now extinct over the greater portion of the Eastern States. The buried cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, the human skeletons from the Guadaloupe limestone in the London and Paris collections, and the silver coins in the ferruginous conglomerate from Tutbury in England, are fossils, as much as the encrinal heads and trilobitic shields of the Silurian system. The definition of a fossil, therefore, is the body, or any known part or trace, of an animal or plant buried by natural causes in the earth, whether in the Silurian age or in the year 1860.

While one class of writers have been startled by the thought of the possibility of the existence of fossil men, another class have seized upon every human relic found in an ambiguous position, as proof that man has lived upon the earth for many thousand years. This conclusion is jumped at with great eagerness; but of the many examples adduced anterior to the present discussion, not one has been proved, when thoroughly investigated, to antedate the Biblical Adam. Hence, upon one

taking up the discussion anew, like Lyell, there rests an *onus probandi*, although it be clearly shown that man's remains are associated with those of extinct quadrupeds. The numerous details given respecting the modes of occurrence of human remains cannot fail to present us with corrected views of the connection in time between man and different races of animals, as well as to display the highly interesting relations of geology to archæology. To use a zoölogical phrase, they will supply the "connecting link" between these two sciences.

+ Without specifying any examples of human fossils already pronounced upon, we will proceed to notice those referred by Lyell to the "Recent period," whose comparatively recent origin is admitted. Very interesting examples are found in Denmark, both in the peat-bogs and the shell-mounds or "Kjökkenmödding." The Danish antiquaries have been at work upon these relics for many years, and have inferred the existence of several periods from the different sorts of implements found at various levels. They trace evidence of the existence of three different periods previous to the time of authentic history. First, *a stone period*, in which the inhabitants were brachycephalous, or with short heads and small bodies, like the modern Laplanders, and used implements manufactured chiefly from stone, never from metals. During this period the Scotch fir (*Pinus sylvestris*) predominated in the forests. Second, *a bronze period*, in which the inhabitants were larger than in the stone age, and used many implements of bronze (an alloy of copper and tin) in addition to those made of stone. The forests in this period were chiefly composed of the oak (*Quercus robur*). Third, *an iron period*, in which implements manufactured from iron superseded those of stone and bronze, and the forests were largely occupied by the beech-tree (*Fagus sylvatica*). This period is synchronous with the early traditional and written history of Denmark. We also live in the iron age, when this indispensable metal is applied to thousands of important uses by the agriculturist and mechanic.

f The peat deposits of Denmark have been accumulated in the hollows of the older Alluvium, and vary in thickness from ten to thirty feet. The lowest stratum, of two or three feet in thickness, is entirely composed of the sphagnum peat, above which



are layers made up of marsh-plants, shrubs, and trees of various kinds in addition. The Scotch fir is not now known to exist in Denmark, but the oak still flourishes, though scarce, while the beech is very common. These different trees are found at successively lower levels in the peat. The shell mounds are refuse heaps, where the shells of the oyster, cockle, and other edible mollusks are thrown, together with the bones of mammals, birds, and fishes, which had served for food, and various other species of rubbish. Similar heaps are scattered along our own Atlantic coast from Prince Edward's Island to Georgia. In both continents these heaps indicate that the oyster formerly flourished in abundance where it is now extremely scarce; as in the brackish waters of the Baltic Sea, and on the coast of Maine. This fact, however, does not necessitate a very ancient date for the accumulation of the rubbish-heaps, since in Maine we can prove that the oyster became thus nearly extinct within the time of the white population.

In the Denmark heaps are found the remains of such living mammals as the dog, deer, and seal. The bones of the wild bull (*Bos urus*, Linn.), living in the time of Julius Cæsar, occur in immense numbers, as do those of the more recently extinct auk (*Alca impennis*). But no remains have yet been found in them of the woolly rhinoceros, mammoth, or mastodon. The implements preserved are altogether of stone, and hence belong to the stone age. The argument that these remains are more recent than those of the stone age elsewhere, as in the valley of the Somme, is purely a negative one. The Post Pliocene animals may not have been so common in one place as another. The Danes have endeavored to estimate by the thickness of the peat-beds, and the succession of the fir, oak, and beech in the forests, the number of years since the beginning of the stone period. The beech flourished in Denmark at the time of the Roman ascendancy, and does now, making a period of eighteen centuries. Estimating the duration of each variety of forest at two thousand years, they have calculated the total length of these periods to be six thousand years. The shell mounds do not afford trustworthy data for calculation.

We cannot avoid allusion to facts respecting the growth of peat and of forest-trees, which do not seem to have entered

sufficiently into the basis of the Danish calculations. The growth of peat is extremely variable, even in contiguous swamps. It accumulates much more rapidly in the primitive forest, than after clearings have been effected; chiefly, perhaps, because in a wooded country rain is more common, as any one who has travelled in a wild northern region cannot have failed to notice. When aided by obstructions, such as a windfall or a beaver-dam, its growth progresses rapidly; but when drainage has been established, and the trees removed, it forms very slowly. The basis of the calculation is founded upon the rate of growth when much of the country has been cleared, and must manifestly be much too small to indicate the amount of peat deposited in the bronze and stone ages.

In relation to the rapidity of the succession of trees in forests, we can judge better in America than in Europe, because the primitive forest still flourishes with us in many localities, and we can also examine several centuries of the subsequent growth. The original Danish forest of Scotch fir may have been destroyed by fire in a single season, as is often the case in North America. The great blackened trunks would have remained as monuments of the calamity for half a century, when they would have been replaced essentially by the "second growth," which, with us, consists of birch, poplar, and similar trees. In two or three centuries, the new forest would have become thoroughly established, but for the most part composed of different trees from our second growth. In Denmark, the second forest seems to have been of oak, which must have flourished for a long period, and, if not destroyed by human agency, could be replaced only by another variety of tree, better adapted to the soil and climate. The draft of the substances from the soil fitted for the sustenance of one particular kind of tree would, in the course of centuries, leave some other inorganic element predominant, better suited for the growth of some other tree. In Denmark, oaks were apparently succeeded by beeches, both of which extend themselves very slowly. But it does not agree with our observations to expect that the whole forest would have been made up exclusively of either firs, oaks, or beeches. Our primitive forests commonly contain a "mixed growth": it is generally very limited valleys or hill-tops that are covered

by only one kind of tree. Pine, spruce, juniper, and maple are intermixed in equal proportions in some regions, while oak, hickory, and chestnut predominate elsewhere. Observation would therefore indicate the probability of a mixed growth in the stone and the bronze, as well as in the iron age. For this reason, we must leave a margin in our calculations of time from the succession of forests; certain districts having the oaks predominating longer than others, may have been those taken for the calculation. Estimating from these new stand-points, we may say that the minimum time required to produce the changes observed in the Danish forests may be two thousand years, and the maximum that assumed by the antiquaries as the mean. The medium between the natural extremes will therefore reduce the assumed sum by one or two thousand years.

Another interesting class of remains described by Lyell are the ancient Swiss Lake Dwellings, built upon piles. About ten years ago, during a very dry season, the citizens of Meilen, on the Lake of Zurich, resolved to add to their landed possessions by dredging mud from one portion of the bottom of the lake, and accumulating the alluvium so abundantly in the shallower regions that a meadow should be formed. During these dredging operations, they found many piles driven deeply into the mud, together with numerous articles of domestic use, such as hammers, axes, celts, fragments of pottery, charred wood, and bones. Subsequent researches by archæologists in Western and Central Switzerland, where these lake dwellings were chiefly situated, brought to light bronze implements, arrow-heads, fishing-gear, canoes, — not of birch-bark, but hollowed out of logs, — ornaments, amber, remains of wheat, barley, apples, pears, plums, raspberries, hazel-nuts, beech-nuts, and even iron instruments, and bronze and silver coins of Greek manufacture. The animal remains found were such as the following: twenty-four species of wild mammals, besides several domesticated mammals, eighteen species of birds, three of reptiles, and nine of fresh-water fish. All these fifty-four species are now living in Europe, except the wild bull, *Bos primigenius*. They were such animals as the bear, badger, polecat, ermine, weasel, fox, hare, beaver, stag, deer,

elk, chamois, and the aurochs, or Lithuanian bison. Many of their bones had been split by some sharp instrument, as if to obtain the marrow. Skulls of men have been found sparingly among the earliest of these remains, which do not differ perceptibly from those of the Swiss of the present day.

The earliest known notice of lake dwellings is given by Herodotus, of the Pæonians, a Thracian tribe, who used these habitations about 520 B. C. At the present day the Papoos, in New Guinea, construct similar dwellings. The latest period to which the Swiss examples are referred is the sixth century of our era; but Keller says that so late as the last century there were several fishing-huts constructed upon the same plan on the river Limmat, near Zurich. The published descriptions of the modern lake dwellings have furnished archæologists with abundant material from which to restore the ancient villages of the Swiss. Their habitations were like modern warehouses, built on wharves resting upon piles near the shore, in shallow water, and connected with the land by narrow and slender platforms. Many of the buildings were circular. It is believed that no less than three hundred wooden huts were sometimes comprised in a settlement which must have contained at least a thousand inhabitants.

The age of the oldest relic of the stone age in Switzerland has been calculated, from the thickness of the delta of the Tinière, a tributary torrent of the Lake of Geneva, to be from five to seven thousand years. Similar results flow from a calculation of the time required to produce morasses, which in some localities have been filled up between an ancient shore and the dwellings. Numerous evidences of lake dwellings have been recently discovered and partially explored in Ireland.

Other remains of the Recent Period noticed are the Egyptian relics in the valley of the Nile, the ancient mounds of the Mississippi valley, and remains dug out of the Florida coral reefs. The trustworthiness of the calculation of the time required for the deposition of the Nile mud may be learned by comparison with archæological monuments and the writings of the earliest historians. According to the most recent conclusions of Egyptologists, the oldest of the monuments were erected not long after the epoch of the Noachian Deluge. But

Bunsen ascribes the age of Menes, the first Egyptian king, to 3643 B. C., and Lepsius to 3893 B. C., or, at the most, about six hundred years earlier than the era of the Deluge, according to the Septuagint version. No one will for a moment pretend that the age of man in Egypt is essentially greater than that assigned by Lepsius to the first of the mortal kings. The geological calculations of the age of bricks dug from the depth of sixty and seventy-two feet, made in good faith upon the uniformitarian theory, assign to them respectively an antiquity of 12,000 and 30,000 years, or from 5,000 to 23,000 years in excess of the maximum estimate made by Egyptologists. The natural conclusion from this discrepancy agrees with that of many eminent geologists years ago, that the data relied upon for the geological calculations are not worthy of reliance. And if this be true in regard to the calculation of time from the thickness of alluvial deposits in Egypt, may there not be a similar error in calculations based upon corresponding data elsewhere? Without anticipating the discussion of this branch of our subject, we will simply say now, that, by granting the average per cent of error in the Egyptian examples to be the correct discount for all other cases of like nature, the figures would sometimes become wonderfully reduced.

The remains of man in the basin of the Mississippi are but briefly described, — only so far as to show that the builders of the mounds belonged to the bronze (copper) age, and may have belonged to a different race from the later copper-colored Indians of the Eastern States, — probably to the same with the ancient Mexicans. The calculations of the age of the mounds rest upon the age of the trees growing upon them, and the supposition that these trees had been preceded by others. No very great antiquity has thus been attained. Too much reliance has been placed upon the stories of the great age of the Indian skeleton excavated from under the Gas-Works at New Orleans, at a depth of sixteen feet, and beneath four cypress forests, and, according to Doctor Dowler, having an age of 57,600 years; — also, on the great antiquity — 10,000 years — of the human remains found by Count Pourtalis in the Florida coral reefs. Lyell places little confidence in these cases, while few American geologists regard them even as highly as he does.

A very valuable fact is communicated by Sir Charles, near the close of his remarks upon the Recent Period. Upon the best of evidence, the proof is accumulated that upon both the eastern and western coasts of Scotland there has been an elevation of the land from twenty-five to twenty-seven feet during the past seventeen centuries. The evidence consists partly in the elevated position of the wall of Antoninus, and of ancient Roman harbors above tide-water, and partly in the existence of a raised sea-beach along both shores. These facts throw light upon the age of the buried canoes dug up in the streets of Glasgow, and the numerous other works of art found in that vicinity, which would have been by the antiquary referred to a much older epoch had we not irrefragable evidence that this region was under water as late as the time of the Roman occupation. The supposition of similar changes of level in other European countries where human relics have been discovered would illumine many obscurities; and as the coast-levels are constantly changing, those who assign an enormous antiquity to man's existence on the earth have the greater difficulty in maintaining their position.

Passing next to the discussion of the human remains found buried in connection with the bones of the extinct animals of the Post Pliocene period, we find the most important portion of the treatise. Remains of men are found associated with those of extinct bears, elephants, and other animals, in caverns, alluvial gravel, and the *loess* or silt of the Rhine. Each of these classes of deposits deserves separate consideration.

Until very recently, it was commonly supposed that the intermixture of human remains with those of extinct animals in caves was produced accidentally, the dens of the animals having been selected by man as places of sepulture. Doctor Buckland, thirty years ago, illustrated this view in his great work entitled *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*; and the bone-caverns described by him are commonly admitted to have been thus used. In such cases it is not strange to find the bones intermingled. A good example of the intermixture of these classes of remains by natural causes is found near Liège in Belgium. Their investigation was undertaken by Doctor Schmerling more than thirty years ago, and his conclusions agree with those now

adopted by Lyell, although the latter did not formerly accept them. The rock in which these caves occur is the mountain limestone. Where the caverns are not too small, beautiful sections of the strata of limestone, from two to three hundred feet in height, are exposed. Most of the materials in them appear to have been washed in through narrow fissures, whose upper extremities are covered with soil and gravel, so as to be scarcely discernible. One of these fissures near Magnée has been filled to the very top with sand, mud, angular and rounded stones, besides bones of the cave-bear. Several small chasms branch off from the main duct, which are also filled to the brim in a similar manner. These fissures are not perpendicular, but inclined from thirty to forty degrees, having the sides incrustated by stalagmite, which has sometimes been broken off and mixed with the introduced detritus. The whole has been consolidated into conglomerate by means of water charged with carbonate of lime percolating through the mass. This reagent preserves the bones. Carbonic acid is evolved by the action of rain-water upon the humus, or decaying mould of the soil. The water charged with the gas permeates the limestone, dissolves a large proportion of it, and afterwards, when the excess of acid has escaped, the carbonate of lime is deposited in the form of stalactite and stalagmite. But this process is subordinate to the pouring in of the fragments, which must have been effected by streams of water, such as are common in all limestone countries, and may have been caused by earthquakes, or by changes in the course of rivers upon the surface.

Lyell quotes examples of subterranean rivers in the vicinity, to show that it is legitimate to call in their agency to explain the phenomena. Such streams are often torrents, and at their entrance into the rock are heavily charged with sand, mud, snail-shells, and pebbles, but where they emerge are as clear as any spring-water. No less than forty of these caverns have been explored by Schmerling near Liège. Some of them contain two regular layers of stalagmite, separated by *cave mud*, or the slowly accumulating deposit of fine particles in the bottom of an excavation, induced chiefly by organic agencies. This indicates a diversion in the current for a while, and then its return to the old channel, caused, perhaps, by the choking

up of the second course by detritus. The bones in these caves have generally been rounded, some of them very much so, showing that they had been subjected to abrasion for some time, and that they might have been transported a great distance. Other bones are preserved in their natural relations, so as to make it probable that they were introduced into the crevices when covered with flesh. The bones of the extinct animals found are those of the cave-bear, hyena, elephant, and woolly rhinoceros. Scattered among them indiscriminately are the bones of a multitude of living animals, far more numerous than the extinct ones, such as the wild-cat, beaver, wild boar, roe-deer, wolf, hedgehog, red deer, fox, weasel, hare, rabbit, mole, dormouse, water-rat, shrew, and others. The bones of man occur sparingly, but flint implements frequently, with a few manufactured from bones. There can be no doubt in any mind that the bones of these extinct and living animals were introduced into the Belgian caves simultaneously, and it is highly probable that we have proof here of the contemporaneity of man and the other living animals with some now extinct. The only doubt is whether the bones of the extinct animals may not have been washed out of an older deposit, and been re-deposited in company with the bones of later species. It is by no means uncommon in the older formations to find early fossils in company with later forms, and occasionally it is difficult to distinguish between the imported and the native varieties.

No estimate of the antiquity of the Liége skeletons is given; but two reasons for a great antiquity are suggested: the first, that sufficient time must have elapsed for the extinction of the earlier species; the second, that the configuration of the country must have changed considerably since the streams of water were enabled to pour their contents into fissures many feet—in one case two hundred feet—higher than their present level. It should be remembered, however, that the large assemblage of the Eifel volcanic craters and cones is only sixty miles distant from these caverns, and that they were active very recently. A few earthquake shocks would in a very short time produce changes of level not ordinarily effected by secular variations in many thousand years.



A few human skulls of great interest have been taken from the caverns near Liége, which are made the subject of a special chapter, as also of much attention from Professor Huxley, in his late work on "The Place of Man in Nature." The oldest one came from Engis, being associated with bones of the extinct elephant, rhinoceros, cave-bear, and tiger, on the one hand, and on the other with more numerous remains of such living animals as the bear, stag, wolf, fox, and beaver. It does not belong to the highest type of the enlightened Caucasian, but agrees well with the skulls of the more uncultivated members of the race, or, in other words, with what we should imagine the Caucasian to be if reduced to a savage state, like the modern Australians, with whom the former owner of the skull is compared. Huxley is an ardent advocate of the Darwinian hypothesis, but yet writes as follows concerning this example: "The question whether the Engis skull has rather the character of one of the high races, or of one of the lower, has been much disputed; but the measurements of an English skull, noted in the catalogue of the Hunterian Museum as typically Caucasian, will serve to show that both sides may be right, and that cranial measurements alone afford no safe indication of race."

The skull from Neanderthal has "no such decided claims to antiquity" as the Engis example, and yet it belonged to a more brutal specimen of humanity. No other bones were found in connection with it. It resembles the skull of an ape more than is usual, "not only in the prodigious development of the superciliary prominences and the forward extension of the orbits, but still more in the depressed form of the brain-case, in the straightness of the squamosal suture, and in the complete retreat of the occiput forward and upward from the superior occipital ridges." But its cranial capacity, from which so much has been claimed by the development school, falls entirely within the limits even of the English skull, the greatest observed capacity of which is 114 cubic inches, and the smallest 55, while the minimum capacity of the Neanderthal specimen is estimated at 75 inches. Some Hindoo skulls have a capacity of 46 cubic inches, and the very highest capacity of the gorilla is 34.5 cubic inches.

The conclusion is, that these skulls are decidedly human, and do not form a connecting link between man and the apes. Two paragraphs from Huxley will be appropriate in this connection.

“The marked resemblances between the ancient skulls and their modern Australian analogues, however, have a profound interest, when it is recollected that the stone axe is as much the weapon and the implement of the modern as of the ancient savage; that the former turns the bones of the kangaroo and of the emu to the same account as the latter did the bones of the deer and the urus; that the Australian heaps up the shells of devoured shell-fish in mounds, which represent the ‘refuse-heaps,’ or ‘Kjökkenmöddings,’ of Denmark; and, finally, that, on the other side of Torres Straits, a race akin to the Australians are among the few people who now build their houses on pile-works, like those of the ancient Swiss lakes.”

“Finally, the comparatively large cranial capacity of the Neanderthal skull, overlaid though it may be by pithecoïd bony walls, and the completely human proportions of the accompanying limb-bones, together with the very fair development of the Engis skull, clearly indicate that the first traces of the primordial stock whence man has proceeded need no longer be sought, by those who entertain any form of the doctrine of progressive development, in the newest tertiaries; but that they may be looked for in an epoch more distant from the age of the *Elephas primigenius* than that is from us.”

The conclusion, then, to which even the advocates of the great antiquity of man, and his origin from the apes, are forced, in regard to the character of the most ape-like skulls of man yet discovered in all the caverns, in no respect militates against the commonly received opinion of man’s origin directly from the hands of God by creation, as a being superior to and unlike the highest ape. Even if it could be proved that man existed ten thousand years ago, his physical structure did not vary essentially from its present configuration.

The most interesting and carefully explored of these caves in England is at Brixham in Devonshire. Its exploration was conducted under the auspices of the Royal Society and the superintendence of Mr. Pengelly. It was a new cave, never before explored. Its discovery was accidental, on account of the falling in of the roof. The north and south passages in this set of openings are “fissures connected with the vertical

dislocation of the rocks"; but the east and west passages are tunnels, apparently hollowed out by water to a great extent. The stalagmite is confined to the north and south passages. Five galleries have been excavated, whose united length amounts to several hundred feet. Their width never exceeds eight feet. Some of the openings were entirely filled with detritus. The following is a general statement of the order of the deposits in these openings:—

"1st. At the top, a layer of stalagmite varying in thickness from one to fifteen inches, which sometimes contained bones, such as the perfect antler of a reindeer, and an entire humerus of the cave-bear.

"2dly. Next below, loam or bone-earth, of an ochreous red color, from one foot to fifteen feet in thickness.

"3dly. At the bottom of all, gravel, with many rounded pebbles in it, probed in some places to the depth of twenty feet without its being pierced through, and, as it was barren of fossils, left for the most part unremoved."

The bones derived from this cave are those of the mammoth, rhinoceros, cave-bear, hyena, cave-lion, reindeer, horse, ox, some rodents, and others not determined, but chiefly extinct species. No human bones were anywhere found, but many flint knives of human manufacture were obtained, chiefly from the bone-earth. Fifteen good specimens in all were obtained, one of them thirteen feet from the surface. The clearest case of the coincidence of the time of the deposit of the knives and the bones was where a very perfect tool was found in close proximity to the entire left hind-leg of a cave-bear. Every bone of this leg was in its proper place, even to the patella and astragalus. It must have been introduced when covered with flesh, or at the farthest when its constituent bones were bound together by the natural ligaments. The introduction, therefore, of the entire leg of the extinct bear with the flint tool, in Lyell's opinion, is a very clear proof that man and the cave-bear were contemporaneous. This is certainly the best proved example we have thus far seen of the contemporaneousness of man with the Post Pliocene animals. The cavern was probably filled as the Belgian caves were. No attempt is made to compute the chronological age of the inhabitants of the Brixham cave. None of the bones, either in the Belgian or the English

caves described by Lyell, appear to have been gnawed by carnivorous animals after their deposit.

Other caves containing relics of man and of extinct animals, which are of great interest, are fully described by Lyell. One is in Somersetshire, containing flint implements like those at Amiens, with remains of both extinct and living mammals. Another, in South Wales, contains teeth of the hippopotamus, besides an immense number of the antlers of reindeer, and flint knives. Two caves in North Sicily yielded flint knives, bits of charcoal, burnt clay, and land shells, in connection with remains of the African hippopotamus and elephant. Lyell suggests that Sicily may have been united to Africa within the human period, partly because changes of level are common about the Mediterranean, many examples of which have been previously described by him, partly because an elevation of three hundred feet would connect Sicily and Africa by land, and partly because the presence of the African mammals in Sicily suggests the connection.

Only one other important cave remains to be noticed, — an ancient burial-place of the primitive inhabitants at Aurignac, in the South of France. The account of it was derived from the writings of M. Lartet. In 1852 a laborer pursued a rabbit into his burrow on the steep hillside. He put his arm into the hole, and to his great astonishment drew out one of the long bones of a human skeleton. His curiosity excited, he dug away the talus, and discovered a cave, whose mouth was closed by a large slab of rock. Having removed the door, he found seventeen human skeletons, which had been buried apparently in a sitting posture. Astonished to hear of the occurrence of so many human relics in so lonely a place, the people of Aurignac flocked to the spot, and the Mayor ordered the bones to be removed and reinterred in the parish cemetery. Several years afterward, Lartet explored this burial-place, and found outside the vault a layer of ashes and charcoal, containing many human implements of stone and bone, and also the broken and gnawed bones of both extinct and living animals. Without doubt the ashes mark the occurrence of burial feasts, so common among the early Europeans. The bones of herbivorous animals outside the vault were the most numerous; and

the bones and coprolites of hyenas being mingled abundantly with them led to the inference that the hyenas used the herbivorous animals for food, devouring them at this favorite place of resort. Seventeen species of mammals were found outside, and only three within the vault, — the cave-bear, the lion, and the pig. Among those without are the remains of the elephant, rhinoceros, horse, Irish stag, reindeer, aurochs, wild-cat, hyena, brown bear, badger, wolf, and fox, — chiefly extinct animals. The remains within were less injured than those without ; but they all lay in the earth beneath the human relics.

Without further description of this interesting burial-vault, we must give it as our opinion that none of these phenomena forbid the supposition that the cave was originally inhabited by the extinct carnivorous animals as a den and feeding-place, into which they dragged their prey ; and that at a subsequent period the inhabitants of the vicinity cleared out a portion of the rubbish so accumulated, and then used it as a place of sepulture, there cooking and eating their rude feasts, and breaking up the bones for ornaments at the door of the sepulchre. Every fact stated by Lartet can be thus explained, and hence, without further details of a different character, the relics of this cavern cannot be used legitimately to prove the contemporaneity of man with the fauna of the Post Pliocene period. It becomes us not to give in our adhesion to any uncertain evidence respecting the coexistence of any recent and extinct animals.

Two widely separated instances of human fossils deserve notice in this connection. One is the "fossil man of Denise," comprising the remains of more than one skeleton found in a volcanic breccia in Central France ; the other is a pelvic bone from Natchez, Mississippi. It is very difficult to ascertain the precise age of volcanic deposits ; but in the Denise case the labor is relieved by the discovery of the bones of a hyena and a hippopotamus in the same layer ; and in a lower layer are the bones of the *Elephas meridionalis*, belonging to the Pliocene. The association has certainly a Post Pliocene character. The human skull is of the ordinary Caucasian type. The Natchez specimen does not need much consideration. It was

found in the bottom of a ravine, in company with bones of the mastodon and the megalonyx, all of which had been worn out of the banks of the ravine, but undoubtedly from different layers, — the extinct animals from below, and the human bone from a grave above. Such was Lyell's opinion in 1846, though he is disposed to think more favorably of the contrary supposition at present.

Four chapters of the book are devoted to a description of the relics of man found in alluvial gravel. The most noted example is the valley of the river Somme, in the North of France. The principal sites of the "diggings" are at Abbeville, Amiens, and St. Acheul. The river empties into the English Channel, after passing in a northwest direction through Picardy. Abbeville is about twelve miles from the sea, and Amiens is twenty-five miles farther up the valley. St. Acheul is three or four miles below Amiens. The valley is excavated out of chalk, and between Abbeville and Amiens averages about a mile in width, the average depth of the chalk being from two to three hundred feet. The bottom of the valley, from its debouchure to a point far above Amiens, is occupied by beds of peat; and were thirty feet thickness of this vegetable deposit now removed, the sea would flow up, filling the valley for miles above Abbeville. The twenty or thirty feet of peat at Abbeville are underlaid by gravel, probably the same as that upon the sides of the valley bordering the peat, containing elephants' bones and flint tools, and overlaid by loam, thus forming a terrace. Above this terrace is a second, upon both sides of the valley, similarly constructed, and holding the same kinds of fossils. The sum of the thickness of the two beds of gravel is from fifty to seventy feet. The remains found at St. Acheul are also in a terrace, whose top is one hundred feet above the Somme, and a hundred and fifty feet above the sea. Lyell observes — and it is in accordance with the inductions of American geologists — that the higher terraces and banks of gravel, which are also more remote from the bottom of the valley, are the most ancient. There does not seem to be any of the unmodified or older coarse drift in the valley of the Somme, although it appears that ice abounded in the valley to a considerable extent during the stone period; especially forming during the winter

a thick coating of river ice, in which the natives may have dug holes for fishing and other purposes. The climate must have been much colder then than it is now.

Lyell regards the peat of the valley of the Somme as belonging to the Recent Period. It has yielded works of art of the iron and stone periods, besides the remains of a few living animals and three human skeletons. No succession of different kinds of trees has yet been discovered, as in Denmark. The depth at which articles of Roman manufacture have been found is considerable; but no satisfactory attempt is made to estimate the number of years occupied in the growth of the whole. The country now seems to be sinking, since the peat underlies the sand dunes of the coast. Several kinds of flint implements occur in the older gravel, whose manufacture exhibits different degrees of skill. The most imperfect are fragments of the chalk-flints very slightly fashioned. Then come the "knives," which are little more than chips of flint rudely shaped. Next are arrow-heads and oval spear-heads. The edges appear to have been fashioned by chipping, not by grinding, as in the case of the existing Australian stone weapons. They are rather like the stone tools of the North American Indians, used as weapons of war and chase, as well as to grub up roots, cut down trees, scoop out canoes, and cut holes in the ice. It is estimated that more than one thousand of the more perfect stone implements have been dug out of the gravel in the valley of the Somme since 1842.

The gravel-pits at Abbeville have brought to light a great variety of fossils. In the lower layers are found land shells, fresh-water shells, marine shells, bones of the rhinoceros, elephant, and other mammals, and flint tools,—a very singular combination of fluvio-marine relics. The shells correspond perfectly with those of the mollusks now frequenting France and Scandinavia, except one, the *Cyrena fluminalis*, which no longer lives in Europe, but inhabits the Nile and many parts of Asia. The occurrence of this shell would indicate a warmer rather than a colder climate in the stone age, if it decides anything. The fossil mammals are the elephant, woolly rhinoceros, horse, *Bos primigenius*, an extinct deer, reindeer, cave-lion, and hyena, only one of all which species still survives.

No mention is made of the remains of any other living mammal, although it is regretted that the fauna has not been carefully investigated.

At St. Acheul, near Amiens, no marine remains occur, but the flint implements and fossil bones abound. Two species of elephant and a hippopotamus have left their remains here. It is in the terrace containing these relics that evidence of the former presence of ice has been found. The deposit is stratified with great blocks of sandstone scattered through it, too large and angular to have been transported by water simply. The ledges from which they may have been derived are situated at the head of the valley of the Somme, and also above the cliffs of chalk on the sides of the valley. No fragments of rock foreign to the valley have been detected in any of the gravels. Various contortions in the stratification are ascribed to the agency of ground ice. The great multitude of flint tools in the gravel is an argument for supposing that ice covered the river during long winters. Many of them would naturally have been lost in the fishing-holes, or dropped upon the surface in the snow, or, if manufactured during the inactive cold period, they might have been accumulated in large numbers. The evidence of ice is not detected in the very lowest layer, or that containing the *Cyrena fluminalis*. Not a single human bone had been found in the gravel of this valley when the description was written.

Lyell also describes flint tools found with the remains of extinct animals in other river-valleys in France and England. In the valley of the Seine stone implements occur at several localities, and in one case the lower jaw of a man, both associated with elephantine relics. In the valley of the Oise, with flint implements and elephants' bones, occur the remains of the musk-ox, now living only in the Arctic Zone. In the gravel deposits of the Thames are found the same assemblage of marine, terrestrial, and fresh-water animals as on the Somme, including the *Cyrena*. It is suggested that the colder and warmer faunæ met in this valley. Several examples of the discovery of flints are recorded in the Thames valley, but their geological position has not been determined with accuracy. In the valley of the Ouse, near Bedford, are beds of gravel



from which the associated remains of the elephant, deer, and ox, fresh-water shells, and flint weapons were obtained. Clear evidence is here afforded that the gravel was deposited subsequently to the coarse drift. Other similar examples are mentioned in Suffolk.

Since the issue of "The Antiquity of Man," a human jaw has been discovered in the gravel near Abbeville. A conference respecting it was held in Paris, consisting of five English and five French *savants*. Three days were occupied in discussing the question of the flint implements, or *haches*, and in the examination of the jaw. No decisive result was obtained. The English members of the Commission maintained the unauthentic character of all the *haches* which were yielded by the "black band," and nothing was established on the other side to shake their convictions. The jaw was sawed up and washed; there was no infiltration of metallic matter through the walls of the bone, and the section was comparatively fresh-looking. The tooth was also very fresh. The confidence of some of the French members of the Commission was seriously shaken by the characters yielded by the jaw, while, so far as internal evidence went, it was wanting in every appearance which commonly distinguishes fossil bones, and especially those found elsewhere in the Somme deposits. The conference adjourned to Abbeville. Here *haches* were disengaged from one of the gravel-pits, under the very eyes of the Commission, and direct testimony to the actual occurrence of the jaw in the black band was brought forward to their satisfaction. But they disagreed as to the age of the jaw itself. Two of the English members gave their opinion that the jaw could not be of great antiquity; that the "internal condition of the bone is wholly irreconcilable with an antiquity equal to that assigned to the deposits in which it was found." It came from the higher deposits, which are the oldest of all the Somme beds. At a meeting of the Academy of Sciences, held subsequently, the French members of the Commission reported the results of their proceedings, and did ample justice to the candor and frankness of their English opponents. During the proceedings, the veteran geologist, M. Elie de Beaumont, stated that, in his opinion, this gravel deposit did not belong

to the Quaternary or Diluvian age at all, but that it was a member of the *terrains meubles* of the *actual* or *modern* period, in which he would not be in the least surprised if human bones were found; adding, moreover, that he did not believe in the asserted existence of man as a contemporary of the extinct elephants.

We will not comment upon the worth of the evidence drawn from the alluvial gravels for the contemporaneity of man with the extinct elephants, since those who have carefully examined the deposits in person arrive at widely divergent conclusions, and upon this side of the Atlantic we can only follow opinions without examination of the phenomena. Should it be ultimately proved that Lyell and others are in gross error, it would not be an anomaly in geological science. Geologists can refer to important changes of views on subjects equally intricate with this, within the past decade. At the outset of the discovery of important phenomena, theories vary from one extreme to another, and it is only after years of toil and discussion that the golden mean of truth is attained, and the extreme views become modified.

In only one other variety of deposit have human remains been found, and that is in the *loess* of the Rhine. Lyell supposes that the Glaciers of the Alps formerly extended much farther north than their present limits, and that the impalpable powder washed from the moraines was carried onward by currents, and finally deposited in still water. It is a fine, black mud, like that of the Nile, Ganges, and Mississippi, deposited so continuously that no stratification is apparent. Land shells are often found in it. The *loess* of the Rhine extends nearly to its mouth. It varies from ten to thirty feet in thickness, and near Brussels caps some of the hills at the elevation of three hundred feet above the ocean. The elephant and the rhinoceros are characteristic of the *loess* throughout the whole basin. It is generally underlaid by gravel. Oscillations of level are required to explain the accumulation and denudation of this silt.

It is on the banks of the Meuse, a tributary of the Rhine, at Maestricht, that a human lower-jaw with teeth was found about the year 1820. It was taken from an excavation sixty

feet deep, made for a canal, the lower forty feet of the bank consisting of gravel. The jaw was found one foot above the gravel, six yards distant horizontally from an elephant's tusk. Other bones obtained from nearly the same layer in this excavation were those of the elephant, deer, and ox; still others were found in the gravel, and a very few in the higher part of the loam. This is the only known example of an ancient human bone found in the *loess*.

Six chapters of "The Antiquity of Man" relate very remotely to the subject indicated by the title, and need not be here discussed, although very interesting, since they concern the glacial or drift period, a time confessedly long anterior to the date of the earliest flint implement fashioned by the hand of man. In them are described some new phases of drift action, the relation of the drift to the later tertiary deposits, and the special action of the glaciers in different countries, as Scotland, Scandinavia, Wales, England, Switzerland, Italy, and North America. It is an excellent source from which to derive the latest opinions entertained by an eminent philosopher respecting the phenomena of surface geology. Among other things, he shows that all glacial deposits are not of the same age, since glaciers have been at work in some country from the dawn of the Post Pliocene to the present day. The same fact had been previously stated by one or more American geologists, and it is an important item to be remembered in the continuance of the investigation of the antiquity of man.

The five concluding chapters, relating to the hypothesis of the origin of species by transmutation, deserve brief consideration. The following is the application of the hypothesis to the human fossils. Man was derived from the apes. He was not created directly by the Deity out of the dust of the earth. But the change of structure must have been very gradual from one class of these beings to the other, and therefore the transmutationist looks to the very earliest relics of the structure of man in the vain expectation of finding greater and greater approximation to the apes. If the inquirer should succeed in discovering such relics, the hypothesis might place itself in a defensive attitude. Lyell is one of those philosophers who are determined to devise theories for the explanation of every phe-

nomenon in the mental and physical world without reference to the creating and controlling hand of the Deity. He says, "Independent creation, as it is often termed, or the direct intervention of the Supreme Cause, must simply be considered as an avowal that we deem the question to lie beyond the domain of science." We differ *in toto* from the author on this point. We believe that the intervention of the Supreme Cause is the first article of a true philosopher's creed, and that the expression of Scripture, "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine," applies to scientific as well as religious truth; while those who do not humbly apply to the Divine source for illumination may be left to grope their own way by the light of their own enfeebled reason, and thus be led into the mazes of error.

Lyell, in his treatment of this hypothesis, first reviews the history of the different views of the origin of species; namely, of Lamarck's development theory, Darwin's transmutation theory, and the more common progression theory. He tells us why he formerly opposed Lamarck's views, and why he now thinks well of Darwin's conclusions. Then he endeavors to answer several general and specific objections to the transmutation of species, not as a systematic defence, but an incidental help. The question of the origin of languages occupies a separate chapter, in which he draws a minute comparison between the variations of dialects and languages and the variations of species, and very illogically derives an argument for the origin of species by selection from the origin of dialects by means of human selection, thus confounding together mental and physical laws. Last of all, he applies the hypothesis of transmutation to man, not exactly indorsing the hideous doctrines involved in it, but showing more care to argue in favor of the development views than against them. None of the strong points against transmutation are presented, so that one cannot avoid the impression that the author leans towards the view that man is a lineal descendant from the apes, and has derived all his mental and spiritual powers, by purely natural processes, from whatever of intellectuality and spirituality exists in a latent form in the brutes. The grand organ by which this improvement is supposed to be effected, is the

power of speech. Man can thus transmit his experience to his fellows, and every generation can improve upon the preceding.

The fallacy of the attempt to derive man from the apes may be seen by examining the zoölogical distinctions between them recently so clearly set forth by Professor Dana, and we need offer no other argument against transmutation; for if the hypothesis fails in the most essential link, the whole structure is destroyed. We have already quoted from Huxley the admission that no fossil human remains yet found depart widely from the Caucasian type, and that for at least ten thousand years, according to Lyell's calculation, so that the species can but be regarded as permanent, on their own reckoning.

In the classification of the Animal Kingdom, we have first the five grand types, then the classes, and, thirdly, the orders. Classes are characterized by the manner in which the plan of the structure of the respective types is executed, and orders are characterized by the degrees of the complication of the class structure. The differences between man and the gorilla — the most perfect ape — are those of *degree*. Consequently man constitutes by himself a distinct zoölogical order, called *Bimana* (Blumenbach), *Archencephala* (Owen), or *Archont* (Dana). Now, if man belongs to a distinct order from the apes, you cannot transform one into the other short of a score of gradations, which are entirely wanting in nature. The ape has four feet resembling hands; man has two hands and two feet. Man is the sole animal that uses only two extremities for locomotion, — birds not excepted, because their forward extremities, being changed to wings, are used for a higher degree of locomotion. Man's anterior extremities have been transferred from the locomotive to the *cephalic* series; that is, are made to attend to the wants of the head exclusively, and not to assist in locomotion also, as in the apes. Man's hands supply the cravings of appetite, and execute the desires of the mind, — the latter wants never being attained by the brutes. The anterior extremities of the apes assist in locomotion, not one of them walking erect naturally. And the erect posture of man is the natural effect of his superior physical structure. Now this *cephalization*, this subordination of the members and structure of the anterior part of the body to the head, is a difference in degree, constituting an order.

Dana has recently shown, in several articles, that the same cephalic distinctions exist throughout the animal kingdom, have actually been made the basis of classification in certain classes, and should be of the whole. Take the class of *Crustacea*, or crabs, for an example, which embraces three orders. In the highest order, the *Decapods*, such as the common crabs and lobsters, there are *five* pairs of feet and *six* pairs of mouth organs. In the next order, *Tetradecapods*, the fourteen-footed species, such as small cetacean parasites, there are *seven* pairs of feet and *four* pairs of mouth organs. The second division has therefore gained two pairs of feet, and the mouth has lost two of the organs which, in the animals of the first order, served to supply it with food, or, in other words, two pairs have passed from the cephalic to the locomotive series. In the lowest order, the *Entomostracans*, the mouth organs are even less numerous than in the second. There are several other elements to be taken into account in ascertaining the exact place of each order in every class; but we have presented enough to illustrate the principle of cephalization, and to show the error of those who refer man to the same order with the apes. Professor Dana deserves the gratitude of philosophers for the skill with which he has originated and developed this grand criterion of degree in classification.

We cannot better close our article than by adverting to the conclusions which seem to flow naturally from this discussion.

1. *It is extremely probable that the entire existing faunas and floras, including man, were introduced in the latter part of the Post Pliocene period.* The greater part of the earlier Post Pliocene group continued to exist while a number of new species were introduced. It is a great error to infer that man has existed for a very long period because he and his associates were contemporaneous with the mastodon. The earlier species continued to exist a long time after man's entrance upon the stage, and are not yet entirely extinct. Let us look at a few examples. Ninety-five per cent or more of the Post Pliocene mollusks are still living. The following are some of the living mammalian contemporaries of the hyena and rhinoceros: the red deer, roe, reindeer, aurochs, wild-cat, bear, wild boar, wolf, fox, weasel, beaver, hare, rabbit, hedgehog, mole,

dormouse, field-mouse, water-rat, shrew. On the other hand, many Post Pliocene animals have become extinct within the time of written history. Sixteen species of birds have recently become extinct, and another, the great auk (*Alca impennis*), has not been seen alive within the present century, although its remains are exceedingly abundant in some alluvial deposits. The Dodo and Solitaire of Mauritius were alive two hundred years ago. Eleven species of *Dinornis*, the *Notornis* and *Apteryx* of New Zealand, and the *Æpiornis* of Madagascar, have also passed away recently, chiefly, perhaps, by the hand of man. The large *Sirenia Rhytina* is not now found living, and the Arctic musk-ox is on the point of extinction. The *Bos primigenius* existed till the time of Julius Cæsar. The great Irish stag probably lived much longer than many of his earlier contemporaries. The aurochs would have become extinct long ago, did not legal enactments preserve a few in a forest in Lithuania. One of the mammoths was introduced in the Newer Pliocene, and lived to be contemporary with man for a time.

\* The question has arisen in some minds, whether the human contemporaries of the mammoth were different from the living races. No great peculiarities have been detected in their bones, but it is certain they must have been an uncivilized and barbarous race, and hence may have deteriorated for a time, like all savage tribes. Some authors think that the human contemporaries of the mammoth may have belonged to a different species from the living races. If it can be proved that the Post Pliocene period terminated with the introduction of the now living species, this would be a plausible theory, removing all difficulties; and we may have Scriptural hints of it in references to beings "which kept not their first estate," who had evidently sojourned for a time in some terrestrial abode. Should this view ever be extensively adopted, many interesting speculations may be originated respecting the duration, history, and extinction of these primeval inhabitants of the globe.

But we have in our country a few glimpses of the late history of the mastodon, sufficient to suggest his existence within a comparatively brief period. One of the finest specimens of the bones of this animal ever exhumed were dug out of a peat-bog in Newburg, N. Y., in 1845, and are now exhibited in

Dr. Warren's collection in Boston. The bones were remarkably fresh when found, and even the masticated twigs of which his last meal was composed were preserved in the interior. The animal had become mired in a bog, doubtless when in quest of his favorite food. His immense weight caused him to sink so deep in the marl and peat that extrication was impossible. The bones rested chiefly in a marl bed, like those which are forming every day. Above this was a bed of peat about three feet thick. We have no means of knowing the rate of growth of peat in this country; but by assuming a rate rejected by Lyell as too small for the valley of the Somme, a brief calculation shows that three or four thousand years would be a sufficient time for its growth; and this would seem to be an exaggeration. It would not be strange, indeed, if the gigantic animal had become mired some time after the peat had begun to form, and had sunk entirely through the higher stratum. The account of the mastodon found in Gasconade County, Missouri, has an air of probability attached to it. The animal had apparently become mired in a swamp, and was then killed by the Indians with stones and weapons, and a fire kindled over his body. A large number of stones, from two to twenty-five pounds each in weight, had been brought together from a distance of several hundred yards, "evidently thrown with the intention of hitting some object." Intermixed with burned wood and burned bones were broken spears, axes, and knives of stone. The fire seemed to have been greatest upon the head and neck. Even fragments of what appeared to be the skin were found among the rocks. The Indians have traditions of the appearance of an immense animal in the Ohio country, which Thomas Jefferson, the discoverer of the megalonyx in this country, refers to the mastodon, in his "Notes on Virginia." The South American Indians, too, have their traditions of a giant bear called the naked bear, and another animal wonderfully like the Jeffersonian megalonyx. Other North American legends speak of the great elk or buffalo, which, besides enormous horns (tusks), had an arm protruding from its shoulder, with a hand at its extremity (proboscis). Lyell, in speaking of extinct quadrupeds of this country, in his "Second Visit to the United States," says, "That they were extermi-



nated by the arrows of the Indian hunter is the first idea presented to the mind of almost every naturalist."

Within a hundred years the entire carcasses of an elephant and a rhinoceros have been dug out of the frozen mud of Siberia. The former was protected from the cold by an abundance of long hair. Its flesh was eaten by dogs when discovered. The impression derived from all these examples is certainly, that some of these gigantic animals have lived almost to our time, although the facts known to us are not sufficient to authorize us to believe in the proposition as demonstrated. This branch of the subject has not received the attention it deserves.

2. *The epoch of the Noachian Deluge may have terminated the Post Pliocene age.* Groups of animals may become extinct in any of the following ways: by a change of level, either a depression or elevation; by variation of temperature by means of volcanic eruptions or climatic changes; or perhaps by the gradual dying out of a species for the want of vital energy. These causes, when acting with sufficient intensity to produce extermination, are called *catastrophes*. The extermination may be partial or entire. Now, if it can be shown that at the time of the deluge there were great changes in elevation, in climate, or in the level of water, we have evidence of the existence of agencies sufficient to produce a catastrophe, and may ascribe to it the disappearance of so many of the Post Pliocene animals. There are no marks of physical change upon the earth which the geologist can unhesitatingly refer to the agency of the Noachian deluge. So temporary was its continuance, that we must rely upon human testimony as the sole proof of its occurrence.

Upon the supposition that the epoch of the Deluge marks the conclusion of the Post Pliocene period, we will bring together in parallel columns the chronology of man in years, according to written records and the geological classifications of the most recent periods, placing in the same line all synchronous epochs. We use the classifications of Lyell, Hitchcock, and Guyot. Another column will show the percentage of living species of molluscos animals found in several of the periods. The table will illustrate the relations of the events

much better than many paragraphs of explanation. It enumerates all the periods of Cenozoic time, which is the latest of the three great periods of life upon the earth, and the age of mammals. Not a relic of a single living animal has been taken from any deposit earlier than the Eocene.

	Lyell.	Lyell.	Hitchcock.	Guyot's classification for Switzerland.	Human Periods.	Chro- nology.	Per cent of living mol- lusk.
CENOZOIC.	EOCENE.	Lower Eocene.				Many thousand years.	2 to 3.
		Middle Eocene.					
		Upper Eocene.					
	MIOCENE.	Lower Miocene.					15-20.
		Upper Miocene.					
	PLIOCENE.	Older Pliocene.					40-50.
		Newer Pliocene.					70-90.
POST TER- TIARY.	Post Pliocene.	Drift period.		Northern Glacial epoch.		A. M.	
		Beach period.		Epoch of subsidence.			
		Terrace and Champlain period.		Ancient diluvium, Glacial deposits and Loess.			
	Recent period.	Historic period.			Stone age. NOACHIAN DELUGE. Later stone age. Bronze age. Iron age.	1-1656. 1656 to 5867.	90-95. 100.

It is worthy of note that the times of the stone, bronze, and iron ages of different nations do not synchronize. The Papuans, and some of the North American Indians, have not yet passed through their stone age. Others, like the Greeks and Romans, entered upon the age of iron very early in their history. Hence the length of any age in one country is no criterion for the duration of the corresponding period in another. The most trustworthy source of information upon questions of chronology is human history, whether monumental or written. One can thus determine the length of the respective stone, bronze, and iron ages in most European, many Asiatic, some African, and most American countries. A little archaeological research would develop many interesting details of early national history.

3. *The geological mode of calculation by years is not very authentic.* An instance of its imperfection by the side of the Egyptian records has already been noticed. There are too many variable quantities in all geological calculations, whose exact limits cannot be accurately determined. Although it is not commonly understood, geologists are aware that Sir Charles

Lyell's reasonings upon the antiquity of man are based upon a fallacious theory; and that his reputation as a geologist has been acquired largely by the ability with which he has defended his favorite views. His "Principles of Geology," an octavo of more than eight hundred pages of small print, is chiefly a defence of this "uniformitarian theory." Grant the truth of the theory, his conclusions respecting the great antiquity of man inevitably follow. Establish the soundness of the doctrine of a diversity in the intenseness with which geological agencies have operated during the past history of the earth, and you have destroyed the ground of his conclusions, and rendered the reduction of geological periods into solar years a matter of extreme difficulty. Understanding, therefore, the ground of Lyell's conclusions, we need not be so easily led away by the plausible nature of his arguments.

One of the assumptions upon which the reasoning in "The Antiquity of Man" is based is, that the rate with which changes are now going on in the earth's crust must be taken for our standard of estimate for all the ancient life periods. Another assumption is, that a great length of time has intervened between the formation of the strata pertaining to each successive period, and that the changes of life have not been sudden, but that the old species have gradually died out, one by one, to be exchanged for new forms at the same rate.

To these uniformitarian views we object, first, because they depreciate the very basis and standard of calculation, namely, the thickness of deposit. They really suppose more variety than the contrary view, by inserting indefinite periods of repose between periods of activity.

We object to these views, secondly, because we have no evidence of the gradual introduction of new species as fast as old species disappear. Examples of the extinction of thirty-seven species of birds and mammals in the Recent Period have been mentioned. Where are the new forms that have been subsequently introduced to take their places?

We object to these uniformitarian views, thirdly, because the agencies acting with variable intensity are too numerous to admit of accurate calculation on the ground of uniform operation. Had we the means of knowing the exact amount

of variation in every case, the calculation would be easy. The following are examples of the variable quantities. The calculation of time from the succession of forests depends upon a diversity of circumstances, as the character of the soil, liability to destruction from fire, the rate at which different kinds of trees spread themselves by seed, and the degree of competition among different species. The time calculated in one case would be fourfold that of another. The rate of the growth of peat depends upon the amount of moisture present from the atmosphere and in the soil. A deposit in one degree of latitude may increase twice as fast as one in the next parallel. The rate of accumulation of alluvial deposits is very variable. Those who have observed the accumulations in alluvial valleys very well know that in one year a sand deposit may be ten times as great as in any other year; and that the times of abundant and meagre deposits are regulated by no known law. Another variable is the rate and continuance for ages of a change in the comparative levels of land and water, than which no cause exerts a greater influence in accumulating detritus, whether in large or small quantity; and we may also say, that no other agency acts so capriciously. Another disturbing element in the calculation of geological time is the climate. Abrading agencies act with greater intensity in cold than warm climates, and Lyell's researches go to show a later extension of a sub-arctic climate in the Northern regions than has been commonly supposed. Other variables might be adduced; but we have certainly specified a sufficient number of examples to satisfy any one that the basis of calculation of solar years upon geological data is not to be confided in. Nor can the average amount of possible variations be assumed as the correct sum, since we are uncertain whether the disturbing agencies have or have not operated; and hence the average may be too great or too small. No questions are so often put to the geologist by the community as chronological questions like these: How many years is it since the Connecticut birds left their tracks in the mud? How long is it since the mammoth flourished? And few questions can be so unsatisfactorily answered. The geologist calculates by periods, not by years. His part is to decide upon the synchronism of or-

ganic beings; for example, whether the Connecticut birds were contemporary with the Saurians of the Jurassic or the Labyrinthodonts of the Triassic series; while he would reply to the first question, that the birds existed so many *periods* previously to the historic era.

4. *Man did not appear upon the globe until a very late epoch of the Alluvial period, and geology cannot point out a single example of an animal introduced later than man.* It was fitting that the monarch of the animal kingdom should be introduced into a world whose valleys, plains, and rivers had been already inhabited by successive economies of life, yet all inferior to himself. Many excellent men have been troubled by the apparent collisions between science and the Bible; but so long as the conclusions of geology are as harmonious with the sacred record of the creation as in the present instance, they need not fear. The Pentateuch represents man as the latest born of organisms, so does geology; but the Pentateuch does not say that the Post Pliocene animals all became extinct before his creation, as many authors seem to have inferred.

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ART. IX. — *A Treatise on Hygiene, with special Reference to the Military Service.* By WILLIAM A. HAMMOND, M. D., Surgeon-General U. S. Army. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1863. 8vo. pp. 596.

WHEN some future historian shall narrate the cruel tale of the great civil war in America, among the scenes of horror and suffering which always go to make up that "sum of all evils" there will be found to soften his theme many incidents, not only of heroism and patriotism, but also of humanity advanced, of the welfare of the sick and wounded promoted, and of knowledge in the sacred art of healing enlarged. The reviewer of these fields will see, not only battles and slaughter, imprisonment and want, but the divine offices of benevolence performed by hundreds of self-sacrificing men of all ages; the sick and wounded tended in gigantic hospitals, where modern

science, hygiene, and personal devotion have combined to build and administer sick-wards more commodious and more wholesome than have ever been erected in time of war before. Certainly, while we should humble ourselves over our sins of intolerance, arrogance, and Pharisaism, which have rendered the causes of this unnatural contest, to some degree mutual, both North and South, we may claim some reason for expiation, not alone in the sacrifices of dear lives which we have lost, but in our successful efforts to heal and comfort those who have offered their bodies to wounds and to malaria for our sake.

It is with such feelings that we welcome the book before us, and that we hope to study it, in a brief review, with both interest and profit to our readers. We should naturally, also, be disposed to receive with kindly criticism one who has stolen from his moments of repose, in the midst of arduous executive duties, the time and labor to compile a treatise on Hygiene for his brother-workers. The Surgeon-General best explains for himself, in his Preface, the reasons which urged him to issue this book : —

“ If I had not believed that a great necessity existed for a treatise upon some of the principal subjects of hygiene, I certainly should not, in addition to my onerous public duties, have undertaken the task of preparing the present volume. That a growing attention to the subject of sanitary science is being manifested, cannot be doubted. The most intelligent members of the medical profession recognize the principle, that their efforts should be directed more especially to the prevention of disease than to its cure ; and the people, who are rarely slow to comprehend matters which it is to their advantage to know, are beginning to appreciate the same fact. . . . . The nation had entered upon a war for the preservation of its liberties, the most gigantic ever undertaken in the history of the world. Hundreds of thousands, from the boy to the old man, had devoted themselves to the service of their country, — men, whose value to the State could not be estimated, and upon whom its future greatness, both in war and peace, in a great measure depended. Thousands of physicians had been found to take the medical charge of the armies created, — many of them well known for their professional eminence, and others, by far the greater number, young and inexperienced, though not lacking the will and the ability to do their whole duty, when that duty was pointed out to them. . . . . In

the military service, more than any other, a knowledge of the means of preventing disease and of facilitating recovery by methods other than the mere administration of drugs, is necessary. Armies are often so situated that their salvation depends upon the knowledge which the medical officer may possess; and it never happens that some important application of hygienic principles cannot be made to them by those who are charged with their medical superintendence. But though many excellent treatises upon individual hygiene are to be met with in the French and German languages, there is not one to be found in the English tongue. . . . . There was no work, then, to which I could refer those who came to me for information which I had no time to give them as fully as was desirable; and as I had for several years given a large portion of my leisure to the study of hygiene, — rather, however, in a desultory way than with any systematic objects in view, — I concluded to devote the hours which would otherwise have been passed in rest, in preparing a volume upon the more important subjects belonging to the science of hygiene, especially those which have a bearing upon the military service.” — pp. vii. — ix.

This work is from the press of Lippincott & Co. of Philadelphia, and the reader owes them his thanks for the fair paper, and the large type in which it is printed. The general execution of the book is excellent. Seventy-four illustrations enliven its pages. The diagrams, ground-plans, and elevations of various hospitals leave nothing to be desired; and altogether it is issued in a style to do credit to the originality and worth of its contents.

In his general order of subjects, the author treats, first, of the examination of recruits; secondly, of agents *inherent* in the organism which affect the hygienic condition of man, such as race, temperament, idiosyncrasy, age, sex, hereditary tendencies, habits, and constitution; thirdly, of agents *external* to the organism which act upon the health of man, such as the atmosphere, temperature, light, electricity, water, soil, climate, and acclimation. A large space is next devoted to hospitals; and, finally, barracks, camps, food, and clothing are treated of at considerable length.

It is obviously impossible, in a short review, to examine all these subjects in detail. We propose, therefore, to devote a few pages to the more important of the “external agents,” and then to give our main attention to the subject of hospitals,

both on account of the paramount importance of this subject to the soldier and the country, and because Dr. Hammond evidently regards it as we do, since he has devoted one fourth of his space to hospitals alone. We may venture to speak of them, also, to some degree *ex cathedra*, having been connected in a surgical capacity with a military hospital in Washington, and having resided in it several months. It is our hope to correct, from the recollections of our personal experience, some misconceptions which have prevailed about the abuses of hospitals. At the same time, we shall not hesitate to speak freely of the faults which exist.

In his chapter on the examination of recruits, Dr. Hammond is necessarily less full than the very complete "Manual for the Recruiting Service" of Surgeon Tripler. On some points, however, as the various means of measuring the chest and estimating the vital capacity, he is very minute. We are glad to see him take strong grounds against the suicidal policy of raising an army on paper, by the careless examination of recruits. A weak, malformed, or sickly soldier, he says, is not only useless, but a positive encumbrance. Not only is he incapable of performing the duty required of him, but his frequent attacks of indisposition demand the services of others in taking care of him, and add to the immobility which attends all armies. Thousands of incapacitated men were, in the early stages of the war, allowed to enter the army, to be discharged after a few weeks' service, most of which had been passed in the hospital. Many did not march five miles before breaking down, and not a few never shouldered a musket at all. In a hospital of six hundred beds were discovered, at one time, fifty-two cases of inguinal hernia, in men who had undergone very little hardship. In several regiments medical inspection was performed by the surgeon walking down the line, and looking at the men as they stood in the ranks.

Again, as to the age of recruits, our author speaks of seeing a boy of fifteen, enlisted as a drummer, but placed in the ranks, and made to carry the entire equipment of a soldier, until he succumbed, broken down for life. We can add to this our testimony, having had in the first ward placed under our care three soldier-boys, under sixteen, ruined with hernia, rheumatic carditis, typhoid prostration, and "weak back."



On the subject of race, Dr. Hammond says of the negro: —

“So far as his mental and physical characteristics are concerned, it is very doubtful if any positive advance has been made by transferring him to civilization. The negro of unmixed blood presents the same prognathous skull, the facial angle of which measures from  $70^{\circ}$  to  $75^{\circ}$ ; the same short, coarse, frizzled hair; the same dark skin and cast of features. The arms are long, the lower limbs crooked, the calf meagre, the os calcis prolonged posteriorly, and the foot lacking the high arch which characterizes this member in the European. It is not to be denied, however, that the negro is capable of considerable intellectual and physical development, though it seems, nevertheless, that he is altogether incapable of attaining to the highest point in either. By transferring him to a temperate climate, he has positively lost rank physically. The proper place to make the experiment of civilization with him is in the climate under which he has lived for thousands of years.” — p. 69.

The experiment of making a soldier of him must be considered as not yet completely decided. By the statistics of British troops in the West Indies, colored and European, it appears that the negro soldier enjoys a remarkable immunity from malarial diseases, but is much more subject to phthisis than the white. To do the rough field-work of intrenching under a tropical sun, and to garrison military posts in malarious regions, he is obviously well adapted.

On the important subject of air, our attention is called to a new fact, or result of experiment, concerning carbonic acid. We had supposed that this gas was so heavy, that the greatest portion of it in the respired air of an apartment would always be found near the floor. But it appears that Leblanc has proved that the air of the Opera Comique, after a performance, contained more than four per cent of carbonic acid in the upper part of the room, and about two per cent in the lower part. This peculiarity was due mainly to the upward current of a ventilating flue over the chandelier. Other experiments were not entirely confirmatory of this. But by the law of the diffusion of gases, a very extensive interchange must take place, though slowly. Dr. Hammond found the *organic matters* given off by the skin and lungs most abundant in the upper strata of a room.

He leans to that theory of malaria which ascribes it to the spores of minute fungi floating in the air, rather than to the old view of its production by the gaseous products of decomposing vegetation. There are certainly many plausible arguments in favor of this theory. The recent discovery by Dr. Salisbury of a fungus upon wheat straw, by inoculating with which a disease like measles is produced, and the singular fact that large portions of whole regiments, which left home well and sound, were simultaneously affected by measles, seem to establish some connection of cause and effect. Good water, next to air, is the most important essential to the soldier. No doubt exists that malaria is conveyed by drinking-water, and that McClellan's army on the Chickahominy suffered severely from this cause. The water of the Western rivers always causes a new accession of diarrhoea among old residents after a freshet, when mud and organic matters are kept in suspension by the current, and have not had time to settle. Water may be either so full of saline matters as to keep up a constant derangement of the bowels; or, if stagnant, and containing organic impurities, it gives rise to putrid fever. Very interesting details of microscopical and chemical analysis, and of means of purification and filtration, are given at length; and the great importance of bathing to the soldier is forcibly insisted on.

We are far, however, from being able to assent to the crude pathological *dictum* of our author, that "the habitual use of ice-cold water, so prevalent among all classes in this country, is calculated to injure the tone of the stomach, and to *produce diptheria*"! It is a matter of regret that hasty expressions of such a nature, without the support of any data save bare assertion, should have crept into a work which is otherwise valuable, and scientific in tone.

It is especially necessary, says our author, that the utmost care should be taken to secure every hygienic advantage in the location and construction of hospitals. Unlike other habitations, — except prisons, — the inmates are incapable of going out to obtain fresh air and light. They must submit to the conditions in which they are placed, and if these are bad in a sanitary point of view, the evil falls upon them with much

greater force than upon those able-bodied persons who, though they may reside in insalubrious habitations, are within their walls for but a small portion of the day. Moreover, in hospitals numbers of sick persons — sometimes several hundreds, or even thousands — are brought together, affected with every imaginable disease and injury, and often with their bodies and clothing contaminated with excretions and filth, which have accumulated through their neglect of the simplest habits of cleanliness; and thus influences are at work tending still further to modify unfavorably the pathological conditions in which the inmates are placed.

The choice of a location is of prime importance. An elevated situation, a dry soil, accessible and pure water, free and open surroundings, away from the heart of cities, should, of course, be preferred. The neighborhood of bodies of fresh water, or of manufactories, is to be avoided. Permanent hospitals should be of stone; temporary ones, of wood, — the walls of hard-finished plaster; the floors of oak, and the entries of tiles, or stone.

“In constructing and administering a hospital, certain principles are to be observed: —

1st. That it is capable of being well ventilated.

2d. That it is capacious enough for the number of inmates it is to contain.

3d. That it admits of good drainage.

4th. That it is provided with a sufficient number of windows.

5th. That the kitchen, laundry, and offices are well arranged, and of ample size.

6th. That efficient water-closet, ablution, and bathing accommodations are provided.

7th. That it is amply supplied with water, and gas or other means of illumination.

8th. That the furniture of all kinds is of suitable quality.

9th. That the officers and attendants have their proper respective duties assigned to them, and that they are in number sufficient for the wants of the sick.

10th. That proper rules are established for the government of the hospital, for the diet of the inmates, and for preserving order, and an efficient state of police.” — p. 310.

Reduced to its simplest form, a hospital consists of two parts,

the ward and the administration. The sick are to be entirely separated from the administrative part of the building. In fact, they are to have a house, or series of houses, by themselves. A collection of such buildings constitutes the hospital. The wards are grouped around the administrative department as a nucleus. No other arrangement than that which entirely separates the wards from one another is worthy of consideration. This plan consists in having distinct buildings for each ward, connected by airy corridors, and is called the pavilion system. To show how far public opinion has changed about the construction and ventilation of hospitals, we will quote a brief description of a military sanitarium in the war of 1812.

“ Dr. Tilton, Surgeon-General, with a mind possessing correct principles of philosophy, . . . . suggested hospitals upon a novel plan. They are built one story in height, with round logs, having a fire-place or hearth in the centre, without a chimney, the smoke ventilated through an inverted wooden funnel affixed to an opening in the roof, — the floors of the rooms earth, in the true aboriginal style. He thinks them an improvement as they respect health. . . . . Wooden floors retain infectious principles, while earth floors absorb or neutralize them. . . . . It would be difficult to devise a more objectionable plan for hospitals than that proposed by Surgeon-General Tilton. A ground floor is, of all others, the worst, for the very reason that it absorbs readily the organic matters given off from the bodies of the inmates.” — pp. 358, 359.

In another plan which is given, the wards open upon a close corridor, thus effectually preventing ventilation. Equally objectionable features will be found in many of the old hospitals of Europe, as we shall see presently.

Interesting series of experiments to determine the amount of carbonic acid and of organic impurities in the air of bedrooms and of hospital-wards, are given. “ I have inspected hospitals,” says Dr. Hammond, “ where no attention was paid to ventilation ; where the fact that dozens of patients affected with typhoid fever, dysentery, and other zymotic diseases, were breathing over and over again the same air, was either unnoticed by the medical officers, or uncared for.” No better test of the professional fitness of a surgeon to take the charge of a hospital can be found, than the estimate which he puts upon

the importance of providing an abundance of fresh air for his patients. Where there is perfect ventilation, there is no infection. Contagion can act only in confined air. Erysipelas, pyemia, hospital gangrene, typhus and typhoid fevers, are diseases which are almost unknown among individuals not exposed to the dangers of overcrowding and want of fresh air.

“M. Larrey, in calling attention to this subject, says: ‘The danger of infection depends upon the vitiation of the atmosphere, especially during the night. The natural excretions of the sick — the breath, the fetid perspiration, the expectorated matter, the intestinal and urinary evacuations, the suppurations from wounds and ulcers, and sometimes the putridity of mortification or of hospital gangrene — are so many sources of contamination, without counting the odors of medicines, of tisans and poultices, the evaporations from liquids, the emanations from the soil, from the gas or oil used for illumination, from the bed linen, and from the too closely situated or badly constructed latrines.’ Lévy is equally emphatic: ‘I am far from denying the importance of diet, of curative methods, of careful attention, of an efficient administration, etc.; but all these elements of hospital service are secondary to the necessity for having pure air. Bring them to the highest degree of ideal perfection, and, if the air is vitiated, or if it is deficient in quantity, neither improvement is manifest nor the mortality lessened.’” — pp. 428, 429.

A hospital ward should be of an oblong shape, and of a width of not more than twenty-five feet, which will allow a ten-foot passageway between the beds. There should never be more than two rows of beds, set about nine inches from the wall, and averaging four feet apart. They may be best put in pairs between the windows. Each bed then occupies about seven feet in the length of the ward; consequently a ward of 50 beds, 25 on a side, would be properly  $25 \times 7 = 175$  feet long. The height should not be less than fourteen nor more than sixteen feet. A ward, therefore, of these dimensions,  $25$  (width)  $\times 175$  (length)  $\times 14$  (height)  $= 60,250$  cubic feet, gives 1,205 cubic feet to each patient. These dimensions, says Dr. Hammond, are the lowest which should be allowed in any permanent hospital. Every patient should receive, as a *minimum* allowance, 1,200 cubic feet of space, about 87 of which should be superficial. If less is allotted to him, an offence is committed against the laws of human health. In temporary,

ridge-ventilated hospitals, where the air is changed often, less space will suffice. The beds may be two feet and a half apart, and the allowance of space about 960 cubic feet. One window, not less than five feet high, should be allowed for every two patients. Indispensable appendages to each ward are a bath and wash room, a water-closet, a ward-master's room, and perhaps a mess-room for convalescents. The bath-room and water-closet should be at the end of the ward farthest from the corridors. The administrative department, in a separate, central building, should contain rooms for a surgery, a hospital office, store-rooms, medical officers' quarters, quarters for hospital stewards, nurses, and apothecaries; also a kitchen, a laundry, and a dead-house. The last three should be, if possible, entirely detached.

A brief retrospect of the faults of older hospitals may be of service. The principal hospitals of Europe, with ground-plans appended, are reviewed and criticised in detail. The favorite plan in former times was to build hospitals around a central courtyard, than which nothing can be more pernicious. Guy's Hospital, London, has its wards around two closed courts, which shut out air and light. The Necker, Paris, also encloses three sides of a square. Another plan, scarcely better, is to crowd the wards together in pairs, or by fours. On this model are constructed the United States Marine Hospitals; also the Hôpital de la Clinique of Paris. Another objectionable plan is to arrange the wards on the sides of a closed corridor, as in Rotterdam, Hamburg, and Bremen. The most extensive military hospital in Great Britain, that at Netley, just completed, is also built on this principle. It is said to have been designed and constructed by the Engineer Corps of the British army, without the advice of the medical department being asked at all. In the King's College Hospital, London, the wards are double, or back to back, so that they can have ventilation from windows on one side only. Equally objectionable is it to build wards of three or more stories in height. They should never exceed two stories. The difficulty and labor of administration are much increased, and too many sick are collected under one roof. Our author thinks that fifty patients are as many as should be congregated in one building. Yet in cities, where

land is dear, it is very common to erect hospitals of three stories.

A perfect hospital has never yet been built, and perhaps never will be. Among those of Europe which are thought best to fulfil the requirements of hygiene, is the Lariboisière of Paris. It is a great advance over the older plans, and is a pavilion hospital, with grass-plots between the pavilions, and a central administrative building. The pavilions have too many stories, and are too close together, shutting off the lower wards from the sun, according to Dr. Hammond. The new military hospital at Vincennes is admirable in many respects, and perhaps the best yet spoken of. The Hospital of St. Louis, at Turin, is built in the form of an  $\times$ , with the administration in the centre. It has many fine features and is well administered; but the windows of the wards do not open directly to the external air.

Of the civil hospitals of the United States, Dr. Hammond devotes special praise to the new Free City Hospital of Boston, now building in the south part of this city, and to the Episcopal Hospital, Philadelphia. He thinks that they fulfil all the requirements of sanitary science.

The two great principles which govern the erection of the government hospitals at the present time, and which render them so far superior to many older and more permanent institutions, are the segregation of the sick by the system of pavilions, and ventilation by the ridge. Both these sanitary improvements, it should be observed, were first recommended by the commission appointed by Parliament to inquire into the hospitals of the Crimean war, and to report suggestions for reform, and are described and published in one of the Blue-Books. Ventilation is provided for by leaving an opening, ten inches wide, at the ridge, along the whole length of the ward. This opening should be covered by a roof projecting at least two feet on each side, and elevated four inches above the lower roof. A narrow strip, placed along the margins of the opening, guards against the entrance of snow or rain. Holes must be cut in the sides of the ward under the beds, which close with a sliding valve or door. The amount of fresh air admitted is thus easily regulated. This system of

ventilation is very effective. The sun heats the roof, whereby an upward current is established, and the air of the ward is constantly renewed. Such wards are always comparatively cool and fresh. In winter, if it be found impracticable to keep these ventilators open, and sustain the necessary heat, another means is resorted to. The cold air is brought up beneath the stove, inside a double zinc casing, enters the room tempered of its coldness, and finds exit by a flue or shaft of wood, through which runs the stove-funnel, thus establishing an efficient current. The system of ridge ventilation is found well adapted to permanent hospitals. The Episcopal Hospital in Philadelphia is ventilated by discharge-flues, successively expanding in size, until they reach a sort of air-chamber heated by gas-jets, which draws up the impure air and discharges it out of doors. When these methods cannot be adopted, an Arnott's ventilator may be used.

The first pavilion hospital with ridge ventilation in the United States was built at Parkersburg, Virginia. It was planned by Assistant-Surgeon Dunster, U. S. A., from data derived by the Surgeon-General from the Crimean experience. Soon afterward, the Sanitary Commission planned the Judiciary Square Hospital, in Washington. This was built in ten pavilions, with a central corridor and administrative building; but instead of ridge ventilation, it had a series of upper windows in each ward, which swung upon a horizontal pivot. The ventilation here was found to be very effectual, the air at night being undistinguishable from the external atmosphere, and the hospital smell being much less perceptible than in other permanent hospitals. This was in the spring of 1862. Since that time, very many and much larger hospitals have been erected on the ridge and pavilion plan, with marked success. Such are the McLellan Hospital, the Hammond Hospital at Point Lookout, the Lincoln Hospital, Washington, the General Hospital at Fort Schuyler, the West Philadelphia Hospital, and the Mower Hospital. The last being the largest and most complete, as well as recent, we can take it as a perfected type of the others. This hospital is situated at Chestnut Hill, on the outskirts of the city of Philadelphia. It was designed by Assistant-Surgeon Greenleaf, and is the largest hospital in the



world devoted to the reception of the sick and wounded. It contains thirty-three hundred beds, and cost \$ 250,000. It is built of wood, and will last perhaps ten years, without extensive repairs. It is composed of fifty pavilions, projecting off from a corridor of a flattened ellipsoidal form, like the spokes of a wheel. The corridor is sixteen feet wide, and twenty-four hundred long. The area enclosed by it measures seven acres, and is used for air, exercise, and recreation of patients. The administration is in the centre. The sides of the corridor are almost wholly of glass set in sashes, which in summer are removed. In cold weather the corridor is warmed by fifty large stoves, and forms a good place for the convalescents to walk in. The pavilions, being arranged in radii, are twenty feet apart at the corridor, and forty at the distant extremities. The circulation of air around them is thus secured. The pavilions are one hundred and seventy-five feet long by twenty wide, fourteen feet high at the eaves, and nineteen at the ridge. They are supplied with ridge ventilation for the whole length of the pavilion in summer, and with stoves and ventilating flues, as already described, for winter. The length of the ward is one hundred and fifty feet, the remaining twenty-five feet being taken up by a mess-room at one end and a wash-room and ward-master's room at the other. Each ward contains fifty-two beds, allowing nine hundred and fifty cubic feet to each patient. The water-closets are well arranged, with a full stream of water; and the bath-room and ablution-room are supplied with hot and cold water. These are all at the farther extremity of the pavilion. The food is brought to the mess-rooms in hot-water cars running on a railway the whole length of the corridor. By this means the meals are served hot from the kitchen. The railway is also used to transport patients. The kitchen has a large range, two large stoves, and three boilers of sixty gallons each. The laundries are supplied with large caldrons heated by steam, with washing-machines, wringers, and other apparatus. Hot water is furnished by a steam-engine, which forces it over the building. Over one hundred and fifty thousand gallons of water are used daily, an average of fifty gallons to each inmate. The sewerage is efficient, and the whole building is lighted with gas. A mag-

netic telegraph and fire-alarm connect all the wards with the office of the surgeon in charge. The *personnel* of the hospital consists of thirty medical officers, eight hospital stewards, three chaplains, and four hundred and ninety-five nurses, attendants, and cooks. There is also a guard of eighty-six men. The only desideratum in this noble institution is that the wards should be four feet wider.

In lighting and ventilating a hospital, the amount of oxygen consumed and of carbonic acid evolved by the candles or gas is to be considered. Dr. Hammond has found that a gas-burner consuming four feet of gas per hour evolves about five cubic feet of carbonic acid in that time. The Mower Hospital has 1,050 gas-burners, and consumes 178,260 feet of gas per month. From these data he calculates that the gas-burners evolve enough carbonic acid each night to contaminate the air-space used by three hundred and thirty patients. Of course, with good ventilation, this passes off. Gas-burners can be easily ventilated by a tin funnel placed about three feet above them, and a tube communicating with the ventilating flue. The whole ventilation of the room is also increased by the upward current thus established.

Other and very simple means have been found of warming hospital pavilions, by having stoves under the floors, in an enclosed basement, and allowing the cold air to come in through a large air-box, to be tempered by the stoves, and then to enter the ward through very numerous and minute openings in the floor.

Practically, it is found that the pavilion and ridge ventilating system works admirably in a hygienic point of view. Zymotic diseases are rare, and infection does not extend. During two months of the hottest weather, in a hospital of five hundred beds, to which we were attached, filled and refilled several times with acute cases, chiefly of wounded men, there were but three cases of erysipelas and two of hospital gangrene.

There are now fully two hundred and twenty-five general hospitals in the United States. Many of them are recent structures, on these improved plans. Many, also, are of immense size. It was estimated in 1862, from satisfactory

data, that they contained nearly eighty thousand patients. From the "Consolidated Report of Gunshot Wounds," just issued from the Surgeon-General's office, it appears that during only *four months* of 1862 there were received and treated 20,930 cases of gunshot wounds. The wounded of the whole British army during the entire Crimean war amounted only to a little over twelve thousand; and it has been well remarked, that their entire hospital accommodations during those three years would not have sufficed for the reception of the wounded of either of the battles of Shiloh, Antietam, or Gettysburg. Such vast requirements may surely excuse some defects in this great system of hospitals.

Thus far we have seen that admirable accommodations are provided for the sick or wounded soldier. Brought from the camp or field to the General Hospital, he finds himself placed in a light, airy ward, almost as well ventilated as if in the open air to which he has been accustomed, well warmed and lighted, and is finally deposited, after a bath, in a clean bed. Surely these are no slight luxuries to a weary, wounded man. But these are not all. He must be fed, nursed, doctored, and withal kept under a wholesome restraint and discipline. In a military hospital things must go by rule. The soldier is not a civilian. He is used to obey, not to enjoy freedom without license. Discipline is absolutely essential to his well-being, and to the proper conduct of a great hospital. All our rank and file, too, are not heroes and saints. Certain Eastern regiments, recruited in localities where popular opinion is so strong that men enlist from conscientious conviction, are composed of enlightened, and even educated privates. But the great bulk of the Union army is collected from all nationalities and from all motives, and necessarily contains many *mauvais sujets*, — a fact with which we could not help being impressed on seeing the President, with unwearied kindness, making the rounds of four hundred beds, to say a pleasant word to the sick and wounded, and unconsciously paying the same attention to Corporal Jones, laid up with syphilis, "contracted in the service," and Private Smith, suffering from yesterday's debauch, that he did to the really deserving.

For a proper understanding, it will be best to review the

military administration of hospitals. In some respects, we regard it as superior to the administration of civil hospitals. Among these is the system of inspection which is carried on daily, nightly, and weekly. The medical officers, as in other hospitals, make two daily visits to the wards, a long dressing and prescribing visit in the morning, and a shorter general visit in the evening. In addition to this, the medical "officer of the day" makes two visits of inspection, — one in the middle of the day, when he views the whole house, the kitchens, store-rooms, dispensary, nurses' rooms, sculleries, and water-closets, as well as the wards, their cleanliness, ventilation, order, the state of the beds, and all necessary details, — the other after midnight, when he again visits the whole house, sees that everything is safe from fire, and the watchers awake, and attends to the wants of the sick who are sleepless. The latter we regard as a very admirable feature in the medical administration. By it the sick are insured a third diurnal visit. For ourselves, we never went this nightly round without finding something to do for the patients, for lack of which they would have suffered, — an opiate to be given, a stump to be wet, or a fracture adjusted into some easier position. In addition to this, there is a weekly "general inspection" on Sunday, by the surgeon in charge, accompanied by the whole medical staff and the hospital stewards. This is very minute, lasting several hours in a large hospital. Every nook and corner is pried into; cooking-utensils are overhauled, dishes inspected, beds tipped up and searched, and the drainage and filth especially looked after, outside and in. Complaints are also heard, and abuses or negligences noted for redress. Under this thorough system of inspection, it is impossible that any great evils or deficiencies can go long overlooked. If neglected in the daily, they will be discovered in the weekly rounds.

Other military rules are not so praiseworthy. Among the greater evils, we regard the mixed duties of the surgeon in charge, and also of his assistants. They have too many mere executive functions added to their professional labors. The assistant-surgeon has every three or four days to be "officer of the day," when he must be temporary military governor of

the whole institution for twenty-four hours, besides attending to his wards. The surgeon in charge has always more administrative than medical duties. He cannot properly take care of the sick in addition to carrying on a great hospital, but must leave all but a superficial oversight of the worst cases to his assistants. For this reason we think that there should be two head officers of a large general hospital,—one executive and military, the other medical. This evil, too, increases as the surgeon rises in rank, so that the surgeon of a brigade, much more the medical director of a division, is engrossed in administrative details of the most laborious nature. His age and experience in the service are thus in great measure lost to the sick, and frittered away in official details. Thus it is a common saying among the volunteer medical corps, that the best way to see practice is to be a simple assistant-surgeon. The medical regulations of the army are humane and reasonable, but they are also exacting and rigid. Admirably adapted to the perfect care of the regimental and general hospitals of an army of fifteen thousand men, as ours was before this war, they perhaps need more elasticity to adapt them to the vast wants of the service now. Then the higher grades of the medical staff could discharge both official and professional duties; now they must be absorbed in one class only.

The food provided for the sick soldier is excellent in quality, and most abundant in quantity. It is known that the soldier in health cannot consume all his rations; they are more than enough. Much more must the sick have a surplus. Thus five hundred men in hospital, entitled to five hundred daily rations, may not need more than two hundred. But being entitled to all, they are allowed to commute what they do not use, at a fixed rate, and to purchase articles more suitable for the sick. This commutation of rations is properly managed by the hospital steward, under the eye of the surgeon in charge. The money thus saved forms what is called the hospital fund, with which luxuries are bought for the patients,—such as fruit, ice, and all little delicacies,—the government finding wines and stimulants. Thus, in the hospital with which we are best acquainted, the fund sometimes amounted to one thousand dollars a month. With this, thirty dozen of

eggs, a keg of butter, several boxes of lemons, and large quantities of ice, with other commodities, were bought and used every day. When, therefore, complaint is made that the sick of any government hospital, established long enough to accumulate a hospital fund, are not provided with luxuries, it must be either because the hospital steward is a thief, or the surgeon in charge incompetent, or perhaps both. With the diet, or the lesser delicacies of the sick, the medical staff have nothing to do, since the officers are required to mess at their own expense. Close at hand, to supply any deficiencies of little luxuries, old linen, bandages, and the like, is the Sanitary Commission. And all this is without counting the not always judicious gifts of friends and visitors.

By the "Diet Table for General Hospitals, U. S. Army," it appears how abundant the food is. The convalescent on "full diet" receives meat five times a week, and fish once; on the seventh day, he has pork and beans; sixteen ounces of fresh beef or mutton on four days; the same quantity of corned-beef on the fifth; bread, sixteen ounces daily; potatoes and other vegetables daily; coffee and tea, milk, sugar, and rice or hominy daily, with flour, molasses, vinegar, salt, and pickles. "Half diet" consists of the same, in smaller quantity; low diet, of fresh meat, bread and butter, tea, and rice or farina; chicken diet, of fowl, bread, and tea; milk diet, of milk, bread, and rice; beef-tea diet, of beef-tea, bread, and tea. Besides this, there is a long list of extras, to be furnished by the Medical Purveyor, if required, such as chocolate, gelatine, tapioca, porter, wine, and brandy. There is no reason, in a permanent general hospital, why the sick soldier should not be abundantly and appropriately nourished. In the field and regimental hospitals, particularly if the army is in motion, many deficiencies must occur. We know that when, on the evacuation of Yorktown, several hundred of McLellan's army were left behind, mostly ill with typhoid fever, the only nourishment that could be procured for them, for days, was the ordinary tough corned-beef, and "hard-tack," or hard biscuit; and there were not enough cooking utensils to prepare that.

Scarcely less important to the sick man is the cooking of

his food. This, we fear, is generally poor. What fell under our personal observation was execrable. The reason was plain enough, but the remedy very difficult. Professional cooks are the great desideratum. Government provides extra pay for a certain number of convalescents, enlisted men, to serve as cooks, as hospital attendants, and in other capacities. The "Regulations for the Medical Department of the Army" provide for a general hospital, one steward, one ward-master, one nurse to ten patients, one matron, or higher nurse, to twenty, and one cook to thirty. These numbers are varied with some latitude; but the quality is necessarily poor. Much waste, delay, and bad cooking result. It would be cheaper for the government, in our opinion, to let out the cooking of each large hospital to some competent matron or professional cook. Certainly, where ample means are provided to cook with, the sick soldier in a permanent hospital might, or ought to, have his plain meals as good and as unvarying as at a restaurant or hotel. In Washington we found the soft bread from the Capitol bakery uniformly good, and it was furnished to all the hospitals daily. But the coffee, tea, soup, and other regular dishes, were generally poor, and sometimes unfit for use. How far this may be remedied now, we cannot say; but while the same causes exist, it must continue, at best, uncertain. This is a very serious evil to the sick or wounded man, who needs the best of nourishment.

For similar reasons, the nursing is not of the best quality. Nurses are provided by the regulations from privates, and a certain number of hired females. A ward of twenty beds would have two male nurses, and one matron, or head-nurse. In many cases the male nurses are convalescents, not strong enough to return to duty. Many of these are men of *bon volonté*, really kind, and desirous to tend carefully their sick comrades. A few are natural nurses, dexterous, quick, quiet, watchful; many are clumsy, slow, and dull. The female nurses are pretty good. But a lady who goes to an army hospital to nurse the soldiers finds herself in a very anomalous, and sometimes unpleasant position. As Miss Nightingale says, she should always be at the head, and never have to perform menial offices; not that they are degrading, but her prestige must be

preserved in the eyes of inferior, hired nurses. In no recognized place, where everything goes by rank, she is often put in a false position in consequence. Invalid soldiers are obviously improper for the weary task of nursing the sick. How often have we had to rouse and reprimand the tired watcher, who had been transferred from a sick-bed to be the night-nurse of his feebler comrades! At one time, hired professional male nurses were procured for some of the general hospitals from the large cities. Those whom we saw were a poor set, — decrepit and superannuated hospital attendants, or rascals who had lost their places. Many drank and smuggled in liquor to the patients. We think that one typhoid patient died in consequence of a debauch thus induced. A few of these nurses were good; and in other hospitals they may have been better, but we doubt it. Those hospitals which were so fortunate as to secure the services of the Sisters of Charity were well administered. Admirable nurses, good cooks, and always patient, quiet women, they discharged all the duties of the ward and the kitchen faithfully and well; and what was of equal importance, they had a recognized head, or superior, by whom they were governed, and whose word was law. The advantage of this to the medical officer is incalculable.

The medicines furnished to the sick are of the best quality. They pass through the hands of a medical purveyor, and their amount is regulated by a supply table. The dispensing of drugs, in all hospitals large enough to have a hospital steward devoted to that duty, is well attended to. The supply of stimulants is liberal, and that of all surgical appliances and of surgical instruments abundant.

It is more difficult to speak with justice of the medical officers, their duties, and their mode of performing them. The position is an arduous one.

“To obtain the utmost degree of good from such hospitals, it is necessary, as in everything else, that the best medical officers should be placed in charge of them, — men who not only know their duty, but who are possessed of the requisite administrative ability to carry out the measures which their judgment dictates. Something more is needed than mere professional knowledge; an association with military men, and the acquirement of the habit of commanding, are indispensable.



Some persons gain the power quickly; others never acquire it. It is an error, therefore, to suppose that, because a medical man is a good practitioner, or an accomplished teacher, he is at once qualified to assume the charge of a military hospital. Accustomed to practise in a city, with every convenience at hand, civil physicians and surgeons are often lost when they are thrown upon their own resources; and, knowing nothing of the exigencies of a military life, are indignant when the purveyors express themselves unable to comply with their demands. The business of a military surgeon must be learned, like every other; but in times like these the scholars are apt, and vie with each other in their efforts to render themselves useful." — p. 398.

So says the Surgeon-General. We may add, that many of the acting assistant-surgeons are young, and some are recent graduates. Thrown very much on their own resources, they are also often overworked with professional and executive details. In a large hospital, particularly if there has been an engagement within a few weeks, the assistant-surgeon must spend the whole forenoon in his ward, engrossed in the most exhaustive labors over the wounded, where the heat and the unavoidably depressing agency of so many suppurating wounds combine to fatigue him to the limits of endurance. The hours after dinner must be devoted to the performance of any operations demanded; for then only can the whole medical staff be present. In the evening there is another visit, and new cases to be attended to, which have come in during the day. Besides these, there are military duties. Every two or three days, as officer of the day, he must devote an hour or two to inspecting the house, flushing every water-closet, overlooking beds, wards, and medicines, looking into the kitchen-utensils, tasting the soup, and endless other minutiae, and must also be at the beck and call of every complainant, and the judge and punisher of every infraction of discipline. He must, besides, receive and conduct visitors, and answer innumerable questions. Weary as he may be, he must still go the "grand rounds" after midnight, through every ward, and outside, around the guard. At two o'clock in the morning he at last goes to bed, to be roused possibly by a convoy of ambulances, bringing in fifty or a hundred dusty, tired, hungry, sick, and ghastly wretches, to whom the remainder of the night must, for humanity's sake,

be devoted. Of all this he has no right to complain. It is only cited to show that his short-comings are to be regarded with some leniency. At the same time, it is not to be denied that there are some who are indolent, indifferent, or worse. Such exist in every branch of the profession. We are glad to learn that, in the judgment of Dr. Ellis, who was lately in charge at White-House on the Peninsula, the medical corps in the field has much improved in quality since the commencement of the war.

The persistent but mistaken kindness of the public, chiefly female, in striving to see, nurse, and feed the sick in the hospitals, who are seen, nursed, and fed besides by the regular attendants, is one of the chief sources of annoyance to the medical officer, and of injury to the sick. Eight hundred visitors entered the hospital to which we were attached on one afternoon. The soldiers even complained that they could have no privacy for their sick needs. Restrained to two afternoons a week, these Samaritans were indignant, and tried to smuggle themselves and their little offerings in unseen. Their lavish attentions were destructive of discipline, and thwarted the surgeon's best efforts. One good lady was detected hiding doughnuts beneath every patient's pillow, in a ward of fever patients. Comment is useless.

The surgeons are often accused of needlessly amputating limbs, and performing other operations. But it has seemed to us that there is a large class of cases where life is ultimately lost through too great conservatism. When we consider the many perils to which the long recovery from a shattered limb exposes the private soldier, of bad transportation, hospital diseases, and malaria,—and all these supervening on a feeble state of the blood, as we shall presently describe,—we may well hesitate to submit him to such risks, which an amputation will, to a considerable extent, avert.

The habits of the soldier are, almost unavoidably, somewhat dirty. Removed from the customary conveniences of home, and often so placed as to be able to obtain but a limited supply of poor water for drinking, he inevitably becomes careless and filthy, unless prevented by the strictest discipline. All this operates to engender, communicate, and prolong disease.

Moreover, his constitutional state after a campaign, when he enters a hospital, is low. In our own experience, a thin and probably scorbutic condition of the blood was noticeable in the majority of wounded men. Robust health, suddenly stricken down by a wound, was an exceptional appearance. There was no strong reaction after injury. The aspect was that of fatigue. Convalescence was slow and lingering, the patient not recovering a rosy color, or the look of firm health. All the cases here alluded to came from the Peninsula, after the siege of Yorktown and the sojourn in the pestilent swamps of the Chickahominy. Climate, fatigue, exposure, want of sleep, and, above all, too little and poorly prepared food, and food of a bad quality, with no margin of extras to revive the appetite or enrich the blood, — all this supervening on habits of ease and plenty, and continuing to act on yielding constitutions for months, had gradually undermined the strength, and led to the state of prostration just described. Such a condition of things is perhaps inseparable from war. Exactly similar accounts may be found in all military writers. Many of these men came in with the prostration of typhoid, apparently. They slept, and slept for day after day, and arose well. They had no disease but sheer fatigue. Now all these conditions must be taken into account in estimating the salubrity of our army hospitals. Equally must the character of the cooking, nursing, and medical attendance be noted, in making our estimate of their efficiency; and for this reason we have alluded to them at such length.

The Surgeon-General closes the part of his book relating to hospitals by a chapter on field hospitals, in which he proves that tents form very excellent sick-wards, — far better than any but first-class hospitals, — provided they are trenched, kept clean, ventilated, and not overcrowded. He allows but six, or at most eight, men to a regulation hospital-tent. This tent is fifteen feet square, and eleven feet high at the ridge. It has perpendicular walls, and a false roof, or “fly,” to keep off the sun. Three such tents, one Sibley tent, and one common tent, are allowed to a regiment. It has long been noticed that wounded men do extremely well in tents, even in severe weather.

In speaking of camps, Dr. Hammond says that the interior of tents should never be excavated. They must be under strict police, with regard to latrines, slaughter and cooking places, and all rubbish. The tents should be struck every few days, and the ground beneath them sunned and aired. Thus camp diseases, as typhus, may be avoided. Very much depends upon the knowledge of the medical officer in selecting the site for a camping-ground, as to its salubrity. Comparisons are drawn from the density of various towns and cities, as to the proper density of an encamped population of equal numbers. The regulation camp gives a density of 86,448 to the square mile; while London has but 50,000, Birmingham 40,000, and Philadelphia 45,000 to the same area. This is obviously wrong.

We are sorry that want of space forbids our touching upon the very interesting chapters on food, considered physiologically, and the alimentation and clothing of the soldier. Their contents are interesting, the experiments extensive, and the results important.

In taking leave of our author, we cannot help feeling that the elective *faux pas* which placed him where he is, in total disregard of all just and established rules of precedence, was, on the whole, beneficial in its results. Many of the gentlemen who were his seniors would doubtless have equally well filled his position, as we know some of them to have nobly discharged no less arduous duties of inspection and administration since the war began. Yet, as representing the young school of medicine and science, and, above all, as a believer and practiser of hygiene more than of drugs, we regard him as well qualified for his place at the head of the medical corps. He pays frequent tributes to that Commission appointed by her Majesty to report on the evils of hospitals in the Crimean war, to which America as well as England owes much of the improvement in the care of the soldier, both in health and in sickness. Nor is he disposed to deprive the accomplished surgeons and assistant surgeons of the regular army of the part they have performed in planning, erecting, and carrying on the immense and noble hospitals we have described.

Considerable discussion has been excited, both within the

profession and without, by the Surgeon-General's order excluding calomel and tartar-emetic from the supply-table of the army. We are inclined to think that the mere loss of these medicaments is of little importance to the soldier. But we deeply regret that disgraceful malpractice of a portion of the medical service which necessitated the issuing of such a restriction.

If our author sometimes displays mistakes in pathology, which prove his mind to have been occupied in scientific research somewhat to the exclusion of practice, yet we must admire the perseverance and fortitude which have led him to experiment upon himself physiologically, concerning food and other agents, at the expense of very considerable physical suffering and prostration. It is especially on account of this direction of his mind toward the new and great truths of chemistry, physiology, ventilation, light, food, and kindred subjects, that we think it fortunate for the army and the country that he occupies the position he does, at this critical juncture of affairs; for the improvements in the sanitary state of camps and hospitals must be partly ascribed to his influence, as well as to that of the noble Sanitary Commission, and to the progress in public opinion.

Already this unhappy war has furnished to the medical profession experience and statistics larger than the world ever saw before. A Military Museum established in Washington already contains more pathological specimens of gun-shot wounds than almost any in the Old World, and this is designed to be the nucleus of a military medical school. Even at the risk of regarding this question in too professional a spirit, let us look at that principle of compensation which brings some good out of every evil; and which may cause the present strife to result in the progress of humanity and the advancement of science, as well as in that of liberty, and in the restored Union of our common country.

- ART. X. — \*1. *The Testimony of Christ to Christianity.* By PETER BAYNE, A. M., Author of "The Christian Life," "Essays in Biography and Criticism," etc. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1862.
2. *The Character of Jesus, forbidding the possible Classification with Men.* By HORACE BUSHNELL. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861.
3. *The Christ of History: an Argument grounded in the Facts of his Life on Earth.* By JOHN YOUNG, M. A. New York: Carter and Brothers. 1856.
4. *The Sinlessness of Jesus, an Evidence for Christianity.* By DR. C. ULLMANN. Translated from the Sixth German Edition. Edinburgh. 1858.
5. *The Divine-Human in the Scriptures.* By TAYLER LEWIS, Union College. New York: Carter and Brothers. 1860.

"THE strongest proof of Christianity is — Christianity." This is true not only of the inward evidence which it furnishes to the sincere believer, but also of its self-demonstrative force as a religious system. Within the last few years this kind of evidence has attracted a considerable share of attention, and more and more as the examination proceeds it affords the richest and most gratifying results. By a very simple induction from almost universally admitted facts and phenomena, we may attain to a conviction of the truth of Christianity as a whole, comprehensive, symmetrical, and conclusive, — a conviction embracing not only its moral excellence, but its historical actuality. We have given above the titles of some of the principal works on this subject, together with two or three which have only an indirect bearing upon it.

Every one is familiar with the fact that scepticism within the last eighty years has wholly changed its ground. Very little attention would now be paid to a writer taking the position that Jesus was a vulgar impostor, a mere selfish deceiver, or a crazy fanatic. The mind of humanity has received the ineffaceable impression that, whatever else may be true concerning him, this cannot be. Infidelity has abandoned a position no longer tenable; but it is not to be disguised that it

occupies one very perilous to the cause of truth, not so much because of its intrinsic strength as by reason of the ambiguities which characterize it. Unquestionably the most staggering blows received by Christianity in late years have been struck by men who, adopting the Christian name and disclaiming all sympathy with its enemies, have at the same time repudiated its essential doctrines, and have done their utmost to destroy the evidence of its cardinal facts. Conceding the exalted virtue and extraordinary wisdom of Jesus, and the unequalled excellence of the religion he taught, they profess to eliminate these from the great body of doctrines and truths regarded by the vast majority of his followers as essential to his system. They exclude the apparently supernatural in his character and the miraculous in his works, partly on the theory of exaggerated reports and impressions, and partly by representing him as an unexampled type of the moral enthusiast, who, while being slightly deceived himself, and suffering others to be deceived, yet did not, considering the age and nation in which he lived, and other cognate circumstances, impair his claim to the respect and admiration of the world as a great religious reformer. The only way to test this or any other similar theory is by an appeal to the facts of Christianity and an analysis of Christ's character. If the examination prove that these new teachers have conceded too much to be infidels and too little to be Christians, then they will be compelled to seek some new base of operations, or to surrender at discretion.

While so many sceptical writers both of the old and the new school have been setting forth the difficulties of Evangelical Christianity, it has been discovered that the difficulties of infidelity are, to speak moderately, not less formidable. These difficulties are not merely the irreconcilable conclusions of deistical philosophers, among whom each prominent writer seems to constitute a school by himself, thus forming multiplied and utter antagonisms of unbelief; but, as is more and more apparent, they are difficulties which are found to be inexplicable and inextricable on every hypothesis which excludes the supernatural and miraculous from the foundations of the Christian faith.

The teachers of sceptical philosophy are apt to forget that there are certain facts of which not only the existence, but the relation to certain other facts, demands explanation. In applying the *reductio ad absurdum* to the Evangelical theory, they are in danger of applying the *reductio ad impossibile* to facts that are unquestioned and unquestionable. In rejecting the solution furnished by the Christian system, they not only fail to present a better one, but somehow unaccountably omit to attempt any at all. They put themselves in the category of those whom Plato anathematizes as mischievous and wicked men, taking away a religious faith, no matter how poor, without putting a better in its place. Not that they reject all religion, but that which they furnish is but a reservation from the ruins of the evangelical system, and as such utterly inadequate to the wants of humanity. Even so, it is more and more seen, not only that the data upon which the apostles of this broader and less substantial faith proceed are the product of the doctrines they are seeking to refute, but that some of the principles upon which all moral reasoning depends are discarded by them. Their position is analogous to that of the rustic who takes his stand upon a limb from which he wishes to dis sever what seems to him a cumbersome and useless trunk, but whose enterprise involves his own precipitate and ruinous downfall.

That there are difficulties in the Evangelical theory, we are not disposed to deny. They are frankly admitted. We even admit that many of them are inexplicable. We may allow, without at all prejudicing our cause, that there are discrepancies in the Scriptural record, and, if you please, that there are statements not easily reconciled with known facts,—for we are willing to take very low ground. We do not now insist that the “volume of Nature” which is so confidently appealed to, and even the “inward revelation,” for which still more implicit faith is claimed, certify facts quite as incongruous and irreconcilable. But what we do aver is, that the difficulties are more and greater, on any other hypothesis that has ever yet been presented, than on the Evangelical. Especially is this the case in any theory which the skill of modern deism has devised. Let us look at some of these difficulties.



The character of Christ, on any supposition which excludes his Divine mission, and his superhuman qualifications for it, evidently presents more embarrassments than all those which are encountered in the effort to make clear and consistent the commonly received opinion concerning him. Is the fourfold story of his life a fiction? Then we have the most marvellous fact, that there were found four men — in an age and a nation the fables of which were of the most distorted and incongruous character, and in whose fictitious heroes there were mingled with some generous qualities others the most earthly, sensual, and devilish — giving us a conception of the noblest, purest, most elevated, best balanced, and most spiritual character the world has ever seen, our opponents themselves being judges. We do not insist upon the fact, that they wrote independently of one another, though they draw different pictures of the same individual. But not only have these men, who evidently were not men of extraordinary literary ability, given us, in an incredibly small space, the portrait of a life unlike any other that ever was lived, or even conceived; they have so written it, that the vast majority in all generations of those who have read the story have felt it to be the story of a real life, — and that, too, in spite of most skilful efforts to disprove its authenticity and its credibility, — in spite of very many difficulties which confessedly beset it. Here, certainly, is a very wonderful phenomenon, and those who assert it are bound to explain the marvel. For our own part, we might, with Bacon, “sooner believe all the fables of the Talmud,” than, as Rogers happily says, believe that minds which could *only* produce Talmuds should have conceived *such fictions* as the Gospels. “The wildest credulity of scepticism must shrink from the idea that four men have existed in this world who could have drawn four such pictures as that of Christ in his trial and crucifixion, if there had been no original for the portrait, no actuality for the occurrence.” The various expedients resorted to by sceptical writers for the solution of this problem indicate the serious nature of the difficulty. Few have now the hardihood to risk their reputation — if they have any reputation to risk — by advocating the theory of wholesale fabrication. The very character of the nar-

ratives renders this impossible of belief. The notion of a *mythical origin* involves several difficulties ; — such as that it was not an age of myths in the strict sense of that term ; that the length of time is incredibly brief for the formation of so complete a mythic system ; and especially that the system itself is so thoroughly in contrast with, and separated by so wide a moral interval from, all other mythic formations, as to render the mythical theory quite as inexplicable as the superhuman character claimed for it. Nor will the hypothesis of *moral fiction* furnish any obvious relief. The supposition, that what was meant to be mere parable or allegory has been so injudiciously set forth that men have almost universally taken it for literal fact, is quite as incredible as any other. Without insisting at all upon any infallibility of the Evangelists, or any supernatural help in their narrative, the lowest ground we are warranted in taking by the ordinary canons of historical criticism is to admit their substantial correctness ; and this involves certain elements aside from the natural and above the human. We shall recur to this topic again.

The *facts of Christianity*, both in its history and in its present *status*, are utterly unaccountable and inexplicable on any theory proposed by sceptical or naturalistic writers. Here is a religion which has been adopted by the most enlightened communities on the face of the earth ; which has clearly inspired the most advanced civilization the world has yet seen ; upon which rest, in a great degree, our forms of government, our systems of jurisprudence, our methods of education ; which enters into and characterizes our philosophy, our poetry, our art ; — a religion, as admitted on all hands, the best ever devised, and which has made its way, not only in spite of popular disinclination to the practice of its virtues, but against the most formidable force of critical and philosophical opposition ; which shows no signs of wearing out, but is more vigorous and aggressive to-day than ever before. Remember, it is a religion which has not only commanded the assent of some of the most powerful intellects of the most enlightened times, but has confessedly met the wants of multitudes of earnest seekers after truth among the masses, — those who were seeking truth, not that they might frame it into philosophical systems, or find

data for speculation, but for personal use and practical application to the most serious purposes of their existence. It is supposed that this system was devised by a Jewish peasant, who, though of considerable wisdom and virtue, was still an amiable enthusiast, who used certain "innocent deceptions" on his followers, whose public life lasted but three years and terminated in the death of a felon, and whose uncultivated followers presented to the world distorted, exaggerated, and superstitious views of his character and doctrine. Let us remember that this religion sprang up among a people particularly exclusive; that it claimed to be the fulfilment of promises, the realization of types, the result of preparations, of which they had been the sole depositaries and subjects for many centuries; that, having this narrow basis, this merely national adaptation, and these clearly inadequate means of propagation, it nevertheless filled and vivified all the literature and philosophy, and penetrated all the thinking, of the Roman Empire, and of all the nations arising out of it, in a remarkably brief space of time.

"How soon it completely modified, yea, completely transformed, that whole historical state out of which arose our modern Europe and our modern civilization! What Divine energy was this, that so far surpassed all former powers that had risen out of the Occidental mind, and might, therefore, be supposed so much better adapted to it? Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, Socrates, — Academics, Stoics, Rhetoricians, Moralists, — *they* had never so stirred the world, *they* had touched no universal chords in human souls, although nothing could seemingly be more abstract, and therefore more universal, than the language of their precepts. . . . . The world was caring little about them or their systems; it was fast sinking into darkness, with all the light they gave. . . . . But when Christ came, . . . . when evangelists and apostles came, how mighty the change, and how soon did it manifest itself in so great a revolution of human ideas! Will some of the men who talk so much of development explain this mystery, that has withstood all the 'sneers of Gibbon, and stands yet the inexplicable fact of the world'?" — Lewis's *Divine-Human*.

Surely the modern deist, in rejecting the superhuman *origin* of Christianity, is driven to the alternative of a supernatural agency in its *propagation*, or of phenomena totally out of analogy with anything else in the whole course of human history,

and to the philosophic mind absurdly unnatural. As an explainer of the facts, the Evangelical theory may assuredly claim a superior competency.

Not less perplexing is the difficulty in which the dogma of the impossibility of miracles involves one. We do not propose at present to discuss this dogma further than to note its implication that the Infinite God has reserved to himself far less power, or that he exercises far less liberty of action, than that with which he has invested finite man. But a still greater embarrassment occurs. There is a constitutional or natural conviction, common to men of all generations, of all nations, and under all forms of religion, that God not only *can*, but that he occasionally *does*, interfere with the order of things, and cause events plainly out of the natural course. We speak of this conviction as universal. It is so nearly universal as in itself to certify a natural law. The exceptions to it we do not overlook ; but they are clearly anomalous and artificial, not natural. The *assurance* that this conviction is false, and the demonstration of the impossibility that God can thus intervene in his own works, would be a more astounding, because a more unnatural prodigy, than any to which the credulity of the masses has ever been invited. We have no hesitation in subscribing to the notion, that it would require a miracle of the highest kind to authenticate the doctrine of the impossibility of miracles. But Christianity, as we shall see more clearly by and by, presents evidence which renders a denial of the Christian miracles still more difficult. Hume's great argument is, that, in order to the credibility of a miracle, the testimony for it must be such that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the miracle asserted. Mr. Bayne meets Hume on his own ground, and declares that " the Christian has to produce testimony to miracle whose falsehood would be a mightier wonder than the miracle attested," and is fully able to do it.

Modern infidelity not only repudiates the supernatural in visible and palpable events, but avers that whatever influence or information comes to man must be in the " order of nature." We do not stop here to show at any length how this dogma quarrels with the whole structure of human society, in so far as that implies mutual action and reaction by human power ;

and with the whole system of education, in so far as it implies instruction by means of teachers and books ; though these are clearly out of “the order of nature,” distinctly artificial, and to be rejected on the principle under consideration. There are other and more obvious difficulties in the way. The denial of a supernatural revelation, as made both unnecessary and impossible by the constitution of the soul, is as bold an assumption as that of the impossibility of miracles, and involves still greater inconsistencies, though the same reasoning, in large measure, applies to both. Of revelation it is said that God reveals himself in the material universe ; also and especially to the pure reason. It is upon the latter that so much stress is laid by the ablest of late deistical writers. This “inward light” is said to be sufficient, *if followed*, to preclude the necessity of an outward revelation. If it were our special purpose to disprove the doctrine of our opponents, we might perhaps admit nearly the whole of this proposition, and show that, by the very negation of the condition in the words we have Italicized, a revelation has become necessary. The “inward light” has *not* been followed ; by disobedience it has become dim. The way of man is dark, and the soul is utterly perplexed. We are disposed to yield all due faith to the religious intuitions. Without these, a revelation of any kind might be impossible. It is because the Bible appeals directly to these, that its truths are so powerfully felt by the masses of men, even when its philosophy and science and logic may *seem* to be at fault. In this respect the Christian revelation has long since demonstrated its superiority to all other books, — a statement which we suppose few will have the hardihood to deny.

But the peculiar contradiction into which scepticism here falls is this : The “inward light,” the “natural revelation,” which is so trustworthy and so exact in its intimation, has led the great mass of mankind to look for a *supernatural* revelation. As we intimated concerning the expectation of the miraculous, — of which, indeed, revelation is only a particular form, — so universal is this belief, that we are warranted in attributing to it all the force of a natural law. Indeed, we know of no conviction that is stronger than the persuasion

that God will reveal himself from without and above the order of nature. So deep-seated is it, that even the ten thousand corruptions of the doctrine and the multitudinous false pretensions of its actualization have been powerless to shake the popular faith in it. We hazard little in saying that nothing short of the indubitable word of God would be sufficient to demolish its force. As Rogers says, it would require a Divine revelation to prove that a Divine revelation is impossible.

Of those who have got rid of this conviction there are very few whose change can be shown to depend on any development of intuitive judgments. Doubtless almost every such person with whom we are likely to meet will frankly confess that he was led to this view by hearing, or more probably by reading, the argument of some philosophic mind. Thus they have had a *human* revelation to convince them that a *Divine* revelation is an absurdity; and "that is seen to be possible with men which is impossible with God"! Such denial of all intercourse between the Infinite and the finite mind, as Professor Lewis shows,

"can end only in pantheism, or the perfect identification of God with the world. . . . There is no supernatural; there can be no supernatural. Now the man who asserts this, unless he intends the merest play of words, making everything to be natural simply because it is somehow in the universal system of things, has undertaken a defence of a position more *incredible* — that is, more opposed to the common judgments and feelings in the very laws of our thinking — than all the legends of all the revelations, real or supposed, that have ever claimed the credence of mankind." — *Divine-Human*, p. 46.

Such are some of the difficulties and absurdities in which scepticism is involved by the effort to expose the inconsistencies and contradictions of Christianity. They show at least that nothing is gained in the way of natural credibility by adopting any theory yet devised to the exclusion of the supernatural. There are other features of the subject still more interesting, as illustrating the self-demonstrative character of Christianity. We have now to observe, that the facts conceded by the ablest sceptical writers concerning Christianity imply the truth of those parts of the system which they most strenuously deny.

The most popular and dangerous form assumed by infidelity at present is that in which it claims to be essentially Christian, and only aims to eliminate the true from what is erroneous, extravagant, and absurd. It scouts the charge of being Anti-christian, — it is only more truly Christian, presenting a more genuine Gospel and a purer faith. Yet when these assumptions are examined, it is found that they repudiate all that is really peculiar to Christianity, conserving only what is common to it and several systems of paganism. These teachers who are thus more Christian than Christians themselves lay down a very broad platform, and, though discarding certain other features deemed essential by Evangelical believers, are in nothing so stringent as in the demand for the exclusion of all that is supernatural. All other questions may be left open; but this is essential. Now this assuming the name of a system from which every distinguishing feature is discarded, and whose essential elements are the object of unceasing hostility, seems to us very like a confession of weakness. Judged by a moral standard, it bears some similarity to the reported *ruse* of certain Rebel regiments in the present war, who raise the Union flag to lure our soldiers on to certain destruction. Most properly has a writer in these pages designated the famous volume put forth by certain English essayists of this school as “the Oxford Clergymen’s attack on Christianity.” It has also been happily shown that the word Christianity, in the common use of language in all literature and by all its votaries, with scarcely exceptions enough to prove the rule, is applied to a *professedly* supernatural system of religion. Any system from which this feature is omitted is just as distinctly different from Christianity as that is from Buddhism, Hinduism, or Moslemism.

But even in reducing Christianity to a cold, moral mechanism, there are concessions of certain facts which are of a character and in a position imperatively to require certain other facts to go along with them. The facts commonly conceded at present by infidel writers are, that such a man as Jesus did live; that the general features of his character are described in the Gospels; that he was a good man, and a man not only of extraordinary virtue, but of a wonderful spiritual insight

respecting the relation of man to God ; that there dwelt in him remarkable wisdom and an unparalleled capacity of impressing himself on his own age, and as well on all ages since ; moreover, that there has flowed out from him into the world a marvellous moral power, wide-spread, cumulative, and unique. But it must not be supposed that he was in any literal sense an incarnation of a superior or pre-existent being, much less of the Divine ; nor can it be for a moment conceded, that he ever performed any work not explicable by reference to human skill and natural laws.

Now these things in Christianity, which a certain force of evidence within itself compels its opponents to concede, logically and irrefragably connect themselves with certain other things which are clearly miraculous. The natural necessarily implies the supernatural. " Given the credible, or that which is to be received on grounds of ordinary belief, and the marvellous cannot be rejected." It is as in comparative anatomy, — certain parts of the structure being given, other parts may unerringly be affirmed to coexist with them, no matter how utterly diverse the result may be from any known organism. It is thus that Christianity, as it stands in history and in fact, taking into account only what is now almost universally admitted by its opponents, testifies incontrovertibly to its own miraculous character. To this testimony we shall more fully appeal directly.

Just here we wish to say a word concerning the place which miracles occupy in the Christian system. It is not necessary to go into any philosophical discussion of the possibility of miracles, or any extended refutation of the dogma that the impossibility of any change in the existing condition of material agencies, except through the invariable operations of a series of eternally impressed consequences of a physical nature, is " a primary law of belief," to which both reason and conscience demand our submission. It is enough for our purpose to say, that any " primary belief " would be found to have its strongest hold in the intuitions of the great unlettered, unphilosophic, unsophisticated masses of men. Now, it is a remarkable fact, that just here, where this primary law would be most obvious if really existing, not the slightest trace of it



is seen. It emerges only in the minds of men given somewhat to critical speculation, philosophic discussion, and scientific processes. It has the appearance of an expedient adopted only after some painful consideration. The masses; on the contrary, in all ages and of all religions, give overwhelming evidence that the "primary belief," if there be one on this subject, is in favor of both the possibility and actuality of many changes induced from without the chain of natural sequences.

There has doubtless been much confusion wrought in the minds of Christians, and no small advantage has accrued to scepticism, from the views adopted by certain writers on the relation of miracles to Christianity. Miracles have been appealed to as giving a direct and *present* testimony in favor of Christianity; whereas whatever evidence they furnish was given many centuries since, and is subject to all the liabilities of historical events. Miracles do not so much demonstrate Christianity at the present day, as Christianity proves miracles. The latter must be done, or Christianity itself falls through. Christ, in his instructions to his disciples respecting the propagation of the Gospel on the earth, assured them that they should not only do the works which he had done, "but greater works than these." These "greater works" belong to all ages of the Church, and have evidenced the truth of the system with constantly cumulative force. Scarcely anything, not even present miracles, could be so satisfactory to a fair-minded inquirer of the present day, as the evidence of the wonderful facts of Christianity, both historical and current. With the people to whom Christianity was first preached, the case was different. It was an untried system. It must needs have been certified unquestionably to be from Heaven before it could rightfully claim credence. A new religion of such tremendous requirements, and involving such incalculable interests, would have been unworthy of attention unless authenticated by something unmistakably supernatural and superhuman. But we are not to infer from this that the doctrine of miracles is of no importance to us now. On the contrary, as we have intimated above, we are compelled to believe that to refute this doctrine would be to refute Christianity itself.

The relation of miracles to Christianity we conceive to be threefold. In the first place, the character of Christianity is such as to imply the miraculous. Its conceded facts are such as coincide most easily with the supernatural. Without the latter as a complement, the former must appear utterly fragmentary, discordant, and purposeless. Their testimony, when fairly given, is, that they belong to a supernatural system, and that to attempt to separate them from such a system would be to resort to a most unnatural expedient. In the second place, the scheme of Christianity itself is such, and the condition of humanity such, that its successful introduction to the world, except by supernatural or miraculous demonstrations, is inconceivable. The stern morality so hostile to the depraved inclinations and selfish impulses of man, the lofty spirituality so antagonistic to the temporal and material notions of the race, the character of Christ and his kingdom, so contrary to the traditionary conceptions of the Jewish nation, could never have gained a foothold among a people accustomed to believe in the miraculous authentication of new religious truths, except the teacher gave indubitable evidence that he came from God, by works which no mere man could do. Lastly, the Bible is so thoroughly pervaded by the miraculous element that any doubts concerning the fact of miracles, particularly with reference to the miracles attributed to Christ, would vitiate the whole record. Reasoning from what is conceded by opponents, as well as on the general principles of historical criticism, we are compelled to believe that the Evangelists stated on this subject, as on all others, what they themselves thought to be true; and it was scarcely possible that they could be mistaken as to Christ's own opinions and declarations. According to their account, nothing is more credible than that Christ professed to work miracles. Was he deceived, or a deceiver, or did he do what he is claimed to have done? The answer to this question will appear more clearly when we come to look more closely at the character of Christ.

There is another question lying back of this. Did not the Evangelists fabricate, or exaggerate, or at least give to the narrative the marvellous coloring with which the popular fancy had invested the remarkable incidents in the life of Christ?

As to the grosser aspects of this question, few have now the hardihood to maintain the affirmative. There is a more delicate and plausible form, in which it claims a more respectful attention. Still in any form the exceeding simplicity and evidently intentional truthfulness everywhere evident in the Evangelical narrative would seem to answer the question in the negative. Moreover, there is collateral historical evidence, as shown by Mr. Bayne,\* which indicates the impossibility of any other answer. The well-known passage of Tacitus, the integrity of which even Gibbon says "the most sceptical is obliged to accept," is important here. This assures us that, within thirty-five years after the death of Christ, the followers of him who had been crucified as a malefactor had not only increased largely in Judæa and all other parts of the empire, but that in Rome itself they had become "a vast multitude." We are informed that these multitudes clave to the name of Christ with the most marvellous pertinacity, refusing to abjure it even when the alternative was the fiercest physical tortures to which human beings were ever subjected. They had the firmest conviction of the supernatural character of his works; they believed unquestioningly that, after he had been dead certain days, he was raised to life and ascended to heaven. The Gospel histories were received by them as truthful and sacred records of his life and character, — a life and character which must, from the very nature of the case, have stamped themselves with intense vividness and potency upon their minds. It must be remembered, moreover, that at this time there were very many persons living, both friends and foes, who had been contemporaries of Christ, and who were amply qualified to testify concerning the truth or falsehood of the reports entertained among his followers.

Thus whatever of the mythical or fabulous or exaggerated there is now in the Evangelical conception of Christ's character and work on earth had all accumulated within the lifetime of thousands of his contemporaries, and of those who, both with friendly and with hostile eye, were personally acquainted with the objective facts of his career, — had grown up within

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\* Testimony of Christ to Christianity, 59 seq.

the space of thirty-five years, — a phenomenon without precedent or parallel in all the history of the world. We are driven to the conclusion, that Christ intentionally gave the impression to eyewitnesses, to intimate friends, to avowed enemies, that he was a worker of miracles. If we claim for the Evangelists only the ordinary credibility which common historical criticism would assign to them, leaving out of the account all notions of inspiration or infallibility, it is still evident that Christ claimed to exercise a Divine power. Both his conduct and his direct assertions declare this. When John sent, requiring proof of his Messiahship, this was the answer returned: "Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk; the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear; the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them. And blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me." If he were not an impostor, a mountebank, or else a self-deluded fanatic, he must, at the very least, have had a Divine power working along with him; and if this were so, other vastly important consequences follow.

But while Christianity, in its historical aspects, when fairly examined, furnishes incontrovertible testimony of the miraculous in its origin, its moral and religious aspects produce no less strongly the same impression. It is not denied by our modern sceptics that there is in it a wonderful moral power. Its world-transforming influence cannot be ignored. That it has produced in individual believers from the first a rich supply of virtues, — virtues, too, such as men had little practical idea of before, — humility, meekness, and self-denying, compassionate, ministering love; that, in the common relations of humanity, in the family, in civil and political life, in the relations of rank, castes, and nations to one another, it has exercised a most salutary influence; that it is now the mightiest force at work in civilized society, not only socially, ethically, and religiously, but intellectually, quickening in a wonderful manner all the faculties of the mind, and opening the way for the achievements of science, the triumphs of art, and that inventive skill which so multiplies the products and relieves the drudgery of industrial toil, — we suppose none refuse to ac-

knowledge. We are to remember that this power extends itself to all classes of society. Its vital principles, its essential elements, are just as familiarly apprehended by the common people as by the learned. This is what the subtile and accomplished Celsus, the ablest opponent of Christianity in its earlier times, alleges as one of his principal arguments against it. "Woollen manufacturers," he says, "shoemakers, and curriers, the most uneducated and boorish of men, are zealous advocates of this religion; men who dare not open their mouths before the learned, and who only try to gain over the women and children in families." Another argument advanced by the same writer is, that "he must be void of understanding who can believe that Greeks and barbarians in Asia, Europe, and Lybia — all nations to the ends of the earth — can unite in one and the same religious doctrine." What Celsus deemed preposterous has, nevertheless, been accomplished; for though Christianity is not as yet the sole religion of the world, yet more nations, and those extending over wider regions than Celsus had ever dreamed of, are now recognizing this as the only true religion. But Celsus was certainly right in his general principle, that the invention of no man and the *cultus* of no nation could furnish a religion meeting the wants of universal humanity. The testimony of all the other religions of history agrees with his. Yet here is a system of faith which in its essential elements is well understood by all classes of society, and is heartily embraced by many nations most widely separate and ethnologically most diverse. The testimony of all sincere believers, of all grades, in all nations and in all times, is absolutely uniform and consentaneous respecting its effect upon their characters and lives.

Now the question forces itself upon us, To what does this mighty moral energy, prevailing age after age, overcoming the most stubborn obstacles and presenting no signs of diminution, owe its origin? It can scarcely be thought by any reasonable person to have been the slow growth of centuries; for at the time it first appears in history it had all the essential elements that now characterize it. Is it due to a fictitious personage, the work of the fancy of the earliest Christian teachers, who invented the evangelical picture of the Founder of their religion?

“ This runs counter to all historical analogy. The great revolutions of history have not been effected by fictitious personages, but by living men ; and those men must have possessed within themselves a real power corresponding to, and accounting for, the influence they possessed.” If insuperable difficulties are involved in the supposition of so harmonious a character endowed with such marvellous power being a fictitious production of a community, or a number of individuals, neither can it be imagined to be the work of one man. The author must be greater than his work ; and if the hero of the story is superhumanly great, still more must be the inventor of such a character. Nor does the theory of *Divine ideas* communicated to man relieve the perplexity. Mere ideas do not possess the power to effect moral revolutions. The masses of men are not largely influenced by abstract representations. They demand the concrete. Besides, it is utterly unaccountable that such ideas should have occurred to such men, in such an age, unless they were directly revealed by God. But why go so far out of the natural in order to avoid the supernatural ? Is not the appearance of these ideas in the world quite as anomalous as any hypothesis that has been advanced to account for them ?

There is only one natural and legitimate answer to the question of the origin of Christianity, only one simple method of explaining its singular facts and phenomena. Its founder must have been a real person, corresponding in character to the mighty influence and marvellous moral force of the system devised. The life of Jesus must have been a fact, not a fiction ; an actuality, not an idea. A more than human wisdom and virtue must have dwelt in him. The Author of this faith cannot be a dead hero, nor merely a crowned martyr. He is a living Saviour ; and it is only because he lives that his followers even down to this time live also. “ His doctrine is not so much a doctrine as a biography, a personal power, a truth all motivity, a love walking the earth in the proximity of a mortal fellowship.”

This self-evidencing power of Christianity is still more obvious when we examine critically and fairly the character of Christ. On the one side, we get such a view of his transcend-

ent moral greatness, his complete freedom from sin, his comprehensive judgment and practical wisdom, as gives to his testimony concerning himself the highest value, assuring us at the same time of the Divine power that dwelt in him ; and on the other side, we shall find in him a complete solution of all the facts and phenomena of Christianity, as they stand in history and present experience.

We shall still start from the low ground of the *conceded facts* of the life of Jesus. With these before us, we shall be quickly compelled to feel that *they* do not, by any means, complete that life and character. Evidently these natural and human elements are most unnatural and unhuman, if there be nothing else to go along with them. More and more as we look at them they will be seen to form the segment of a circle whose circumference, in order to complete itself, must pass, not only out of the human and the natural, but into the Divine. What some of these concessions concerning Christ are, we may see in the words of some of our latest and ablest deistical writers. Says Theodore Parker : —

“ He unites in himself the sublimest precepts and divinest practices, thus more than realizing the dream of prophets and sages ; rises free from all prejudice of his age, nation, or sect ; gives free range to the spirit of God in his breast ; sets aside the law, sacred and time-honored as it was, its forms, its sacrifice, its temple, its priests ; puts away the doctors of the law, subtle, irrefragable, and pours out a doctrine beautiful as the light, sublime as heaven, true as God.” — *Discourses of Religion*, p. 294.

Again, he says : —

“ Try him as we try other teachers. They deliver their word, find a few waiting for the consolation who accept the new tidings, follow the new method, and soon go beyond their teacher, though less mighty minds than he. Though humble men, we see what Socrates and Luther never saw. But eighteen centuries have passed since the sun of humanity rose so high as in Jesus ; what man, what sect, has mastered his thought, comprehended his method, and so fully applied it to life ? ” — *Ibid.*, p. 303.

Mr. Hennel, who is more careful in his concessions, and who seems to have a fear of implying the supernatural in such a statement, reluctantly admits that, —

“Whilst no human character, in the history of the world, can be brought to mind, which, in proportion as it could be closely examined, did not present some defects, disqualifying it for being the emblem of moral perfection, we can rest, with least check or sense of incongruity, on the imperfectly known character of Jesus of Nazareth.” — *Inquiry*, p. 451.

It is true that Mr. Parker has a discourse on the *Limitations of Jesus*, in which he professes to discover certain errors of conduct and blemishes of character, which nevertheless he pronounces “venial,” but which subtract somewhat from the moral excellence of the portrait as furnished by the Evangelists. Mr. Hennel, too, as seen in the quotation above, avoids the intimation of moral perfection in the character before him. Yet evidently both these authors start with the postulate that there can be no moral perfection in mere humanity; they also maintain, as a prime dogma, that Jesus was merely human. Hence it is not so much a close examination of the actual character of Christ that suggests moral imperfections, as the *a priori* theory which demands that they shall be found.

But why do these and kindred writers, so utterly averse to anything of the supernatural in the world or in religion, make such important concessions? Partly because the impression of Christ’s character on the mind of humanity is such, that a refusal to admit the moral greatness of its Author would jeopard one’s cause at the outset; and partly because these features stand in such connection in the narrative of the Evangelists, that no theory of forgery or fabrication or myth or exaggeration can account for them. The very least that can be done by a candid sceptic is to admit so far their truthfulness. For, as we have before shown, more marvellous by far than all the marvels contained in the Gospels would be the demonstration of the proposition that such a character was a figment of the imagination, — the imagination, too, of such men as the Evangelists. We are not now claiming that these writers were inspired, nor even that they were free from exaggeration; but that they evidently aimed at a truthful narrative, and that their exaggerations, if there are any, are totally different from what we should have reason to expect; and that they have given a description of Christ’s character which



carries along with it, to the great mass of unprejudiced men, intrinsic and invincible evidence of its reality.

We do not propose to note each remarkable feature in the character of Jesus, as has been done so successfully by Mr. Young, and especially by Dr. Bushnell. We shall confine our remarks chiefly to these two characteristics,—his *moral purity* and his wonderful *wisdom*. These stand out conspicuously in the portrait presented of him in the Gospels; and yet the writers seem to be wholly unconscious of the impression they were making in these two respects. Nor shall we be able, of course, to enter upon an exhaustive argument for the sinlessness of Jesus, as has been so admirably done by Ullmann. We propose briefly to indicate the evidence of his moral perfectness, and the conviction it naturally necessitates in the unprejudiced mind.

In the first place, we note the remarkable fact, that, with the biographers of Jesus, and with all his apostles and followers whose writings have come down to us, his moral perfectness is a prevailing idea. We call it remarkable, because such an assumption has never been made by the biographers of any other person who ever lived. It would, in any other case we can think of, be so intrinsically improbable, that such a character claimed for the subject of the biography would militate fatally against the whole work. It will be remembered here, that there is no attempt on the part of the early friends of Jesus to prove his sinlessness. Nor is it frequently brought in, as if it were a matter of doubt. It seems to be such a universal and withal natural impression prevailing among the early Christians, and received from personal intercourse with Jesus, or from those who had been his intimate associates, that there was no call for any testimony concerning it, still less for an attempt at demonstration. In fact, it is less the direct declaration than the implication which the narrative of his life conveys that suggests the thought of his sinlessness.

“The picture of Jesus which the Gospels everywhere present to us, and that which the Apostles everywhere describe, is such that, even if it had not been expressly stated in Scripture that he was without sin, we could never have conceived of sin, of separation from God, of moral obliquity, as forming a feature in that picture, without being sensible

that we should thus materially disfigure and deface it, nay, destroy it altogether." — *Ullmann*, p. 78.

Hence it was perfectly natural that the Apostles should refer to this characteristic as something to be taken for granted, as an essential feature of the Messiah's character. They call him "the Holy One and the Just." They speak of him as "tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin." They allude to the fact that "he did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth." He was sacrificed as a "lamb without blemish and without spot." As the true High-Priest, he was "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens"; who needed not, like the other priests, to offer up sacrifice for his own sins, but who, just because there was in him no sin, was able to take away our sins.

It is also interesting to observe the direct testimony which Jesus himself gives concerning his own moral state. It is worthy of remark, that there is no other instance conceivable in which a mere mortal man could proclaim his own sinlessness, or in any way proceed upon that assumption without at once repelling those to whom he addressed himself. Any real person, whatever his enterprise, would hopelessly ruin it by any such public pretension. In any fictitious creation, it would be regarded at once as an utterly unwarrantable extravagance, and also as a feature with which the most consummate genius would be unable to make the other elements of a whole life constantly harmonize. Yet no feeling of incongruity and absurdity arises in viewing the life and character of Jesus. No one, unless impelled by some consideration foreign to the subject, ever revolts at the loftiest assumptions of Christ concerning himself. Looking, then, at the testimony of Christ, this strikes us as singular, though none of the writers of the New Testament take pains to call our attention to the singularity, that he never, in any of his addresses to men or his prayers to God, intimates in the remotest manner any consciousness of sin, — that there is no humbling himself before God on account of sin, no prayer for forgiveness. It is the grand peculiarity of his piety, that he never regrets anything that he has done or been, — that he expresses nowhere a single feeling of compunction or the least sense of unworthiness.

But there are not wanting express declarations from his own lips concerning his purity of character. "I do always," says he, "those things that please Him." "I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath sent me." Many other such passages there are in which he holds himself up as glorifying the name of the Father in the world,—as one who sanctifies himself for his own, who has overcome the world, and who imparts a peace that the world cannot take away. "There are expressions which present to us the picture of a life which not only had in it no place for sin, but, more than this, which can only be thought of as an actually perfect life." At the close of his life, surrounded by bitterly hostile minds, so far as all temporal or human hopes are concerned utterly defeated and frustrated in his purposes, he stands up and boldly challenges his accusers, in the question, "Which of you convinceth me of sin?"

It must be remembered that this was the man who of all that have ever lived had the keenest perception of sin in others, and who has uncovered its to them unsuspected lurking-places in the human character, and shown a power of moral analysis unequalled by any other. That it was impossible for him to be deceived is clear, not only from this, but, as we shall have occasion to observe directly, from what we know of his practical wisdom. Was there, then, a purposely false assumption on his part? Was he seeking to produce a false impression of his perfectness? This supposition is precluded by what is universally conceded concerning him. If not absolutely sinless, it is acknowledged that he goes immeasurably before all other men in this direction. Consequently, the thought that he could in the slightest degree have intended to deceive is not merely shocking to Christians, but utterly inconceivable by any fair-minded sceptic.

But, after all, the moral perfection of Jesus rests not so much upon what any of his followers said of him, nor on particular declarations by himself, or on what he did not say, as on the inevitable and ineffaceable impression which the description of his life, as presented in the evangelical record, makes upon the mind of the simple reader. The masses of men *feel* that *his* was a morally stainless character, while an assumption or an

assertion of this characteristic for any other man would hopelessly imperil his cause. As De Wette says, "The man who comes without preconceived opinion to the life of Jesus, and who yields himself up to the impression it makes, will feel no manner of doubt he is the most exalted character and the purest soul that history presents to us."

The remarkable wisdom of Jesus has been acknowledged by all the opponents of Christianity who pretend to any candor in argument. His intellectual superiority is scarcely inferior to his moral exaltation. There is a wonderful simplicity, yet a comprehensiveness and a majesty, which are really sublime. The all-penetrating keenness of perception, the perfect clearness of vision, which characterize him, have, to say the least, no parallel. This wisdom, too, is clearly unlearned, in the popular sense of that term. There is nothing which we can term scholarly in his thoughts or discourses. His mind has not been formed, nor have his powers been disciplined, in any human school. He refers to no authority, alludes to no literary or philosophic standards. He rarely quotes history, and when he does, it is the sacred history of the Hebrew race. His classics are the open fields, the voices of nature, the universally audible and apprehensible utterances of the outlying world. Scan him as we will, — and no man that ever lived has been exposed to such searching criticism, — we can detect no lack of balance in the smallest particular. This symmetry, too, is seen in his teaching. He has no philosophical speculations; he rarely, we might almost say never, argues; he simply talks as one who is telling us what he knows of God and spiritual things. His simple telling brings the reality, carries with it a certain inevitable conviction of its truthfulness. "Never man spake like this man," say his hearers. His words bear in them the impress, the "authority," of their own reality. He borrows nothing from his own age or any other age. His notions are quite different from almost all that prevail around him. All of his principal doctrines are directly antagonistic to the traditionary and popular expectations of his nation. We can see for ourselves, in the simple directness and freedom of his teachings, that whatever he advances is from himself.

Yet this "Jewish peasant," born among a narrow and exclu-

sive people, in an unspiritual and superstitious community, brought up as a working mechanic, having only three years of public life, leaving no writings of any sort behind him, and having gathered but a very few obscure and timid followers, who appeared to be hopelessly scattered by his discomfiture and his appallingly ignominious end, has communicated to the world, in brief discourses and fragmentary conversations treasured up and reported by his simple-minded friends, a system of religion which proves to be the mightiest moral force that ever entered into human society ; which now, after the lapse of ages, is more studied and more thoroughly appreciated for its grandeur and beauty than ever before, and which now as never before commands the homage even of those who deny some of its essential features.

We may not pause to consider at length the cool, calm, intellectual dignity of this man, — never inconsistent, never disappointed, never embarrassed, never losing his balance. What artful questions were proposed for his solution ! What skilful combinations were formed, by which it would seem that he must surely be baffled ! Yet with what amazing facility does he confound the devices of his enemies, and even extort their admiration ! These are but small indications of the controlled and controlling power that dwelt in him. There were times when he triumphed grandly over his enemies, — when the populace, “the world, had gone after him.” Yet not for a moment, nor by a hair’s breadth, does he swerve from his painful and self-sacrificing mission. There were times, too, when he was left alone, and the storm of execration, of ignominy, of agony, was breaking loose in fearful fury upon him. Still, with steady persistence, he avows the same lofty purpose and mysterious mission, — “To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world.”

Surely nothing of self-deception, not the least taint of fanaticism, nor even of that delusion which sometimes characterizes great minds, could have found a place in him. Not thus could he have impressed himself on the world’s mind with such potency and vividness ; still less have been able to communicate such a wondrous new life to humanity. If, then, he is simply a man, “he is most certainly a new and singular kind of man,

never before heard of, — one who visibly is quite as great a miracle in the world as if he were not a man.”

Now if he be such a man in respect of virtue and wisdom as we have but feebly indicated, then it is impossible to conceive that he could have practised deception on others, or have been subject to it in himself. What he said concerning himself must have been simply and literally true. Even allowing that these utterances have been imperfectly communicated to us, yet if there be *anything* true concerning him, if there be anything authentic in *any* history, he emphatically claimed miraculous power.

“Were those mighty works a deception? Did the words in which Christ searched into motive and pierced the subtlest hypocrisy go like daggers through his own heart? That is the question. There is no evading it. History has heard of no Christ who was not a miracle-worker. Jews and disciples, Christians and infidels, Matthew and Luke, Celsus and Julian, all know Christ as one who constantly, and for years, declared himself able to raise the dead. Can human conception embrace the thought that he was lying? No. The conscience and the intellect of the race start back appalled at the imagination of a miracle so stupendous. The crushing of all the stars into powder in one grasp of God’s hand would not be such a miracle.” — *Bayne*, pp. 105, 106.

There are, moreover, still more surprising assumptions made by Jesus, which imply not merely supernatural power, but a superhuman character. Imagine a mere man saying, “I came forth from the Father.” “Ye are from beneath; I am from above.” “I am the light of the world.” “No man cometh unto the Father but by me.” “Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.” “He that hath seen me hath seen the Father.” “I and my Father are one.” Scores of such utterances may be quoted, which in the mouth of any other man, be he the best and wisest that has ever lived, would evince the most intolerable arrogance and presumption. The putting forth of such amazing pretensions would in a moment annihilate the highest reputation ever achieved. Yet these claims on the part of Jesus create no feeling of disgust and no sense of incongruity. There seems to be somehow a perfect fitness and naturalness in the assumptions. No sceptic or infidel even can now be called to mind

who has accused him as a conceited person, or dared to assail him in this the weakest and most absurd, if not the strongest and holiest point of his character.

Clearly enough the easiest way to account for Christianity is to regard it, as it claims to be, as a supernatural religion. The human and natural in it testify to the superhuman and supernatural in its origin and character. Its Founder was, to speak very tamely, a person too wise to be deluded, too holy to deceive. He unmistakably claimed for himself not only supernatural power, but a Divine character. Sceptical opposition to Christianity, when exposed to plain natural tests, evinces the most unnatural hypotheses, the most violent, unlikely, and absurd marvels. The miracles of the Bible are startling; those of infidelity are monstrous.

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ART. XI.—1. *La Grèce Contemporaine*. Par EDMOND ABOUT. Paris. 1855.

2. *Le Roi des Montagnes*. Par EDMOND ABOUT. Paris. 1856.\*

THE events which have recently occurred in Greece, the dethronement of Otho, the interregnum, and the subsequent election of Prince George of Denmark to the crown, have excited considerable attention in Europe. Greece is like a spoiled child under the guardianship of a number of jealous aunts, who are more or less disturbed according to the proportion in which the affection of their pet is distributed among them. Any irregularity in the conduct of the foreign relations of that miniature monarchy of a million souls is attended with complications that wellnigh throw the five great powers into hysteria. But it is otherwise on this side of the Atlantic. In ordinary

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\* These books of M. About were *noticed*, but not *reviewed*, shortly after their appearance. As the first of them is not yet obsolete, or even obsolescent, in its general statements, while the other has a vividness of characterization and an intensity of dramatic power which ought to render it a work of more than ephemeral interest, we have thought the interval that has elapsed since their publication an insufficient reason for declining to print this article. — ED.

times the bloodless revolution of the Greeks would arouse but little interest, our country having long survived its Philhellenic enthusiasm ; and now that we have a rebellion of our own, little Greece, five thousand miles away, is entirely ignored. Yet whoever has seen the singular farrago of patriotism and lawless independence, of folly and common sense, called the Greek people, and gazed from the marvellous colonnades of the Parthenon upon the plain of Athens and the blue Ægean gleaming with white lateen sails, cannot read without emotion the brief notices of the recent *coup d'état* in Greece which appear in our newspapers. To us they have recalled many delightful memories, and induced us once more to glance over the pages of the works whose titles head this article.

M. About has for some time been favorably known in America as a sparkling and attractive writer. He and Michelet, the author of certain questionable publications which have had considerable circulation, shared about equally the courtesy extended in this country to contemporary French literature for the three or four years preceding the appearance of *Les Misérables*. The one was devoured with avidity in the boudoir ; the other gained at once the respect of thinkers and the interest of the pleasure-loving, "The King of the Mountains" having been exhibited on the boards at Wallack's. While Michelet deals in prurient sentimentality such as can be produced only in France, where conceptions of the moral virtues are factitious, About, practical as a broker on 'change and *gaillard* as Mercutio, dresses up dry statistics and unpalatable facts in the most piquant form, and crystallizes the results of his experience into romances which are too lifelike to be artificial. When we allow that an author possesses wit, imagination, talent, we award to him no higher merit than falls to the lot of many writers in these days wherein mighty scribblers abound. But when we discover one who is endowed with all these qualities employing the graces of an engaging style to embellish columns of figures and to register uninviting details, and at the same time trustworthy in his statements beyond the ordinary measure of a mere statistician, we may well consider him a phenomenon ; and such is M. About. Of a mercurial temperament, racy, humorous, wielding a ready irony,—a



composer of novels, a collector of facts, and every inch of him as genuine a Frenchman as ever muttered *Sacre!* and ate frogs, — a Parisian, and a man whom Louis Napoleon has subsidized for his own purposes, — and yet, *mirabile dictu!* he tells the truth!

Victor Hugo having rather taken the wind out of the sails of his contemporaries by his stupendous romance, About has of late been treated among us with a neglect which he little deserves. Less pretentious than Victor Hugo's, more moral than Michelet's, his books should continue to be read and studied as correct representations of society in the South of Europe during the nineteenth century, long after *Les Misérables* and *L'Amour* have taken their places beside Scudéri's *Le Grand Cyrus* and *Les Femmes Galantes* of Brantôme, of which only the titles are now remembered.

It is not too much to assert that *La Grèce Contemporaine* is the most admirable transcript of Modern Greece which has been given to the public. The author's terse, epigrammatic style, his keen, but polished irony, and his sallies of humor, secure for him the attention of the reader from the outset; but it is the perfect conversance which he shows with his subject that should chiefly enlist confidence and interest in his favor. Conversance but feebly conveys an idea of the familiarity the writer possesses with the physical appearance of the country, the people, their customs and prejudices, their abilities and defects, and the condition of the government, its revenues, army, and navy, its venality and universal good-for-nothingness. Nor does he confine himself to making general statements, but he fortifies his positions with figures that cannot lie. To obtain in three years all that is contained in this little work, and to sprinkle its pages so liberally with Attic salt, argues singular acumen and penetration, as well as facility with the pen. Instead of observing the Greek character, we might almost say that he assimilates himself to it; for one would suppose that none but a native could form such accurate notions concerning national traits. This sort of intuitive perception of the genius and institutions of a people foreign to their own, seems to be a specialty of the French. Their easy pliability enables them to adapt themselves to the

climate and habits of the regions where they may happen to be, and the consequence is, that to the piquancy of the Parisian mode of expression they add the flavor of reality. He who reads De Tocqueville and About with candor, must confess that better books of the kind than the "Democracy" and *La Grèce Contemporaine* have not been seen by the men of this generation. Not that in style or profoundness these works are susceptible of comparison. Their only point of resemblance is, that in them both the authors aim at giving a correct representation of the social characteristics of nations other than their own, and in this respect they not only succeed, but distance all their competitors. If About is less dignified than his great master in the art of national portrait-painting, we apprehend that it is owing as much to the nature of the subject treated of, as to the inferior qualifications of the man.

In fact, the style of our author, so dashing and irreverent, so unsparing of many of the poetic associations with which the world of intellect has invested the people of Modern Greece, so minute in noting the most unromantic details, — this style, we say, while it gains the attention, is also liable to shock the preconceived notions of those who seem to think that the practical common-sense view with which we are accustomed to observe other matters is irrelevant when classic lands are in question. In his words: "The name of Greece, even more than that of Spain or Italy, is full of promise. You will not meet with a young man in whom that name does not awaken ideas of beauty, of light, and of quiet happiness. The least studious school-boys, who inveigh most eloquently against Grecian history and Greek translations, — even if they fall asleep over their lexicon, they dream of Greece. I expected to find a sky without a cloud, a sea without a ruffle, a spring without end." Now this is precisely the view of the Levant taken by those who know of it only through books; but it is not the fault of the East, nor does it detract from its genuine and peerless glories, that its skies are visited by storms, that its grand old mountains are rugged and scarred from their battle with the ages, and that its plains, though rich in historic interest, have been left devastated by the tramp of mailed warriors for thousands of years. To find regions entirely

free from these disturbances, one must visit the Isles of the Blest.

The difficulty has been heretofore, that those who have written books on the Orient have been chiefly of two classes. First are they who are so gifted with an eye for the picturesque, who so highly appreciate legendary associations, and so easily accommodate themselves to the novelties and inconveniences of travel, that they are moved to compose poems and prose rhapsodies, which often correctly represent the more attractive phases of the "Eastern question." Kinglake, Curtis, Gautier, Curzon, and Morier are eminent disciples of this school, of which Byron is the master-spirit. Correct and trustworthy as far as they go, they fail to give us an insight into internal affairs, the true condition of political matters, or the actual relations which underlie the surface of society in the countries of which they treat. These are the writers whom an intelligent public has been pleased to accept and honor as faithful witnesses, and not without reason. They miss complete success only because in them the poetic element has predominated, — by no means a deadly sin in this money-making age, and when one is gossiping about "the clime of the sun."

The other class of writers on the East are those who can view objects only with the spectrum of Wall Street or the "Bourse" in their eye, who "do" Greece, Turkey, Egypt, and the Holy Land in a month, encounter nothing but dust and vermin, grumble through the whole of the trip, and on their return, "at the request of a few friends," publish "A Gallop to Jericho." Fortunately for the lands they describe, they are generally more apt at stock-jobbing than at book-making, and their literary ventures receive the neglect they deserve.

M. About strikes a medium between these two classes. Well versed in Grecian history and antiquities, as is proved by his work on the archæology of Ægina, and thoroughly appreciating and enjoying the beauties of the country of which he writes, he yet makes these subordinate to a precise and faithful account of the present state of society in Greece, and he is withal possessed of so keen a mental perception as to detect facts which lie in the background, and elude the eye of all but those initiat-

ed into the mysteries of the Greek character by birth or residence in the land. This it is that imparts such freshness to his works. He gives us an insight into the social system of Greece, and exhibits the government and the people, not as they appear to the passing tourist or the superficial observer, but as they are. As was remarked above, some see only the poetry of Greece, others cannot vilify it enough. M. About avoids both extremes. Perfectly aware of the corrupt condition of the national economy and the inconsistencies of the Hellenic character, he also recognizes the physical beauty of the race, their thirst for knowledge, their aptness in acquiring it, and whatever other praiseworthy traits they may possess. He speaks, indeed, of the soil as sterile and destitute of streams; but surely no one has given a more valuable survey of the landscapes of Greece, for he also discerns that the splintered crags of her mountains, empurpled by the setting sun as they tower against the deep blue of her skies, are radiant with a glory such as was never seen on the forest-robed mountains of the Western world. Those who complain that M. About is too severe, would do well to read his work with care. They will find that it abounds with such passages as the following, which are particularly forcible because coming from one who does not scruple to utter unpleasant truths.

“I persist in thinking that she [Greece] has not obtained her name under false pretences. . . . . You can find there trees and refreshing landscapes, if you take the trouble to look for them; and then, too, sterility has its own beauty quite as much as abundance, — it has even, if I am not mistaken, a beauty of a greater originality. I admit that Greece is not like Normandy, — so much the worse for Normandy. Perhaps the country was more wooded, greener, and better watered, in ancient times; the forests have been burned, the rains have carried away the soil, and the rocks have been laid bare. It would not be difficult to make the whole of Greece grow green again, — a few millions and a few years would be sufficient. . . . . Will it be more beautiful? I doubt it. The Acropolis of Athens, which is the most admirable rock in the world, is a hundred times more so in summer, when the sun has burnt up the grass, than in March, when it is patched here and there with green. If an enchanter or a capitalist produced the miracle of changing the Morea into another Normandy, he would obtain as his reward the unanimous maledictions of all artists.”

Once more he remarks, speaking of the *physique* of the Greeks : —

“The Greek race has very little degenerated, and those tall young men with a slender waist, oval face, quick eye, and ready wit, who fill the streets of Athens, are surely of the family that furnished models to Phidias.”

Again he observes : —

“The Greek nation is vivacious, lively, sober, intelligent, witty, and proud of its advantages ; it loves passionately liberty, equality, and its country ; but it is undisciplined, jealous, selfish, and unscrupulous, and has a strong dislike to manual labor.”

Nothing could be more true or impartial than this brief but striking delineation of the Greek character.

The book is enriched with many passages like the foregoing, which we have quoted as proofs that it is written in a spirit of fairness, a merit which some are unwilling to accord to it, even while admitting the ability of the author. It is unnecessary to cite his statements concerning the government, or to analyze the novel style in which he commends new and startling facts to the reader's notice ; for the passages to which we refer are of such a nature as to gain the assent, if not the approval, of any one who takes pains to glance at the book. It is enough for us here to recommend them as justly entitled to credit and respect. The personal anecdotes which M. About so often relates with such zest lend an additional air of reality to his work ; for many of them we know to be no more than the truth. The frequent allusions to the Duchess of Plaisance recall an amusing reminiscence of that whimsical dame. Several distinguished foreigners were invited to dine at her villa on Mount Pentelicus. In the expectation of a sumptuous banquet, most of them failed to fortify themselves for the excursion. After several hours of hard riding they reached the place towards nightfall, half famished, rendered hungry as wolves by the keen mountain-air, and almost devoured by the shepherd-dogs that guarded the approach to the house. The banquet consisted of a piece of sponge-cake and a glass of water for each guest, the Duchess remarking, that persons of their intellectual tastes would doubtless prefer elevating conversation to the discussion of meats and drinks !

Before dismissing *La Grèce Contemporaine* we might observe, that, however the work may differ from other productions of the age, it possesses one trait in common with everything human,—it has its faults. But as these are of secondary importance, and do not detract from its meritorious character, we shall merely glance at one or two of them. Probably it contains no statement that has given more offence both to Greeks and foreigners, than the author's charge of cowardice. No charge is easier to be made, but of none are the specifications so difficult of proof or refutation. If M. About had been content to confine his accusation to the Greeks of to-day, he would have asserted what is not only possible, but credible; but when he includes the ancients in the count, he weakens the favorable opinion which might be formed of his sagacity, for it is idle to suppose that he could convince any one that the heroes of the Persian, Peloponnesian, and Theban wars were poltroons. If discredit is thrown on the narrative of Thucydides and Xenophon, then what historian of any age is entitled to belief, and what exploit narrated in history is true? As for his argument that the Greeks were cowards because they fought at Salamis against their will, and only at the instigation of Themistocles, it might be said in reply, that the conduct of all people is dependent on the ability and presence of mind of their leaders, and that, if the battle of Salamis was fought and won by cowards, then may our soldiers all be such as they were, and more also. M. About may recollect that the French have never gained a great pitched battle over the English in modern times, save at Fontenoy, when led by a foreigner, Marshal Saxe, and that they never took the aggressive in Europe with any real and permanent success, until a Corsican arose who urged on their armies to triumph. This does not prove that the French are cowards, but simply shows how much is dependent on leadership, which M. About forgets when he taunts the Greeks with the valor and ability of Themistocles.

He also employs a unique argument to prove his position when he says: "Kanaris, who used to set fire to a fleet by lying alongside of it, was a subject of astonishment to the whole nation." He might have added, that all the world wondered

with the Greeks. He may not have forgotten that the French Republic went into ecstasies over the fate of *Le Vengeur*, — thanks, honors, bonfires, having been awarded to one of the most apocryphal glories that ever tickled the self-esteem of any people.

But letting the past alone, it must be admitted that a large share of discretion tempers the valor of the Greeks of our day, always excepting the Mainiotes (who are worthy descendants of the Spartans) and certain of the mountaineers. This unpleasant fact may be accounted for on reasonable grounds. Luxury, tyranny, or inefficient rule may demoralize a whole nation. But no sooner does a truly patriotic hand once more grasp the reins of government, than the *morale* of the people begins to improve, and courage once more thrills the national heart. There is hardly a nation in the South of Europe that has not, at one time or another, exemplified the truth of this observation, which is often shown on a minor scale by the armies of the bravest people. In this light, we might say that the Greek race is endowed with average magnanimity, but that the Greeks of the present day have degenerated under the force of circumstances, and are therefore pusillanimous.

We should have preferred to see a book that so coolly dissects the nerves of a proud and sensitive people written by one whose own government is less open to the charges he makes against the Greeks; but being a Frenchman is an accident beyond the author's control, and as he might retort, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*," and send us a challenge with rapiers, which would be a breach of the peace on his part, we refrain from dwelling on this aspect of the question. However, we cannot forbear calling his attention to a quality in which the Greeks excel not only the French, but all Europe, — they can successfully accomplish a *coup d'état* without bloodshed. When we consider the thousands who have fallen behind the barricades of Paris, and the massacres, outrages, and violence which, in 1848, raged in half the cities of the Continent, the singular tact with which they manage a national crisis at Athens is something marvellous; and, to one who is on the ground, it partakes more of the comic than of the tragic. The spirit of

Aristophanes, accompanied by his "Frogs" and "Clouds," seems to control the turn of affairs.

We well recollect the uprising of 1843. At midnight the hoofs of horses were heard clanging on the pavement, the flash of torches gleamed in the streets, as the populace and soldiery hurried towards the palace; and when the amber-colored dawn lighted the Acropolis and the plain of Athens, lo! the king found himself surrounded by his happy subjects, and two field-pieces pointing into the entrance of the royal residence. A constitution was demanded in firm but respectful terms, it being suggested at the same time that, if the request were not granted by four P. M., fire would be opened on the palace. In the mean time, all Athens was gathered in the open space around the palace, chatting, cracking jokes, taking snuff, and smoking, as if they had come to witness a show, or to hear the reading of a will. Not a shot was fired; no violence was offered or received; and precisely as the appointed hour arrived, the obstinate king succumbed to his besiegers, the charter was granted, and the multitude quietly dispersed to their homes. In less than twenty-four hours the form of the government had been changed, and not a drop of blood had been shed; and yet that the importance of this event was not undervalued by the people is proved by many circumstances. Here is an instance of this, which also illustrates the national spirit of insubordination so well exhibited by M. About. Two or three days after the crisis, a crowd of boys was seen in the streets, hilarious, and shouting, "Long live the Constitution!" "Well, my boys, what's the row?" inquired a by-stander. "O, our schoolmaster flogged one of the boys, so we rose and flogged the master. Are we not also Greeks? Long live the Constitution!" \*

Of the same character was the last revolution in Greece, only still more effective than the former. Otho goes on a royal progress to Napoli; during his absence from Athens there is an uprising of the disaffected, the government is overthrown, and his Majesty, finding himself without a throne, does not even revisit his capital, but steps on board ship, returns to the

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\* Ζήτω τὸ σύνταγμα, — Long live the Constitution!



land of his nativity, and is laid on the shelf. A provisional government succeeds, during which another king is chosen, even Prince George of Denmark, on whom be peace! The revolutionists have dethroned one monarch and chosen another, and not a life is lost. Is not this truly a singular people?

In *Le Roi des Montagnes* M. About attempts a more ambitious flight, confident in the versatility of his powers; and we think he has achieved a success in the execution of this romance, in which the results of his experience and observation are given in a form that may prove more acceptable to a majority of his readers than *La Grèce Contemporaine*, for the simple reason that novels are more popular than essays, or travels, or histories. Hadgi Stavros, the King of the Mountains, is the chief of a band of robbers infesting the defiles of Mount Parnes, on the confines of Attica. He is educating his only daughter at a fashionable school in the Greek capital, holds commercial relations with persons of good position in that city, and invests the profits derived from his profession in London, employing an English firm as his agents, who, it is charitable to suppose, are ignorant of his business. This consists in levying heavy ransoms on unsuspecting foreigners, not to speak of minor speculations, such as attacking the government mails and sacking unoffending villages. Hadgi Stavros is the type of a class of the Greek race that was oftener found in the period preceding the war of independence than at the present day, although such personages are not scarce even now among the fastnesses of Sûli and on the iron seaboard of Maina, — portly, dignified, proud, patriotic, brave, shrewd, fond of children, well preserved to extreme old age, and worthy of a nobler career. Lord Byron's Lambro, the corsair in *Don Juan*, is the only character in the whole range of literature on the East that approaches M. About's portrait. In the other *dramatis personæ* of the book the English, French, German, and American nations are represented, and to the life. Especially, if there is one thing which M. About appreciates better than another, it is the English character. Intrigue, robbery, meanness, courage, cowardice, courting, fighting, and dying, bits of picturesque scenery, and the truth, have their respective niches in this remarkable romance, and the whole is

pervaded by a humor so exquisite and irresistible, that whoever was thrown into a bad mood over *La Grèce Contemporaine* must be indeed incorrigible if he does not relax his countenance over *Le Roi des Montagnes*. We forbear to mar the pleasure of a first perusal of this book by giving an analysis of the plot, preferring to confine ourselves to a few remarks by way of corroborating the facts on which this tale is founded ; for we anticipate that even he who most enjoys it will be incredulous as to the reality of this phase of society in the Levant, so totally at variance with our notions of what is consistent with civilization.

"I recognize Mrs. Simons and John Harris at a glance," says one ; "they are capital, the purse-proud, practical, self-opinionated British matron, the self-confident and irresistible scion of Young America. But this Hadgi Stavros is a strange creature, — unquestionably an imaginary character ; the lines of his portrait are effective enough, and he makes a very fine Salvator Rosa sketch, but it would be absurd to suppose that his original exists in free, classic Greece in this enlightened age. Robbers you will undoubtedly find in Tartary, but this man, drawing bills of exchange on London, and carrying off tourists to his mountain den, is purely a figment of the brain. You 've done well, M. About, very well, but ——" Such thoughts have probably been uttered by two thirds of the author's readers in America ; but they are wrong, and he is right. Here is a little fact which we take from the New York Observer, bearing the date of March 26, 1863, proving not only the existence of brigandage around Athens in 1855, but also at this very day. "The son of one of the wealthiest families in Athens, who was carried off by brigands some time ago, has been restored to his friends, on condition that his father pays a ransom of forty thousand drachmas, and the robbers receive amnesty from the government, — the captain of the band to be made an adjutant in the regular army." Surely no one would accuse the correspondents of so conscientious a journal as the Observer of being in collusion with M. About, and yet it looks very much like it to those who are disposed to discredit the statements in "The King of the Mountains."

The bandit of the Levant is a sort of privileged character,

whom time has left to this generation, to remind us, amid the strange mutations of our day, of Robin Hood and his merry men. *Le Roi des Montagnes* is a prose epic, the "Lyttell Geste" of the nineteenth century. The Greek Klepht, or brigand, is an historic personage, worthy of mention in the chronicles of the time, — a link between our own and former ages. To trace his origin, we must look, not to any inclination which the Greek, above other races, may possess for a lawless life, — although he takes to it very kindly; we must turn back to a period anterior to the Greek Revolution, — even more, we must cast our eyes back twelve hundred years, to Mahomet, the camel-driver of the desert. To him may be ascribed the conquest of the Greco-Roman empire, and the consequent subjugation of Greece to the Ottoman sway. It was hatred of the Turkish yoke that gave almost superhuman energy to the arm of Scanderbeg; the same impulse, transmitted from generation to generation, inspired the brigands, or, if you prefer, the warriors, of Sûli to wage perpetual warfare with the Moslem; and this spirit it was — a singular blending of religion, patriotism, and lawless freedom — that caused the mountains of Greece to swarm with Klephts, or banditti, at the period immediately preceding the war of independence. There was considerable genuine romance connected with the lives of these mountaineers. They gave rise to the only poetry of Modern Greece that is worthy of record. Their wild, simple, plaintive ballads of love and war seem to retain a spark of Homeric fire; but on the establishment of peace with the hereditary foe, even this faint echo of the ancient lyre ceased, we fear, forever.

Many of the prominent leaders in the Revolution had been chieftains of note, combining in their lives and character the daring freedom and portly bearing of the feudal lord and the unscrupulous ferocity of the Italian cutthroat. When that heroic struggle was over, and it became unlawful to rob and murder Turks, they found their occupation gone. Some of them settled down into scheming, restless politicians, while others, feeling uneasy, as does the sailor who retires after a life at sea, sighed for their old adventures, sometimes trying, like Griziotés, to raise an insurrection, sometimes returning to their evil ways, and, for lack of Turks, occasionally worrying a poor

“Christian dog,” — with the precaution of keeping their souls safe by a strict attention to the fast-days of Holy Church. It is needless to say, that so far this has proved a profitable and not dishonorable pursuit, and it is easy to see how the old Klephts found proselytes. Thus it is evident that the present brigands of Attica are the lineal successors of the outlaws under the Turkish dominion. But outlaws in Greece once possessed higher motives than those of mere gain, and represented a contest between races and religions, somewhat as Robin Hood and his merry men are supposed to have been representatives of a struggle long maintained between the Saxons and their Norman subjugators. Now, however, that the cause of the contest no longer exists, it has degenerated into a system of unmitigated villany, a disgrace to the Greek nation.

Not content with confining their depredations to one locality, these pious disciples of the Oriental Church have repeatedly transferred their operations to Ionia, on the western coast of Asia Minor, as if remembering that of old this was peopled by flourishing Greek communities, and anxious that it should share the blessings of its sister Hellas. For the last dozen years the Pachalic of Smyrna has been afflicted by these pests of society. Who has not eaten the figs and the raisins of Smyrna, the “Ornament of Asia,” the “Crown of Ionia”? Situated at the head of a bay that rivals the charms of the Bay of Naples, environed with perennial gardens, girt with a diadem of lovely villages, fragrant with the odorous airs that breathe in the serene Ægean skies, dowered with the wealth of historic associations, still dispensing fruits to the world with a liberal hand, — watched by the old Roman citadel, — the grim battlements of the Knights of St. John still reflected in the waters of her port, — Smyrna, the city of the Moslem, the Greek, and the Frank, is a living poem. He who has sojourned there for a fortnight dreams of her in his subsequent travels, and he who has happily dwelt there for years longs for her in other lands, and sighs that destiny separates him from the vineyards and olive-groves, the villas and ruins, the Caravan Bridge and the bazaars, the delicious breezes and star-eyed maidens of Smyrna. With such kindness does she welcome the child of the West to her bosom, that no city in the Levant

can boast so large a proportion of foreign residents. So considerable, in fact, is the Christian population, that the Turks call it *Ghiaôor Ismîr*, — “Infidel Smyrna.”

In the villages of Bowmabat, Kookloojâh, Sedy Keny, and Boujâh, the Franks have spent their summers time out of mind. Hares, partridges, and wild-boars fell at the crack of their rifles on the neighboring mountains and moors, and they lived as if lords of the soil, receiving from the peasantry the deference awarded to foreigners in the East, especially to the English. But a few years ago a change came over their dream of content. Brigands were rumored to have been seen in their vicinity; then the news came that the Tartar, or government mail-carrier, had been waylaid and murdered on the road to Ephesus. The robberies became more frequent, and gradually approached the environs of the city. At length all Smyrna was thrown into an uproar by the intelligence that M. Van Lennep, the Dutch Vice-Consul, had been carried off to the mountains, subject to the payment of seventy-five thousand piasters. Sauntering one afternoon in his vineyard, a stone's throw from his villa at Sedy Keny, gun in hand, and accompanied by his children, he was instantaneously surrounded by men armed to the teeth, who seemed to spring out of the ground. The children were allowed to return home, while he was conducted into the wilds of Anatolia. The messenger who brought the news to the city was the captive's gardener, and he was enjoined to bring the ransom within thirty-six hours, as he valued his own and his master's life. Pending the absence of the gardener, M. Van Lennep was hurried from one mountain to another, — his captors being constantly on the alert against the appearance of a troop of soldiery virtuous enough to attempt his rescue. He was treated with all civility, and found his entertainers armed with Belgian rifles, and provided with London spy-glasses, through which he was permitted to gaze from the peak of the Two Brothers on his own residence in Smyrna, like Christian on the Delectable Mountains, viewing the Celestial City through the perspective glass of the shepherds. On the payment of the ransom he was promptly liberated. The Sultan was fain to compound this affair with the Dutch government by pre-

senting the insulted official with a superb gold snuff-box, richly mounted with diamonds.

Yany Katerdgee was the chieftain who opened the campaign with such startling exploits. Short, thick-set, and muscular, he was well adapted for the perilous career he had chosen. Encouraged by his extraordinary success, he and his band followed it up by a long series of captures, outrages, and alarms. Dr. Macraith, a prominent English physician, was swooped up on a summer's day while hunting. He found that sporting may prove a costly amusement. Two ghostly fathers, members of the Jesuit mission, were taking an airing one afternoon on the crumbling Roman ramparts of the Castle Hill, near the amphitheatre where Polycarp was burned, and almost within hail of the city and the quarters of the garrison. They were doubtless engaged in pious converse, as they gazed on the picturesque town and the lovely bay, flecked with sails, which lay at their feet. But their holy meditations received a sudden interruption. Many a nightmare and fit of indigestion they have doubtless endured since then, when calling to mind the experience of that evening.

The villages of Boujâh and Sedy Keny were almost forsaken by the Franks. At night the brigands came down from the mountains and danced with the servant-maids in the country-seats of the English gentlemen. The English chaplain and his family were almost the only foreign residents who dared to pass the summer in Boujâh; but his daughters practised at target-shooting. One of them, however, was nearly carried off, and the family suddenly returned to town.

Nor was this all. M. About says of Athens: "In the month of April, 1856, it was dangerous to go out of the city; there was even some imprudence *in staying in it*." This was also true of Smyrna. The robbers were known by sight to many there, and might occasionally be seen in the streets, dressed in European disguise, as gentlemen, sporting spectacles, canes, and jewelry, and purchasing articles necessary to their profession. At Easter, and other festivals of the orthodox Church, the rogues were among the most devout at St. Demetry's shrine, in Frank Street. Rarely did these pious varlets allow their consciences to reproach them like the conscience of the ancient outlaw,—

“Ze on thyngre greves me,  
And does my hert myche woe,  
That I may not so solem day  
To mas nor matyns goo.”

But more. The wealthy residents of the city occasionally received notes couched somewhat as follows: “M—— will find it to his interest to deposit six thousand piasters in such a spot by Thursday week. Disregard of this modest request might prove prejudicial to his health.” Such drafts were repeatedly drawn on the private coffers of the Smyrniotes by these kings of the mountains.

The reader may very properly inquire why the knaves were not captured or dispersed, and the only reply that can be given will appear ridiculous to our order-loving citizens. It was no joke to ferret out these foxes from their philosophic retreats among the defiles of Tachtalee, especially when the peasantry were more or less in league with them, and gave timely notice of the approach of the troops; and when the latter acted on a tacit understanding that, if the robbers went one way, the soldiery should vigorously follow up the scent in the opposite direction. The rude Arnoot guards hardly considered a few cents per diem a sufficient “war risk,” not to mention the *douceurs* from the opposite party that accidentally reached their pockets.

But if it was impossible to entrap the robbers themselves, why not at least weaken their power by apprehending their most notorious accomplices in Smyrna? “What would you have?” responds their unhappy victim, shrugging his shoulders. “If I denounce well-known villains, I shall fall by the dagger or the bullet. I am not yet prepared to sacrifice myself for the public good, because, forsooth, the government is inefficient.”

Such was the actual state of things in and around Smyrna for years. At length the Sublime Porte arrived at a “realizing sense” of the necessity of taking more stringent measures. Khaleel Pacha, brother-in-law of Abdul Medjid, a man of energy, was sent to Smyrna, and a new *régime* was inaugurated. The band was broken up. Some of the brigands might be seen from time to time suspended from a gable at

the entrance to the bazaars, and Yany Katerdgee was "fast bound" in the Bagnio, the Ottoman state-prison on the Golden Horn. After two or three years he contrived to gain his liberty, whether by bribery or not being best known to his keepers; but ere he could resume his sceptre on the highways, death cut short the schemes of the bandit chieftain, "and the land had rest" for a brief interval. But recent intelligence from Smyrna informs us that the brigands are once more active in their old haunts.

Those who peruse these singular facts regarding the flourishing condition of thievery in the Levant might reasonably infer that society in the East does not keep pace with the age. The truth, perhaps, is this. Brigandage was very much the condition of Greece previous to the war of independence, and it is difficult for a people to throw off at once the semi-barbarism in which they were enveloped scarce a generation ago, however disposed they may be toward real progress. Greece is like a man long subject to evil passions and desperate fortunes, who determines on a new course of life, but finds the ghosts of his former hardships and sins continually haunting him, and sometimes paralyzing his efforts after reform. She has not yet recovered from her licentious life under the Romans, from the monkery of the Dark Ages under the Eastern Empire, and from her slavery and predatory warfare under the Turks. Would you ask miracles of her?

"A thousand years scarce serve to form a state;  
An hour may lay it in the dust; and when  
Can man its shattered splendor renovate,  
Recall its virtues back, and vanquish Time and Fate?"

Is it strange, then, the robbers infest the mountains of Greece? Was it not in the last century that highwaymen beset the environs of London, and Fielding wrote his "Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robberies"? Yet those were the days of Pope and Marlborough, of Johnson and Burke. Let us not despair of Greece. Does her population increase but slowly? That of France has decreased in the last decade. Did Otho attempt to control the elections? So does Louis Napoleon. Are the people sunk in ignorance? So are the peasantry of France. Is there religious intolerance



in the little kingdom? So there is in France. Does the budget declare an annual deficit? So does that of France, and France is one of the Five Great Powers. Let us be just. Although the population of Greece is slow of growth, yet it does increase. Although her internal affairs are in a deplorable state, they cannot become much worse, and may improve on the instalment of the new king. Although agriculture is poorly understood, it receives more attention than formerly. The large number of mulberry, fig, and olive trees that have been planted within the last few years has added substantially to the wealth of the country, and given employment to many. It is not so much on account of her actual condition that we contemplate the future of Greece with little complacency, as from the flippancy and shallowness to which the lapse of ages has reduced the national character; and still, on considering the really valuable qualities which the Greeks retain, in spite of their failings, we cannot but feel assured that destiny will yet restore them to an elevation more worthy of a race that boasts such illustrious ancestry.

But while in Greece robbery is a relic of the past ages, in Turkey it is a sign of dissolution. The disturbances in the Pachalic of Smyrna are indices of her downfall. The civil wars of 1831 and 1839 demonstrated how feebly the Ottoman Empire is now held together. No longer does the Sultan grasp his dominions with the firm gripe of Solyman the Magnificent. Egypt, Palestine, Koordistan, Anatolia, Macedonia, and the Principalities, are states maintained under one sceptre by no internal bond of sympathy. Only withdraw the pressure of the European cabinets from without, and the unwieldy fabric crumbles to pieces, and resolves itself into as many distinct nations as are now represented by provinces. It is easy to see that in such a state of affairs the demon of anarchy will assume many forms, whether it be the Koords attacking unoffending missionaries, or the Druses and Maronites perpetuating their hereditary feuds, or a crew of *enfants perdus* from Athens or the Ionian Isles levying black-mail in the environs of Smyrna. It may be objected that Turkey has made more true progress within the last twenty years than Greece. But granting the fact, it only proves with additional force what has just

been stated. The constitution or basis of the empire is the Koran; and in proportion as the obligatory power of that arbitrary religious code is undermined by the progressive spirit of the age, the vigor of the central government is undermined. These reforms doubtless improve individual provinces and races, thereby preparing them the better to assert their independence; but they also strike at the heart of Islamism, and sweep away the only internal agent that has ever kept the Ottoman Empire unbroken. It is the conflict between the Crescent and the Cross brought to a final issue, and the Cross must prevail; but, pending the final result, disorders will exist to a greater or less degree.

Of the literary merits of M. About's works we have said but little; these have been already discussed by abler critics. It has been our aim to show that his representations of society in the Levant are trustworthy. One of the characters in "The King of the Mountains" says: "Do you know what protects us against the displeasure of Europe? It is the unreal character of our civilization. . . . I could mention to you a little book (*La Grèce Contemporaine*) which is not to our praise, although it may be correct from beginning to end. It has been read a little everywhere; it was thought curious in Paris, but I know only one city where it may have appeared true:—Athens!" This is exactly the case. M. About's works are read, for they are entertaining; but the facts in them are discredited. If we have been able to prove that veracity is not the least of his qualifications as an author, our object has been accomplished.

## ART. XII. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Des Établissements Charitables de Rome.* Par F. M. J. LEFEBVRE, Professeur à la Faculté de Médecine de l'Université Catholique de Louvain. Paris : H. Casterman. 1860. 12mo. pp. xxvi. and 376.

PROFESSOR LEFEBVRE is too zealous in his Catholic devotion to write impartially concerning the "charities" of Rome. He went thither determined to see everything in a favorable light for the Papal rule, and he came away confirmed in his original opinions. It is his chosen work to refute by facts the slanders of malignant critics, and to vindicate the wise and apostolic administration of the Holy See. He seeks to prove, by documents, figures, and statistics, that, in proportion to its wealth and its population, Rome has more organized humanity and benevolence than any other state, and far more than heretical England. He finds the comparison between London and Rome in this regard greatly to the advantage of the Catholic city. There is less of crime, less of beggary, less even of ignorance ; the prisons are more comfortable, the hospitals better cared for ; and if the schools are not more numerous, they are at least better, and more Christian. The Pope, the Cardinals, the nobility, the rich bankers, vie with monks and nuns, with Jesuits and Carmelites, in their solicitude for the friendless and neglected classes. Professor Lefebvre is unable to see where the system can be improved, and offers Rome as a model for all Christian communities in its works of practical philanthropy. To him the exhibition in the houses of refuge and healing is more instructive even than the grand displays of religious splendor and manifestations of religious fervor.

The writer is evidently sincere, and if his view is incorrect and one-sided, it is certainly not wilful deception. Yet a wise judgment will be cautious in receiving all his conclusions. Large abatement from his figures must be made, in the excision from the Roman States of all the territory beyond the Campagna, which he includes in his survey. Making due allowance, nevertheless, enough remains to give his work authority and value. It is the clearest and best arranged exposition of the Roman system of education and charity which we have ever seen. It begins with the economical condition of the poorer classes in Rome, their labor on the land and handicraft, and the rate of their wages ; together with the state of those who are physically disabled, and of those who are beggars by profession. Then follows an account of the Foundling Hospital, with some remarks upon the morals of the Romans. After

this, we have an account of the schools for the lower classes, both children and adults, the orphan asylums, and the deaf-mute institution. Then each of the eight great hospitals is described, and a list of the private hospitals given. The sixth chapter tells of the almshouses and refuges, for the destitute, for abandoned women, for widows, for worn-out priests, and for the aged. The seventh chapter is an historical and critical examination of the Roman system. The eighth, ninth, and tenth chapters explain the methods of aiding the poor in their homes, by furnishing work and loans, and by the Mont de Piété. The eleventh chapter tells how the poor are gratuitously defended in the courts, and how the prisons are arranged, and the twelfth chapter treats of their *funerals*. An Appendix of nearly a hundred pages is devoted to denunciation of the witty libels of About, whom Professor Lefebvre pronounces to be a liar, a charlatan, and a blasphemer.

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2. — *Lettres sur les États-Unis d'Amerique*. Par le LIEUTENANT-COLONEL FERRI-PISANI, Aide-de-Camp de S. A. I. le Prince Napoleon. Paris: Hachette. 1862. 12mo. pp. 455.

WE attach no importance to the whispered rumor, that in this volume Prince Napoleon has used the name of his aid to hide his own authorship. No man, not utterly lost to modesty, could say of himself what this writer says of his Imperial Highness. We prefer to believe that the volume is the genuine production of a cultivated, observing, and courteous French officer, who tells what he has seen, and gives with frankness, yet without extravagance, his impressions of a rapid journey in the United States. We say a *French* officer, since, notwithstanding his Italian name, his style is pure and idiomatic French. The book is in a series of seven "Letters," — a title badly chosen, as we think, for each one of these letters is long enough for a small volume. In these "Letters," written to a colonel unknown, we have notices of persons and places, of manners and customs, of the conveniences of travel, of the mountains, the prairies, and the lakes, of New York, Washington, St. Louis, Chicago, and Boston, an elaborate account of Lake Superior and its mines, and, in the last letter, a disquisition upon religion in America, with special reference to the voluntary system and to the rise of Unitarianism. Many of the facts in this chapter are curiously accurate, and show that the author had "read up" his topic diligently; but many more are as strangely distorted, and illustrate the folly of attempting to treat what one cannot understand. Indeed, this closing chapter is so unlike the rest of the volume, that we suspect that most of it was prepared by another hand. It is an irrelevant disquisition.

Of the personal sketches in the volume the principal are those of Baron Mercier and Count Montholon, both eminently praised ; of Seward, an optimist, but able and patriotic ; of President Lincoln, about whose fitness for his office the writer leaves us in some doubt ; of General Scott, whose commanding figure and noble service are set over against some personal vanity ; of McClellan and McDowell, of whom the last seems to be preferred by this Frenchman ; of Beauregard and Johnston, their courteous address and military genius ; of General Cass and his son, whose artistic taste and love for things foreign this visitor cannot fail to appreciate ; of Mr. Agassiz, Mr. Everett, and Mr. Sumner, all of them mentioned respectfully ; and of some scientific and practical men, whom the party met in their voyage upon the Lakes. The man who seems, with all his defects of management and temper, with all his patronage of foreigners and assumption of dignity, most to fasten the admiration of our Frenchman, for his intellectual, executive, and moral power, is General Frémont.

A singular feature in this book is, that the Preface by its date assumes to be written before the book, and tells of a work to come, and not of a work completed.

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3. — *Des Causes du Rire.* Par LÉON DUMONT. Paris : Auguste Durand. 1862. 8vo. pp. iv. and 133.

NOT a few solid philosophical works have already given fame to the publishing house of Durand ; and no one of them has higher merit than the essay on the "Causes of Laughter." Of the author we know nothing beyond this book, and we are inclined, from internal evidence, to think that this is his first important work. It is, nevertheless, the work of a thorough scholar, of a clear and vigorous writer, and of a most acute and original thinker. Though writing about Laughter, M. Dumont never forgets that his purpose is scientific, and that he has undertaken to instruct, not to amuse. There are no humorous turns in the style, no flashes of wit, no marks of that brilliancy which we expect in the books of young French writers. The elements, conditions, and phenomena of Laughter are discussed with a most steady and exemplary gravity. It is really a dissection and history of what the author calls the *Risible*. Fine sayings are numerous enough, but none of them are *bon mots* ; and there is nothing to indicate the capacity of the writer as a humorist.

The first of the eight chapters treats of the difference between the external and internal laugh, shows how one may exist without the other, explains the distinction between laughing and smiling, and gives the

reason why man is the only laughing animal. Other animals have the organs necessary for laughter ; but man alone has a soul which can know what is ridiculous. The second chapter is a concise summary and criticism of the theories of the *Risible*, ancient and modern. M. Dumont is not satisfied with any of these, and proceeds in the next four chapters to propound, illustrate, and urge a theory of his own, which seems to him comprehensive enough to cover all the ground, and accurate enough to meet the most exacting scrutiny. Stated in a single sentence, his definition of the *Risible*, — of that which makes the soul laugh, — is “anything of which the mind finds itself forced at once to affirm and deny the same thing” ; in other words, whatever determines the intellect to form at the same time two contradictory relations. This theory M. Dumont regards as explaining all kinds of laughter except those which are merely physical and spasmodic. The longest and the most interesting chapter in the volume is the seventh, which treats of the synonymes of the *Risible*, and its various divisions and classes. The eighth and last chapter treats of the *Risible* in art, and of the difference between the *Risible* and the merely comic. The author maintains that there can be no such thing as comic music, — that music must become unmusical in order to be ridiculous. The book closes by some excellent remarks upon the moral value of laughter, with severe censure of frivolity and buffoonery. M. Dumont has no patience with a mere trifler, — with a man who has no higher business in the world than to excite mirth.

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4. — *Der Grundgedanke des Buches Hiob.* Von L. CHR. F. W. SEINECKE, Archidiaconus zu Clausthal. Clausthal : Grossesche Buchhandlung. 1863. 8vo. pp. 72.

ALL the books of the Old Testament have been made the subject of numerous critical experiments ; but on none of them has such a variety of conjecture been fastened as on Job. The modern treatises on this marvellous poem, as to which scholars are not yet agreed whether it is ethical, sceptical, or mystical, — how much is fancy and how much fact, — would make of themselves a considerable library. To read all that has been written about this book, from the day of Hillel down to our time, is beyond the power even of the most industrious and rapid book worm. Equally impossible would it seem to say anything new on a theme on which all combinations are exhausted. Yet the good Archdeacon of Clausthal, in the course of his quiet studies, thinks that he sees new light for this ancient puzzle, and that he has a satisfactory theory of the origin and meaning of what has so long vexed the critics.

He is able to tell when the book was written, why it was written, and what it all signifies, and to put all doubt to rest. Isaiah solves for him the difficulty, and the chapters of the "later Isaiah" are his "proper preface" to the story and arguments of the patriarch of Uz. The talismanic words which open the secret are that phrase "the servant of the Lord." To Dr. Seinecke it is perfectly evident that the servant of the Lord in the book of Isaiah and the servant of the Lord in the poem of Job are one and the same, — that the poem is an enlargement of the prophecy. He finds not only an identity of diction, but an identity of thought, of theological doctrine, and of moral teaching, in the two sacred books; and he interprets both as representing in an allegorical manner the fate of Israel. Job is really the sign of the Jewish people. His early purity stands for their primitive uprightness, and his prosperity is only the poetic description of what were the privilege and abundance of the race of Abraham. His argument represents their history, and his final reward prophesies their restoration. The book was written, Dr. Seinecke thinks, to comfort Israel in its time of trouble, by showing that reward is not, as the ancient law taught, always proportioned to labor and service; by proving that misfortunes do not decide the fate of men, since the innocent suffer; by stimulating the *believing* spirit, and teaching trust in the invisible and ever-working God. The main idea of the book, as here set forth, is not to exhibit the logical difficulties of the Divine sovereignty and justice, or the relation between sin and suffering, or to discuss the origin of evil, but to cheer and inspire the desponding people. It is virtually a Messianic book, and it tells of the new kingdom which shall restore to Israel the beauty and the joy which partly by fault and partly by misfortune for the time it had lost. We are not fully convinced that Dr. Seinecke has caught the solution of this Biblical enigma; but his reasonings are certainly learned and ingenious.

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5. — *The Students' Repository*. S. H. SMOTHERS, Editor. JAMES BUCKNER, Assistant Editor. Terms, fifty cents a year, in advance. Published by S. H. Smothers, at Spartanburg, Randolph County, Indiana. Vol. I. No. I. July, 1863. 8vo. pp. 32.

By an abominable and most short-sighted provision in the laws of Indiana, the colored people of that State are excluded from participation in the benefits of the public-school system. This class of the population of Indiana numbers, according to the census of 1860, between eleven and twelve thousand. In different parts of the State efforts have been made by benevolent individuals to provide some means of

education for the generation of blacks now growing up, and unjustly excluded from the public schools. At Spartanburg a Manual Labor School was established in 1846, with this end in view, under the name of the "Union Literary Institute." It is in the midst of a large and flourishing settlement of colored people, and has unquestionably been of great service, although limited in its operation and usefulness by the want of sufficient funds. The present principal of the institute is Mr. S. H. Smothers, a colored gentleman of excellent qualifications for the place. His name appears as that of the editor of the quarterly magazine called "The Students' Repository," the first number of which now lies before us. The objects of the magazine, as stated in the Prospectus, "are, first, to build up *Union Literary Institute*, and to awaken an interest in the cause of education among its students and friends. And, second, to cultivate and develop the latent talents, and elevate the intellectual, moral, and religious character of the colored people." These objects are worthy ones, and we greet "The Students' Repository" with a cordial welcome, commending it to the public, and wishing for it an entire success. It presents an attractive appearance, and is very neatly printed. The articles in this first number are all, as we understand, written by colored persons, and they are creditable to the writers. A large proportion of them relate to education, and no one professing common feeling can read them without strong sympathy with the desires expressed in them for better opportunities, and respect for the zeal and energy of which they bear witness. Nor is this all. Such articles should render every loyal and humane man in Indiana conscious of the great wrong done by the State laws to so worthy a class of her citizens, and should make him resolve to do all in his power to repair this injustice. It is not merely that the good name of Indiana is concerned; but the prosperity of every State finally depends on the conformity of her laws to what is in itself right. To leave any class of citizens uninstructed, is to permit the existence of a steadily increasing evil, and of a constant danger to the public welfare.

There is a touching tone of pathos in many of the articles, of which the following passage from the editor's introductory "Apology" is an example:—

"The editor of this periodical has no collegiate education to recommend him to the consideration and support of the public. About nine months' schooling, in a common district school, is all that he ever had. The same is true of most of the contributors. They, too, have had but very little schooling, and some of them none at all. Hence it will not be strange if the productions contained in the Repository should betray a want of that literary refinement which is seldom found except among persons who have had advan-



tages superior to those that we have enjoyed. We have had to make the world a school, and experience has been our preceptor."

We are pleased to learn that it is the desire of the conductors of this magazine to secure contributions from white persons, as well as from colored. For the surest attainment of the objects which "The Students' Repository" is intended to promote, a *class* character, and all distinctions dependent merely on color or race, should be as far as possible avoided.

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6. — *History of Spanish Literature.* By GEORGE TICKNOR. Third American Edition, Corrected and Enlarged. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1863. 3 vols. Small 8vo.

THE publication of a new and much enlarged edition of Mr. Ticknor's great work on Spanish Literature is a circumstance of too much importance to be passed unnoticed at any time; and it is specially noteworthy now, when, in spite of the multitude of new books issued from the press, there are so few works among them of permanent interest and value. The first edition of the *History* was reviewed at length in our pages by a writer — the late William H. Prescott — whose intimate acquaintance with Spanish history and literature made him an authority on every topic discussed; and it would be superfluous to add anything to the strong and just commendation which he bestowed on the work. All that we design is to call attention to some of the improvements which have since been introduced into it. As Mr. Prescott predicted, it was speedily translated into Spanish and German; and it has been everywhere recognized as one of the noblest monuments of American scholarship. In our own country two large editions have been published; and now we have a third, "corrected and enlarged," printed from new stereotype plates at the University Press, Cambridge. If the volumes are somewhat less elegant in form than the large and handsome octavos of the first edition, they are more convenient for use, and are made more readily available for occasional reference by the addition of side-notes, and by a great enlargement of the Index, which now fills sixty-two pages against forty pages allotted to this division of the work in the first edition. These additions would in themselves alone make this much superior to the earlier editions, even if the text had remained unchanged.

But Mr. Ticknor has not contented himself with the introduction of these desirable improvements: he has given to every part of the work a thorough and careful revision, which shows at once his undiminished interest in his subject, and his wish to render the *History*

still more worthy of its reputation as the most thorough and satisfactory work of its class in our language. As he remarks in the Preface to this edition: "There are accordingly but few consecutive pages in this History of Spanish Literature, as it is now presented to the public, which do not bear witness to what, I hope, may be accounted improvements, and what are certainly considerable changes in the work as it has heretofore been published, whether in the United States or in Europe." These changes are almost entirely of the nature of additions,—Mr. Ticknor having made but a single important omission, we believe. In order to gain space for the new matter to be inserted, he has wisely omitted from Appendix H to the third volume the three inedited poems which have heretofore been included in it, retaining only a few verses, but adding considerably to the critical remarks. As these poems are not now exposed to the dangers incident to unpublished manuscripts, there is no longer any special reason for their republication: and by omitting them our author has gained about seventy pages. This space is filled partly by a new Appendix on "Recent Publications," and partly by additions to the body of the work, and to the notes and old Appendices.

The additions may be divided into three classes,—the first consisting of new matter incorporated with the original text; the second, of notes now printed for the first time; the third, of remarks incorporated with the notes contained in the earlier editions. In the first class the principal additions are to the lives of Garcilasso de la Vega and Luis de Leon, both of which "have been rewritten and enlarged, from materials not known to exist, or at least not published, when the earlier editions of this History appeared." The additional notes are about two hundred in number, and are almost equally distributed among the different chapters; while the additional remarks incorporated with the earlier notes must cover nearly as much space as the new notes. The new matter thus introduced is, so far as we have had occasion to examine it in our collation of the first and third editions, both curious and interesting, and often highly important. "Above a hundred authors of inferior importance, no doubt," says Mr. Ticknor, "but, as I suppose, worthy of a notice they had not before received, have now found their appropriate places, generally in the notes, but sometimes in the text. And discussions which, taken together, are of no small amount, have been introduced respecting books already examined with more or less care, but now examined afresh." The additional details contained in the new notes and parts of notes appended to the lives of Cervantes and Lope de Vega, and to the accounts of the Inquisition and Protestantism in Spain, in particular, are worthy of

special notice. The Postscripts to Appendix C, on "The Centon Epistolario," and to Appendix D, on "The Buscapié," also contain new and important facts. Everywhere, indeed, we have found something to reward us for the time spent in looking for the new matter with which this edition has been so largely enriched, — the fruits, in part, of the author's third residence in Europe, and in part of the more congenial hours spent in his own library. After enumerating the sources from which he has derived the new materials used in it, Mr. Ticknor closes the "Preface to the Third Edition" with two or three impressive remarks which we cannot refrain from citing: —

"Its preparation," he writes, "has been a pleasant task, scattered lightly over the years that have elapsed since the first edition of this work was published, and that have been passed, like the rest of my life, almost entirely among my own books. That I shall ever recur to this task again, for the purpose of further changes or additions, is not at all probable. My accumulated years forbid any such anticipation; and therefore, with whatever regret I may part from what has entered into the happiness of so considerable a portion of my life, I feel that I now part from it for the last time. *Extremum hoc munus habeto.*"

In going through Mr. Ticknor's volumes for the purposes of this notice, we have been more strongly impressed than ever before by the magnitude of his undertaking, and by the consummate skill with which every part of it has been executed. Few persons not Spaniards by birth and education would have ventured on a task beset by so many difficulties; and certainly no one could have produced a work more orderly in arrangement, more accurate in statement, or sounder and more judicious in criticism.

We cannot close this notice without the expression of a hope that Mr. Ticknor may yet be induced to publish some of the miscellaneous papers which, it is understood, are quietly laid away in his library drawers. Among them we remember a lecture on "The Tartuffe of Molière," read in this city several years ago, which impressed us then as superior to any other discourse of its kind within our knowledge; and we believe that there are other papers illustrative of French and English literature which ought not to be allowed to perish.

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7. — *Biographical Sketches.* By NASSAU W. SENIOR. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green. 1863. Small 8vo. pp. xv. and 517.

UNDER this modest title Mr. Senior has brought together in a convenient form ten essays published by him at different times within a

period of more than twenty years, for the most part on topics connected with the law or lawyers. Of the papers thus collected for republication seven were first printed in the *Edinburgh Review*, and the residue in other periodical journals. They are often marked by the strong grasp of the subject, the sturdy good sense, and the perspicuous style for which we are accustomed to look in Mr. Senior's writings; but they are too slight in structure to be regarded as anything more than the recreations of an able man. The best of them are the papers on the elder Berryer, Tronson du Coudray, Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices*, and Lord King. In nearly all of these, however, as well as in the other essays, the citations from the books reviewed are so numerous, that one sees but little of the reviewer; and in general, with the exception of a few introductory remarks and an occasional bit of criticism, Mr. Senior contents himself with an abstract of his author's opinions and a statement of facts. As a writer he is deficient in brilliancy and graphic power, and, however high we may be disposed to rank him as a political economist, he cannot be classed with the earlier *Edinburgh Reviewers*, if these papers are to be taken as the measure of his ability as an essayist.

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8. — *The Life of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, Secretary of State in the Reign of Queen Anne.* By THOMAS MACKNIGHT, Author of "*The History of the Life and Times of Edmund Burke*," etc., etc. London: Chapman and Hall. 1863. 8vo. pp. xv. and 728.

THIS memoir will scarcely add to the reputation which Mr. Macknight acquired by his *Life of Burke*. It is not a work of much research; the arrangement of the materials is faulty; the style is often careless and inelegant; and throughout the volume there is a strong partisan spirit constantly manifest. But, even with these qualifications, not much can be said against our author's estimate of Bolingbroke's public and private character. The gross licentiousness of his private life has never been so forcibly exhibited in any previous memoir which has fallen under our notice; the want of profound and accurate scholarship so apparent in his literary and philosophical writings is abundantly shown; and few intelligent readers, we think, can close Mr. Macknight's narrative without a conviction that Bolingbroke was utterly destitute of political principles, and that he was indifferent whether the throne of Great Britain was occupied by a prince of the House of Hanover or by a prince of the House of Stuart, except so far as he thought his own personal interests might be advanced by his support of

one or the other. If Mr. Macknight had been equally candid in his delineations of the characters of Bolingbroke's contemporaries, if he had made a thorough and searching analysis of Bolingbroke's writings, and if his style had been subjected to a more careful revision, his work would have been much more worthy of praise, though even then it would probably have left the field open for a subsequent writer.

One of the chief defects in his work is the spirit of antagonism which he everywhere exhibits to Mr. Cooke, the most distinguished of Bolingbroke's previous biographers. It is true that a reader who is not familiar with Cooke's *Life of Bolingbroke* would not discover this defect; for, if we remember correctly, Mr. Macknight does not in a single instance mention his predecessor's name. He quotes from the book only once or twice, and then he does not mention the source from which the extract is taken. But this antagonism is not therefore less obvious to any one who is acquainted with Mr. Cooke's volumes, or less harmful to Mr. Macknight's own memoir. He has closely followed his predecessor's plan, and has repeatedly introduced topics which have very little connection with his main subject, apparently for no other purpose than to express an opinion diametrically opposite to that avowed by Mr. Cooke; and to such an extent has he done this, that there is scarcely an individual or a transaction susceptible of a diversity of representation that is not painted in different colors in these two *Lives of Bolingbroke*. It is often ludicrous to turn from some long digression, or some particularly emphatic statement, in Mr. Macknight's volume, to the corresponding part of Mr. Cooke's memoir, and find that the sudden change of subject or the emphasis of statement was occasioned simply by a desire to contradict something which the earlier author had written. Mr. Macknight's is the better work of the two, and in general the safer guide; but we entertain no doubt that it would have been much smaller in size, more compact in arrangement, and more judicious in tone, if its author had not been constantly misled by this spirit of antagonism to an earlier biographer.

That the life of Lord Bolingbroke deserves to be written with thoroughness and impartiality will be readily admitted. The important part which he played in the political history of England during the reigns of Anne and George I.; his influence over Pope, to whom he gave the plan of the "*Essay on Man*"; his fame as an orator; the reputation which he long enjoyed as a writer; and the lessons to be drawn from his life,—all combine to render his career one of the most instructive in the annals of the eighteenth century. But, as we have intimated, his life has not yet been written in a satisfactory manner: there are important questions respecting his course at different periods

on which more light needs to be thrown,—such, for instance, as whether he had a personal interview with the Pretender when he was in Paris before the negotiation of the peace of Utrecht, and what was the immediate cause of his flight from England. In respect to these points, we are inclined to think both Mr. Cooke and Mr. Macknight are in error. The general judgment to be passed on Bolingbroke's public and private life, however, can scarcely be affected by the investigation of these questions; and he will probably always be regarded as “a brilliant knave,” to quote the pointed expression of Lord Macaulay.

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9. — *The Empire: a Series of Letters published in “The Daily News,”* 1862, 1863. By GOLDWIN SMITH. Oxford and London: J. H. and James Parker. 1863. Small 8vo. pp. xxiv. and 306.

MR. SMITH has held the position of Professor of Modern History at Oxford for only four or five years; but he has already given signal proof of his ability, and his intention to perform its functions in a manner creditable to himself and useful to all who may be brought within the range of his influence. The two volumes of lectures already published by him, and noticed in former numbers of this journal, are characterized by sound judgment, a wise and humane spirit, great vigor and independence of thought, and by a general liberality of tone, which, not many years ago, would have been looked for in vain in an Oxford Professor. In the less elaborate, but not less important, volume now before us, we find the same admirable qualities, with a breadth of information as to every part of his subject which few persons probably possess who have not made it their chief, if not their only study. Everywhere he shows that he is thoroughly acquainted with the momentous question which he discusses. To the style of his first volume of lectures we felt compelled to take exception, on the ground that it was needlessly hard and dry, and that it was more likely to repel than to attract readers; but to this censure his masterly discourse on “Irish History and Irish Character” was not open, and the style of the volume now on our table is not less praiseworthy. It is clear, concise, and vigorous, with an occasional gleam of humor relieving the natural dryness of the subject, and is everywhere adequate to the demands which the author makes on it. No intelligent reader can have any doubt as to what Mr. Smith thinks or intends to say. In one instance, indeed,—we believe it is a solitary instance,—some qualifying expression should be added in order to relieve the writer from the charge of inconsistency and of unfairness in argument. It is true that there is no real ground for such a charge, since he is looking at two entirely

different aspects of the subject; but even the most candid reader may be pardoned for starting back at the seeming contradiction in the following passages. In arguing that no great change in the English Colonial System is likely to be introduced by the home government, the author very justly remarks: "On every subject where popular prejudice is strong, the lips of a party-leader, to whose party popularity is the breath of life, are inevitably sealed. Organic change requires preparation and foresight. We had thirteen Colonial Secretaries in twenty years; and the far-reaching wisdom which looks to the fruit of distant years can hardly be expected from the minister of an hour." The argument, we think, is sound and unanswerable; but in another part of the same letter Mr. Smith apparently maintains that colonial affairs are chiefly under the direction of the permanent Under-Secretary, a functionary, it is perhaps needless to add, who does not vacate his office with a change of the Ministry. "The common idea," we are told, "both among ourselves and among the colonists is, that England herself is constantly engaged, with the wisdom of all her sages and the light of all her political experience, in conducting the political education of the Colonies. The fact is, that England is occupied with her own concerns. The tutelage of the Colonies is not exercised even by Parliament in any practical sense. It has been delegated wholly to the Colonial Office, and the Colonial Office, generally speaking, is the permanent Under-Secretary, — the 'Mr. Mother Country' of satirical writers on colonial subjects, who, as he has all the trouble and none of the glory, is likely, if his nature is human, to be content with administering his vast and motley empire according to established routine, and is not likely gratuitously to undertake problems with which the imperial genius of a Charlemagne might have feared to cope." If the business of the Colonial Office is managed by a subordinate officer who holds his position for many years, it would seem that the frequent changes in the Colonial Secretaryship cannot fairly be adduced as an argument against the probability that any policy will be adopted by the home government which will only produce its fruits in "distant years"; but in answer to this objection it is only necessary to remind the reader that the Under-Secretary is not a member of the Cabinet, and that no plan which he might devise could be carried into operation unless it were brought forward or strenuously supported by the Colonial Secretary himself as a Cabinet measure. For the reasons adduced by our author in the first of the above passages, it is certainly not at all probable that "the minister of an hour" would hazard the existence of his administration by supporting a measure which was not devised by himself, and the beneficial effects of which he could not expect to witness; and for the reasons adduced in the second

passage, it is still less likely that a subordinate, accustomed only to a certain routine, would carefully elaborate any comprehensive reform of which he would have "all the trouble and none of the glory." If we keep these two considerations in mind, the apparent inconsistency in the argument at once vanishes.

Mr. Smith has not, we are inclined to think, been very fortunate in the selection of a title to his volume, since "Empire" is a term of somewhat ambiguous signification; but in his Preface he gives a very clear explanation of the sense in which he uses it. "The term Empire is here taken in a wide sense," he writes, "as including all that the nation holds beyond its own shores and waters, by arms or in the way of dominion, as opposed to that national influence which a great power, though confining itself to its own territories, always exercises in the world. In the case of our Empire this definition will embrace a motley mass of British Colonies, conquered colonies of other European nations, conquered territories in India, military and maritime stations, and protectorates, including our practical protectorate of Turkey, as well as our legal protectorate of the Ionian Islands." The subject as thus defined he discusses with consummate ability in a series of eighteen letters, of which the first seventeen are reprinted with additions and corrections from the London "Daily News," and the last, on "India," is now published, we presume, for the first time. Of these letters eleven relate either to the general subject of the relations of the Colonies to the mother country or to Canada, one to New Zealand, one to Gibraltar, one to the Protectorate of Turkey, three to the Ionian Islands, and one to India; and the thesis which the writer maintains throughout is, that the British Colonies are a source of weakness rather than of strength, of loss rather than of gain to England, and that both the mother country and the Colonies would derive immense advantages from a peaceful separation. This thesis, as we have stated, is maintained with an unanswerable weight and cogency of argument; and we suppose there can be little doubt that the general tendency of opinion among thoughtful persons in England is in the direction of Mr. Smith's argument, while even among those who have the control of public affairs, and who are the most averse to radical changes of policy, there have not been wanting statesmen of acknowledged sagacity — like the late Sir G. C. Lewis — who have regarded separation as inevitable. But this is a result into which England is far more likely to "drift," than to be led by any ministry, though it is not impossible that the proposed cession of the Ionian Islands may hereafter furnish the needed precedent. Among educated and influential persons in the Colonies, we are inclined to think that our author's views are not likely to find so



many advocates in proportion to their numbers as those views will find in England among the same classes, since in all of the Colonies and dependencies a large part of the upper classes look on the Colonies as only a temporary place of residence, or derive some personal advantage from the continuance of the present Colonial relation, or "like to be partners in a strong firm," to adopt a phrase sometimes used by the Canadians when writing or speaking on this subject. No one, however, can fail to be struck by the ability with which Mr. Smith has discussed this important question. In his frequent references to our country, he shows the same soundness of judgment and the same attachment to free institutions which he exhibits in every other part of the book.

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10. — *Hospital Transports: a Memoir of the Embarkation of the Sick and Wounded from the Peninsula of Virginia in the Summer of 1862. Compiled and Published at the Request of the Sanitary Commission.* Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1863. 16mo. pp. 167.

THERE is no organization in this country which has secured for itself a greater degree of confidence and sympathy throughout the Northern States, or which has drawn into its service a larger number of devoted and zealous supporters, than the United States Sanitary Commission. Persons of both sexes and of every age, of all our religious denominations and of every walk in life, of large and of small means, and of both the great political parties into which the country has again become divided, have esteemed it a privilege to aid by their time, their money, and the labor of their hands, in the work undertaken by it. Even those who were strongly of opinion that this work ought to be done by the government, instead of being left to the uncertain operation of private charity, and that the administration should be held to a strict responsibility for its proper performance, have not been backward in giving to the Commission the support necessary to enable it to discharge its various functions in an efficient and satisfactory manner. The trust thus reposed in it has not been misplaced. Occasional reports of its operations in a single department, during a single campaign, or on a single battle-field, have made known to the country in some degree the nature and extent of its services in alleviating the horrors of war; and the value of these services has been still further attested by the concurrent testimony of all who have made special investigation of the subject. Additional evidence to the same effect is furnished by the little volume named above. It is composed for the most part of extracts from the confidential and familiar reports of the Secretary, Mr.

Frederick Law Olmsted, to the President of the Commission during the Peninsular Campaign, and of extracts from the private letters of another gentleman and six ladies who were in the service of the Commission during the same period. These letters cover about two months, from the evacuation of Yorktown by the Rebel forces to the withdrawal of our army stores from White-House, and were written without any thought of publication. They have been selected and arranged for the press, under the authority of the Commission, by one of the managers of the "Woman's Central Army Relief Association of New York." As we might naturally expect, the extracts from Mr. Olmsted's communications fill the greater part of the volume,—the other extracts being used only as connecting links to bind the whole into a consecutive narrative. They tell a simple and deeply interesting story of modest and faithful services in diminishing the sufferings of the sick, wounded, and dying soldiers in that memorable campaign, and show in the most conclusive manner how admirably the operations of this noble charity have been conducted. From the necessities of the case, the individual writer is constantly brought forward as a prominent actor in the scenes described; but, as has been well remarked, there is none of that parade of self-devotion and self-sacrifice which is too often seen in those who are engaged in charitable labors. Each of the writers seems to have felt that he or she was sufficiently rewarded for every weary hour of day or night toil by the consciousness that thus many lives were saved, and many dying pillows made easier.

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11.—*The Amber Gods, and Other Stories.* By HARRIET ELIZABETH PRESCOTT. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1863. 16mo. pp. 432.

THE seven stories comprised in this volume have already been published in the pages of the "Atlantic Monthly," where they attracted much notice; but in this reprint they are likely to find many new readers, and in their collected form they demand a somewhat more searching criticism than they received when first published. The early productions of a writer, who has at once achieved so large a popularity as Miss Prescott has already won, can never be matters of indifference to any one who is interested in the growth of American literature, and it is well to consider what are their real merits and defects, and what is the promise which they reveal. In analyzing the impressions derived from a careful reading of Miss Prescott's stories, we suppose that it will be generally admitted that her popularity is due in the first place to the united strength and brilliancy of her descriptions. In

each of her stories there are many passages of gorgeous magnificence, of intense interest, or of startling power, and there is scarcely one in which there is not abundant evidence that she has an imagination of extraordinary richness and strength in everything relating to this part of her art, however poor it may be in any other respect. In the second place, her popularity, we think, is largely owing to her skill in investing her characters with a personal interest, and compelling the reader to follow their careers to the end, even though the characters are in themselves utterly despicable. These two traits — an ability to describe scenes and personages with clearness and force, and the power of enchaining the reader's attention through a long narrative — are among the most important qualifications of a novelist or the story-writer; and both of them our author possesses in large measure.

In respect to the conception and evolution of her plots, she can lay claim to no such high excellence. Not one of her plots is, in any just sense of the term, original; and neither the variations from the familiar stories or fables, nor the additions to them, are of sufficient importance to demand notice. Other writers have made use of the same materials for a similar purpose, and we refer to Miss Prescott's deficiency in this particular mainly because it is a singular circumstance, that one whose imagination is so rich on the descriptive side should have so little creative power in forming the ground-plan of her stories. This defect, however, is one that we should expect to find in a young writer; and, from the ability which Miss Prescott exhibits in other respects, we may confidently anticipate her entire triumph over it.

In one other particular her stories are open to criticism: a low, murky atmosphere too often hangs over them; and almost without exception they have a morbid and unhealthful tone. In four of the seven stories now before us, the dominant passion in the breast of one or more of the chief characters is illicit love; and in each of these four stories, the whole or the greater part of the interest is made to depend on the history of this passion. That such a representation of the relation which a married man or a married woman holds to any one of his or her friends is a true picture of married life, no one will affirm; and therefore, to put our objection in its lowest form, a writer who makes the interest of her love-stories, with a single exception, depend on the development of an unlawful affection, commits a grave artistic fault. Illicit love in ordinary life is the exception, not the rule; and it is certainly making rather an extravagant use of the exceptional for a writer to employ it in four cases out of five in a single collection of miscellaneous stories. But it is a still more fatal objection to the too frequent use of such machinery, that the constant contemplation of a

diseased side of human nature can scarcely fail to produce an unhealthy state of mind, and thus to exert a dangerous influence. A writer, whose stories are so eagerly read, and so often discussed in society as are those of Miss Prescott, ought not to be unmindful of the influence which she may exert on the young; for it is among the young for the most part that her readers must be found. The most pleasing, but not the most elaborate of her stories,—"Knitting Sale-Socks,"—is unexceptionable in tone, and it is simply because this is so that the story is more pleasing than those on which the writer has bestowed greater labor. So too, though the moral tone of "In a Cellar" is not of the highest, every one must prefer it to "Desert Sands," or to "Midsummer and May," the longest tale in the volume.

From what has already been said, it will readily be inferred that we think very highly of Miss Prescott's ability. Her stories are too full of promise not to give abundant assurance of her increasing excellence as a writer. She already possesses too many elements of power not to improve with experience, and she has done wisely in giving some respite to her pen, instead of following up her early successes with a flood of new productions, as a person of less discretion might have done. She has only to avoid a few faults, to breathe a healthier tone into her writings, and to cultivate her own capacity of original thought, in order to assume a foremost place in this department of letters.

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12. — *Philip van Artevelde. A Dramatic Romance. In Two Parts.*  
By HENRY TAYLOR. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1863. 24mo.  
pp. 456. (Blue and Gold.)

THIS celebrated poem was reprinted in this country shortly after its first appearance in England; but the American edition has long been out of print, and the republication of the work in a form so convenient and beautiful will be welcomed, therefore, by all who enjoy the higher kinds of poetry. Throughout it bears the marks of a strong and healthy mind; and few persons, we are inclined to think, will refuse their assent to the judgment which pronounces it the finest production of its class published in England during the last thirty years. The subject is a noble one; and Mr. Taylor's treatment of it is fully equal to every just demand which an exacting criticism can make on him. As an historical poem, it not only preserves with scrupulous fidelity the broad outline of facts on which it is based, but also gathers up with not less care many of the curious details recorded by Froissart; and when the author gives play to his imagination, he is always careful not

to introduce anything which is not in harmony with the known facts of the history. The character of Philip van Artevelde is a masterpiece of historical portrait-painting; and scarcely less power is exhibited in the portraiture of Peter van den Bosch, of Adriana van Merestyn, of Elena della Torre, and of the other principal characters in the various scenes which Mr. Taylor unfolds before his readers. In the delineation of the inferior characters we have abundant evidence of the same skill and exercised judgment in depicting the men and women of a remote period. As a representation of life in Flanders in the fourteenth century, nothing can be better. Throughout the poem the diction is polished and dignified, rich and harmonious, except in those parts where the character of the interlocutor demands a rougher and less elevated style. Everywhere noble thoughts are clothed in language not less noble. It is a matter for regret that a writer of so much power has published so little, and that the little that he has published is not more generally known. We hope, however, that this volume will be followed by a uniform edition of his other writings, both in prose and in poetry.

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- 13.— *The Jobsiad: a Grottesco-Comico-Heroic Poem.* From the German of DR. CARL ARNOLD KORTUM, by CHARLES T. BROOKS, Translator of "Faust," "Titan," etc., etc. Philadelphia: Frederick Leypoldt. 1863. 12mo. pp. xviii. and 181.

THIS is the first translation of "The Jobsiad," we believe, which has ever been made into English; and, like everything of the kind from the skilful hand of Mr. Brooks, it shows throughout the marks of his special qualifications for such a task. While he has preserved the spirit and general characteristics of the original, his version has none of the obscurity and harshness so often found in metrical translations. So far as any translation can take the place of the original work, we may safely hazard an opinion on the special merits and defects of this celebrated piece of German drollery, without any fear of doing injustice to the author in consequence of the carelessness or incompetency of the translator. As a whole, the poem does not satisfy the expectations aroused by the extracts contributed to the New York "Literary World," in 1851, by Mr. Brooks. The plot is sufficiently well developed; the individuality of each character is admirably preserved; many of the scenes are exceedingly ludicrous; and a racy humor underlies the entire poem. But, in spite of these obvious merits, it must be confessed that "The Jobsiad" as a whole is wearisome. One

can read a few chapters with pleasure ; but one could hardly read the poem through without impatience at its length, and its want of variety in style. Even the best chapters — such as the letter of young Jobs to his father, the senator's reply, and the description of the candidate's examination in theology — are needlessly prolix and tedious. With the qualification implied in these remarks, the poem is a very amusing and successful satire ; and it is easy to account for the popularity which it has long enjoyed in Germany.

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14. — *The Student's Guide to the University of Cambridge.* Cambridge [England]: Deighton, Bell, & Co. 1862. 16mo. pp. vi. and 328.

THIS little volume is designed for the use not only of students who have actually entered at Cambridge, or who purpose doing so, but also of all persons who are interested in University life there ; and we know of no similar work which contains so much information respecting the cost of a residence at the University, the courses of study which may be most advantageously pursued there, the college honors and rewards, and indeed every other branch of the subject. The names of the contributors, among whom are the Regius Professor of Laws, the Norrisian Professor of Divinity, and Professors or Tutors of several of the principal colleges, claim for their statements the authority almost of an official publication ; and the very full account which each has given of the course of reading for the Tripos with which he is most familiar, or for the degrees conferred in the Faculty with which he is personally connected, leaves no point uncovered. Beside these papers, which fill the greater part of the volume, there are a general "Introduction," and a chapter "On the Choice of a College," by the editor, Mr. J. R. Seeley, Fellow of Christ's College, a chapter "On University Expenses," by the Rev. H. Latham, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity Hall, and a very full "Detailed Account of the several Colleges," presenting in a convenient and compact form nearly everything which it is desirable to know about them in connection with the University system.

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15. — *A Service-Book for Sunday Schools.* Boston : Walker, Wise, & Co. 1863. 12mo. pp. 95, 141.

THIS book contains, in the first part, an ample number and diversity of Scriptural services for alternate reading, and of forms of prayer, and in the second an admirable collection of hymns with appropriate

tunes, many of them the old tunes that ought never to be obsolete. We are led to notice the work for the elevated tone that pervades it. It maintains throughout, with the simplicity that befits a children's book of worship, the dignity and solemnity that belong to themes transcending the loftiest intellect. There is nothing of the namby-pamby element,—the sanctimonious baby-talk which often deforms manuals of this class. We cannot express ourselves with an emphasis adequate to our conviction, as to the wrong and harm done to the holiest sentiments of our nature by the degradation of sacred subjects of which we speak. Among the fruitful sources of juvenile profaneness, we have no hesitation in numbering the belittling associations connected with the objects of religious reverence by means of hymns, services, and addresses in which simplicity has degenerated into familiarity, and things sacred and divine have been uttered, talked of, and sung about in the dialect of the nursery and the playground. Children can understand plain and sober words grouped in simple sentences and stanzas; and if they could not, far better were it that the sentiment of reverence should be cherished by words into the meaning of which they may gradually grow, than that they should be made to feel at the outset that there is nothing in the universe too high or deep for their comprehension.

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16. — *Evidences of Christianity. Lectures before the Lowell Institute, January, 1844.* Revised as a Text-Book. By MARK HOPKINS, D. D., President of Williams College. Boston: T. R. Marvin and Son. 1863. 12mo. pp. 356.

THIS work, in its original form, has been used extensively and advantageously as a text-book in several of our principal colleges. The author has now thoroughly rewritten such portions as needed revision, and has arranged the whole with a special view to render it more serviceable as a text-book, placing at the head of each paragraph, or connected series of paragraphs, a caption indicating its contents. We prize this treatise for what it contains and for what it does not contain. The absence of irrelevant or worse than irrelevant matter in such a work, is a great merit. Most authors on the Christian evidences seize greedily on whatever can be plausibly employed as an argument, as if quantity rather than quality were to be thought of in reasoning on this most important of all subjects, on which the motto ought to be, *Non multa, sed multum*. A strong cause is not established by the accumulation of weak arguments; but it may be betrayed by the attempt to prop up with feeble subsidiary matter arguments in themselves forceful

and conclusive. Dr. Hopkins is contented with strong arguments, and he confines himself almost exclusively to such grounds of proof as occupy the same place in moral reasoning which demonstration holds in pure mathematics. He shows why Christianity *must* be true, and is at no pains to show in addition why it *may* be true. Yet more, he does not slight or undervalue any one branch of the evidences in his preference for another. Justly regarding the internal evidences of our religion as best adapted to the wants of our age and to the current forms of scepticism, he nevertheless attaches due and full weight to the mass of testimony and of exterior circumstantial and historical evidence which places the Christian Scriptures, as to their genuineness and authenticity, on absolutely impregnable ground. The work, too, is admirable on the score of its catholicity. It is our common Christianity and its records, and not his own view of its dogmas, that the author defends. The work is also worthy of high commendation for its style, — for the vigor and massiveness of its diction, for its profound solemnity, its fervor at once calm and intense, — for the glow, without the ostentation, of deep feeling and cherished personal experience that vitalizes every portion of the volume. It is no small praise, that, in a form imperfectly adapted to the purpose of class-instruction, by the side of other able treatises designed for that use, and with no effort to extend its circulation, this book has held its place in our colleges for nearly twenty years. In its present form, it cannot fail to find a larger reception, and it can hardly be superseded until some new phasis of unbelief shall demand an altered mode of treatment.

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17. — *The History of Girolamo Savonarola, and of his Times.* By PASQUALE VILLARI, Professor of History in the University of Pisa. Translated from the Italian by LEONARD HORNER, F. R. S., with the Co-operation of the Author. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green. 1863. 2 vols. Small 8vo. pp. xl. and 359, 401.

THE life of Savonarola has been often written, not only in Italian, but also in German, French, and English; yet it seemed, and not without reason, to the author of these volumes, that there was still need of a thorough, accurate, and impartial memoir of him. Accordingly, after a careful study of all that had been published by previous biographers, as well as of all the original sources of information now accessible, he gave to the world a few years ago the fruits of his labors and researches in the work now brought to the notice of English readers by Mr. Leonard



Horner. This gentleman was already known as the brother and biographer of one whose early death can never be too much deplored by all who are concerned in the progress of civil liberty abroad, — the late Francis Horner. To the discharge of his new task the translator has brought a strong interest in the life and character of Savonarola, and a considerable acquaintance with both ; but he shows far less command of the resources of his own language than we had hoped to find. In reading his translation, we are never misled into the belief that we are reading a work in the original text. How far the blemishes by which the style is disfigured are to be ascribed to the “revision” of Professor Villari, it is impossible to determine ; for Mr. Horner tells us in his Preface that all of the proof-sheets were sent to the author for the purpose of receiving his *final* corrections. It is certainly not easy to see how any one who is familiar with the English language could fall into some of the mistakes in Mr. Horner’s version. We ought, however, to add, that there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the translation ; and in spite of its inelegances of style, Mr. Horner has rendered a useful service by thus introducing Professor Villari’s work to the notice of those who are not acquainted with it in the original.

Professor Villari’s memoir is minute, thorough, and exhaustive. As we have already remarked, he has neglected no source of information which is now accessible ; and he has discovered some interesting documents which had escaped the notice of his numerous predecessors. No one, indeed, could have brought to the execution of this task a more ample acquaintance with the details of the life of Savonarola, and with the general history of the age in which he was so conspicuous an actor. Added to this, the author has a strong and well-founded admiration for his hero, and has studied Savonarola’s voluminous writings with a sincere desire to do justice to their merits, and to exhibit with fidelity the exact opinions of the reformer on all the topics discussed by him. Great, however, as was the influence, and praiseworthy as were the actions and discourses, of which we have so full an account in this memoir, few persons, we think, can read Villari’s pages without feeling that he has somewhat exaggerated their real importance and worth, and that the value of the book is greatly diminished by the partisan spirit in which it is written. It is, moreover, much too diffuse for any but an Italian public ; and as the reader turns over page after page of dry and uninteresting details as to the petty conflicts of the Italian states, he can scarcely avoid a regret that the translator did not considerably abridge the original narrative and discussions. Even if the book had been cut down one half, it might have contained all that most readers would wish to know.

18. — *The Sergeant's Memorial.* By his Father. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph. 1863. 12mo. pp. 242.

IN May, 1862, John Hanson Thompson, son of Rev. Joseph P. Thompson, D. D., of New York, then a member of Yale College, enlisted in the Twenty-Second Regiment of the New York National Guards. On March 16, 1863, he died in camp of typhoid pneumonia, in the twenty-first year of his age. Among the costly and precious sacrifices made for our country since the present rebellion began, none can have left a more blessed record than this noble and lovely youth. Of the richest intellectual promise, with affluent motives and helps to the highest culture, endowed with graces of person and character adapted equally to win and to command, and with these gifts irradiated and crowned by a sweet and tender piety, he entered the public service from motives of the purest patriotism, and that not in a paroxysm of popular feeling, but after months of deliberate purpose and preparation. His career in the army was characterized by the purity, gentleness, and conscientiousness that had adorned his previous course, and his letters, thoroughly manly and soldierlike, indicate at the same time an absolutely feminine delicacy and fineness of mental and moral organism to which it was impossible that aught of the soil or stain of military life should cleave. Indeed, he was manifestly growing as to the interior and higher life through those months of exposure and peril, his spiritual nature drawing nutriment and strength from all that it encountered and endured. This volume, with the young officer's strikingly expressive and beautiful countenance for its frontispiece, is the father's memorial of his first-born, — consisting of sketches of his life, passages from his writings, extracts from letters of sympathy written since his death, and the touching and eloquent address of Rev. Dr. Storrs at his interment. It is a book of surpassing interest, equally for the character and life-record which it presents, for its earnestly loyal and patriotic spirit, and for its profound and impressive lessons of Christian faith, trust, and resignation.

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19. — *Memoir of the Life and Character of the late Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen, LL. D.* By TALBOT W. CHAMBERS, a Minister of the Collegiate Church, New York. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1863. 12mo. pp. 289.

MR. FRELINGHUYSEN was long and prominently before the public, as a distinguished politician and statesman, as an eloquent advocate, as the head successively of two well-known literary institutions, and as a

leader in various religious and social charities. This Memoir connects and supplements the outlines of his public career by sketches and anecdotes of his private life and character. The writer manifests no peculiar skill as a book-maker, — indeed, the putting together of the work is very decidedly unartistical and awkward; but his narrative style is modest, easy, and graceful, and each separate part of the story is simply and felicitously told. The impression of the whole exceeds even our high anticipations. We have here abundant evidence that Mr. Frelinghuysen belonged to the foremost rank of good men, — of those who have the courage, the philanthropy, and the self-abnegation of which martyrs are made, — of those whom no emergency of duty or of trial finds beneath the level of its demands. We knew before that he was a devout and a generous man; we are here permitted to see how entirely *ex animo* he lived for God and for his brethren.

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20. — *Moral Culture of Infancy, and Kindergarten Guide, with Music for the Plays.* By MRS. HORACE MANN and ELIZABETH P. PEABODY. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 1863. 12mo. pp. 206, 10.

THIRTY years ago there were few sadder sights than a school for very young pupils. The child, with hardly ten minutes of school-work, was obliged to sit six hours a day, on a hard bench, generally without support for the back, and with neither room nor license for a change of posture, unless, weighed down by slumber, he fell on the floor, and was mercifully permitted to remain there. During these weary sessions there was no attempt to reach or rouse the mind through eye or ear, and even the lesson was in sounds alone, and not in ideas, — conveying no immediate knowledge, but only depositing what might possibly after the lapse of years germinate into knowledge. That children's minds, under such a system, did not perish of atrophy, deserves no mean place among the arguments for the indestructibleness of the intellectual powers. The sisters, to whom we are indebted for the manual before us, were among the pioneers in the reform. Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody nearly thirty years ago appeared before the public as the historiographer of Mr. Amos Bronson Alcott's infant school, which, however, she described so honestly — the gross follies and absurdities along with the very marked excellences of Mr. Alcott's procedure — that the school hardly survived the publication. At a somewhat later period Mrs. Mann (then Miss Mary Peabody) made a successful experiment of the same kind, and her part in the volume we are noticing consists of letters written at that time with reference to her school and scholars.

The prime principle of the improved system of infant-school education is that which underlies the term *education*,—the *drawing out* into activity of the various faculties, mental and moral, by furnishing appropriate objects and constant employment for them through every avenue by which they may be reached. On this principle amusement forms a large part of instruction, while instruction, by healthfully and genially occupying, and never overtasking, the powers, serves the purpose of amusement,—so that in the *Kindergarten* work is play, and play is work. Miss Peabody in this volume describes the essential features of a *Kindergarten*, and the fit methods of administration, and then enters into the various modes of training, discipline, industry, amusement, and instruction which have had the sanction of successful experiment in Germany or in this country. The book is designed to serve as a directory for practice. We bespeak attention to it as the only accessible manual, as a book which it would be easy to work by, and as abounding in such suggestive thoughts on educational subjects as the varied and valuable experience of the writers could not fail to furnish. While the primary aim is to induce the establishment and to direct the organization of the specific institution which gives its name to the book, parents who superintend the early education of their own children will find here many valuable hints which can be made availing for the pleasure and profit of their households.

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21. — *Helps to Education in the Homes of our Country*. By WARREN BURTON, Author of "The District School as it was." Boston : Crosby and Nichols. 1863. 16mo. pp. 368.

MR. BURTON has for many years devoted himself to the subject of domestic education, and wherever he has lectured he has succeeded in awakening attention to prevailing negligences and errors, and to the solemn responsibility resting upon parents in regard to the moral and religious discipline of their homes. This volume consists of a series of lectures and articles on the salient topics of home-education. What strikes us as characterizing all the papers without exception is their direct bearing on practice. The author has, of course, his well-defined theories,—otherwise his suggestions would be worthless. But there is no parade here of novel speculations. We doubt whether there is a single hint which will fail to satisfy the judgment of any serious reader; but the ground covered is that portion of the home-life which in too many otherwise good families is left to chance influences, without any direct purpose or effort toward results confessedly of prime im-

portance to the welfare and happiness of the young. More than one third of the volume is occupied with "Suggestions on the Discipline of the Observing Faculties," and we cannot but express our unqualified approval and admiration of the various ingenious and felicitous methods indicated for giving promptness and precision to the perceptive organs and powers. The education of the senses has a most important bearing, not merely on success in life, but on the reputation and character. From neglect of this spring not only life-long awkwardness and incapacity, but many of the most common and annoying forms of exaggeration, misstatement, and seemingly deliberate falsehood. There are some persons whose statements of what they see and hear are never worthy of credence. They do not mean to utter falsehood; but they failed to acquire in childhood the proper use of eye and ear, and imagination comes in to supply the deficit. The latter part of the volume is devoted to religious education,—to the nurture of children in the love of God, of Christ, and of the Bible. In this field of thought the author will have the entire sympathy and hearty gratitude of devout Christian believers of every name. The chapter on "The First and Great Commandment" will especially commend itself for its rich and elevated vein of sentiment, and for the clearness with which the author demonstrates that the love of God is at once the source and the end of all worthy culture, and the only basis on which a fair life-structure can be reared.

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22. — *The Life of Philidor, Musician and Chess-Player.* By GEORGE ALLEN, Greek Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. With a Supplementary Essay on Philidor as Chess Author and Chess Player, by TASSILO VON HEYDEBRAND UND DER LASA, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the King of Prussia at the Court of Saxe-Weimar. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co. 1863. 12mo. pp. 156.

THIS book deserves pre-eminent praise for its artistical execution. Few more beautiful specimens of printing have ever been issued from the American press. Professor Allen's work displays great research, a careful collation of conflicting authorities, and that admiring appreciation of his subject without which a readable biography cannot be written. We have not that appreciation in the present instance, and are therefore not qualified to enter into the intimate merits of the work. Philidor was a musical composer and a chess-player,—in the latter capacity unsurpassed, and he seems to have been as little of anything

else as a man who lived seventy years in the world could be. His achievements in these callings, particularly at the chess-board, have here their discriminating and admiring record, so that to those whose specialty is chess this book will be a treasure, while its elegance, both literary and typographical, will win for it a favored place on the tables and shelves of many others. The supplement is so full of the details of the game and of specific games, that it would be vain to attempt to read it without a chess-board for constant reference.

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- 23.— *The Capital of the Tycoon: a Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in Japan.* By SIR RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, K. C. B., Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan. With Maps and Numerous Illustrations. In two volumes. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1863. 12mo. pp. 407, 436.

WE have seen no book on Japan so valuable as this. The author not only records all that he saw and experienced during his residence at the capital; but he discusses with affluent knowledge and great acuteness the delicate questions and complicated relations growing out of mercantile and diplomatic intercourse between the Japanese Court and the Western powers. He gives us, also, not only surface views of Japanese life and manners, but such estimates of the mental ability of the race, their moral condition, the genius of their government and institutions, and the merits and defects of their peculiar type of civilization, as would be of no worth from a flippant voyager, but are of prime importance and value as coming from a man of Sir Rutherford Alcock's intelligence, culture, and practical wisdom.

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- 24.— *Systems of Military Bridges in Use by the United States Army, those adopted by the great European Powers, and such as are employed in British India, with Directions for the Preservation, Destruction, and Re-establishment of Bridges.* By BRIG.-GEN. GEORGE W. CULLUM (Lieut.-Col. Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army), Chief of Staff of the General-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States; late Aide-de-Camp to Lieutenant-General Scott; and Chief of Staff and of Engineers of Major-General Halleck, while commanding the Departments of the Missouri and Mississippi. New York: D. Van Nostrand. 1863. 8vo. pp. 226. Plates 7.

GENERAL CULLUM's name for this work is worth much more than our

indorsement. Knowing him, we should believe the book to be excellent, if we were unable to appreciate its merits. But it is so written that others than military men can read it with pleasure and profit. The author uses as few technical terms as is possible in accordance with scientific accuracy. He covers, as seems to us, the entire ground laid out in his title, and under every head he gives minute directions, estimates of strength, and such details as could have been suggested only by long observation and practice. The volume, elicited by the present stress of need, will doubtless become, as it deserves to be, a permanent manual for the military service.

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25. — *The Social Condition and Education of the People in England.*

By JOSEPH KAY, Esq., M. A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, Barrister at Law, and late Travelling Bachelor of the University of Cambridge. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1863. 12mo. pp. 323.

THIS is a foolish, if not a malicious, republication of the part relating to England of a very valuable work on "The Social Condition and Education of the People of Europe," that appeared in 1850. The entire work was designed and adapted to aid in the great enterprise of social and educational reform, which has been in vigorous and successful operation for the last fifteen or twenty years. The author describes the very evils and abuses to which Christian philanthropy has applied preventives and remedies with a zeal and munificence unexampled in any other time or land. From the very nature of the case, therefore, the book that was true thirteen years ago must be very wide of the present truth. The American editor, in a not very lucid Preface, denies this; but he evidently has no statistics of the present time to sustain him in his denial, — otherwise he would have published them in the place of Mr. Kay's chapters. We believe that a great improvement has already taken place in the very particulars as to which Mr. Kay makes such revolting statements of squalidness and degradation, and in large part because of the fidelity with which he and others laid bare features of the social system previously hidden from the general knowledge. We, indeed, are not disposed to any excess of charity for the English people in their present attitude toward our country; but we must deprecate the use of obsolete statistics as entirely beyond the choice of hostile weapons allowed in honorable warfare.

26. — *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838–1839.*  
By FRANCES ANNE KEMBLE. New York: Harper and Brothers.  
1863. 12mo. pp. 337.

IN some respects this is the most valuable of the many recent publications on slavery. It is especially valuable because it is not a recent work, but was written nearly a quarter of a century ago, when the subject was little agitated, and there was no strong direction of the public mind toward the intrinsic turpitude of the institution which now has the whole world opposed to it. Moreover, it cannot have been written with the remotest view to publication; for the author was then a wife, and though in her journal she never speaks unkindly of her husband, she speaks more freely of him than her wifely relation would have permitted so long as it continued. Mr. Butler's plantations — he had two — were evidently equal to the average, if not superior, as to the humanity of the master and the comfort of the slaves. He seems to have had, indeed, no excess of kindly feeling; but he was neither niggardly nor cruel. Yet the daily record of his wife during her Georgian residence bears ample testimony to a condition of things among those slaves, and in their relations to the dominant race, which the most daring sophist could not undertake to justify or palliate, unless on the assumption that the negro is a soulless brute, and that of an inferior order. We trust that this "South-Side View" will be read and pondered by those who have lent their too easy faith to mere transient visitors in the land of bondage; for the prison-house has its secrets which the jailers are not over ready to disclose, and which reveal themselves only to those who dwell or sojourn within their circle.

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27. — *A Supplement to URE's Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines, containing a clear Exposition of their Principles and Practice.* From the last Edition, edited by ROBERT S. HUNT, F. R. S., F. S. S., Keeper of Mining Records, formerly Professor of Physics, Government School of Mines, &c., &c., assisted by numerous Contributors eminent in Science and familiar with Manufactures. Illustrated with Seven Hundred Engravings on Wood. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. 8vo. pp. 1096.

DR. URE published his Dictionary in 1839. He died in 1857, in his eightieth year. Until he became too infirm for the labor, he kept the work level with the progress of the time by modifications and additions introduced in the successive issues. At the time of his death,



a plan was organized "for bringing the Dictionary to the present state of knowledge." This was effected through the collaboration of some forty or fifty men of science, and the result of their undertaking appeared in 1860, under the editorship of Mr. Hunt, in three huge octavo volumes. The volume now before us consists of the new matter in this edition, *minus* "those portions of the work which concerned the English mainly, their commercial and manufacturing resources and statistics, the least important historic notices, and some definitions in pure science, which seemed hardly embraced within the defined scope of the work." If these omissions have been judiciously made, (and we have no reason to think otherwise,) they cannot materially affect the practical usefulness of the American volume. And it certainly was wise to publish this one volume, rather than to republish the three; for this will be generally purchased by the owners of the earlier editions of Ure, while few of them would have been willing purchasers of material the greater part of which was already in their possession. What strikes us most forcibly in this volume is the very large proportion of the original titles that recur in it, indicating that there was (and probably there is now) hardly a "closed canon" in any department of the useful arts, that the enlarged knowledge and improved processes of the last few years are as extensive in compass as they are momentous in interest, and that the literature of applied science is as affluent in novelty as is that of fancy, or of speculative physics, or of mental philosophy. The single article on Iron fills more than fifty closely printed pages, with no less than thirty-six diagrams of new machinery; that on Coal-Gas, forty pages with thirty-one diagrams; that on Bread, thirty-two pages with twenty-eight diagrams; while that on Calico-Printing — the longest, we believe, of all — takes up nearly sixty pages, with forty-five diagrams. From this statement it will appear how essential the supplementary volume is to preserve intact the value of the original work; while the standard worth of this latter is established by the consent of the eminent men concerned in the republication to the expediency of enlarging it, instead of superseding it by an entirely new Dictionary.

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28. — *War Pictures from the South.* By B. ESTVAN, Colonel of Cavalry in the Confederate Army. New York: Appleton & Co. 1863. 12mo. pp. 352.

COLONEL ESTVAN — a foreigner — took service in the Confederate army at the commencement of the war. His sympathy with the

Rebel cause, not strong at the outset, evidently became more feeble with his growing knowledge of the points at issue; and in his "War Pictures" he occupies an impartial position, which attaches peculiar weight to his opinions. He gives a clearer and more intelligible narrative of the battle of Manassas than we have seen elsewhere; and he fully confirms the statement that the Confederate generals had given up as irrecoverably lost, not only the fortune of the day, but the cause of Southern independence, when the appearance of Kirby Smith with fresh forces, at the latest moment at which they could have been availing, turned the tide of battle. He enters at large into the details of the Peninsular campaign under General McClellan, and shows how very near to complete success our army again approached. He ascribes to McClellan the very highest qualities as a general, says that he was more respected and feared by the Rebels than any other Federal commander, and maintains that his failure on the Peninsula was rendered unavoidable by the non-concurrence of the forces under McDowell with his own. On this subject we know that there is room for a diversity of judgment, and are well aware that public sentiment now sets very strongly against the man who was for a time the cynosure of the army and of loyal Americans. We cannot deem ourselves qualified to express an opinion, though it would not surprise us should a calm review of events show that General McClellan was simply a capable and highly educated officer of engineers, who lost the reputation and honor fairly earned and due by being forced into a place too large for one of his limited experience to fill. However this may be, there can be, we think, very little doubt that Colonel Estvan is justified in ascribing the almost unbroken series of misfortunes to the loyal cause which marked the first two years of the war "to a want of unity amongst the Federal generals." His book seems to us eminently wise in its judgments and opinions, is in its general tone friendly to the people of the North, and affords matter for careful reflection on past errors, and grave suggestions toward a better future, for our statesmen, generals, and citizens.

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29.— *The Bivouac and the Battle-Field; or Campaign Sketches in Virginia and Maryland.* By GEORGE F. NOYES, Capt. U. S. Volunteers. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1863. 12mo. pp. 339.

CAPTAIN NOYES is one of the many gifted and highly educated men who have enlisted in our army from patriotic motives alone. His narrative, therefore, though for the most part made up of incidents which

any one who could hold a pen might describe, manifests a keener observation, a more just estimate of men and circumstances, and a finer tone of thought and sentiment, than are commonly found in the ephemeral records either of war or of travel. It is a book which one will wish not only to read, but to keep; and is among those to which the historian of the war will resort to determine on the Federal side the *animus* of the movement and its actors. We quote from it the two following paragraphs, as dimly, yet surely, prophetic of a better state of feeling between the North and the South than existed before the war.

"I have learned from this war to give to the South credit for one quality I did not suppose it possessed, — that of endurance. Five years of my boyhood I passed in a Southern school, and have mingled with Southerners at college and elsewhere, and had come to think of them as men of show rather than substance, — of momentary bravado rather than true courage, — of flash and pinchbeck assumption rather than real chivalry. But I have found out that they are patient and can endure, and, despite the many exceptionable instances of gross brutality and neglect of the courtesies of honorable warfare, it seems to me that they have, in general, borne themselves in this war chivalrously as well as bravely. I do not pretend that the Southerner illustrates the highest type of the gentleman. He is rather the gentleman of the Middle Ages, — ignorant, overbearing, insolent, but with a good deal of the leaven of a true chivalry; not a Bayard certainly, but more after the style of a Black Douglas or a Harry Hotspur.

"And I am inclined to think that we of the North are to be better understood hereafter by the South. They had learned to appraise the Northern valor and principle by the standard of our political subserviency. They went into this rebellion with no idea that the North would dare to resist in arms, — the poor, cowardly, truckling North, which they had frightened into compromises, and then frightened into breaking them, and which had so long trembled in the national Congress beneath the Southern rod. This mistake is gradually being corrected also. The hands accustomed so long to peaceful labor only, are learning the trick of war; the muscles trained only at the plough or in the workshop are becoming skilled in the use of the musket and the sword; and it is evident that the North has not only the courage, but also the skill, needed to put down this rebellion. The men who have stood against each other in the battles of this war can never fling upon each other the charge of cowardice, — must acknowledge and respect in each other their common manhood; so much, at least, is gained."

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30. — *The American Publishers' Circular and Literary Gazette*. Published on the 1st and 15th of each Month. Vol. I. Nos. 1–10. May 1–September 15, 1863. 8vo. pp. 1–384.

WE cannot in justice let the first volume of this work draw to a

close without our emphatic testimony to its literary and bibliographical merit. On its first announcement, we supposed that it was designed chiefly as a medium for advertisements. It is, indeed, rich in advertisements; but they are given in each number, not to the exclusion of, but in addition to, a tolerable magazine-full of materials of sterling worth,—letters from abroad, literary intelligence, notes and queries with their answers, and book-notices prepared with unusual care and judgment. This is, so far as we know, the only periodical in the country devoted to books as such, and it therefore comes in to fill a real void, and to meet an actual need. It is edited with very great skill and in excellent taste, and we would bespeak, as we anticipate, for it an extensive and rapidly increasing circulation.

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- 31.—*The History of the Civil War in America; comprising a full and impartial Account of the Origin and Progress of the Rebellion, of the various Naval and Military Engagements, of the Heroic Deeds performed by Armies and Individuals, and of Touching Scenes in the Field, the Camp, the Hospital, and the Cabin.* By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT, Author of "Life of Napoleon," "History of the French Revolution," "Monarchies of Continental Europe," etc. Illustrated with Maps, Diagrams, and numerous Steel Engravings of Battle Scenes, from Original Designs by DARLEY, and other eminent Artists, and Portraits of Distinguished Men. Vol. I. New York: Henry Bill. 1863. 8vo. pp. 507.

MR. ABBOTT seems to us the best historiographer that could have been selected for a popular history of our great civil war. His industry in collecting materials is fully equalled by his skill in fusing them into a connected narrative. His style is easy, free, and animated. He is as "impartial" as one can be who loves his country, and abhors treason and slavery; and we should be sorry to see a history by any Northern man not thus qualified. This volume, which reaches to the autumn of 1861, gives the best promise for those that shall succeed it. It is sufficiently full in detail, abounds in typical incident and characteristic anecdote, and is singularly perspicuous in those parts of the narrative in which rapid movements and the close pressure of events concurrent in time, but remote from one another in space, might easily create confusion. One important feature of the work deserves all praise, namely, the maps and diagrams. These are supplied wherever they are needed, and they are drawn with remarkable distinctness,—the names of places being printed in capitals in the

clearest type. The numerous portraits, too, though not in a high style of art, are singularly lifelike, and, except in the faces veiled by a profuse moustache, give us the features and expression as distinctly as they could be rendered by the sun in a series of photographs.

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32. — *In the Tropics*. By a Settler in Santo Domingo. With an Introductory Notice, by RICHARD B. KIMBALL, Author of "St. Leger," "Undercurrents," etc. New York: Carleton. 1863. 12mo. pp. 306.

THIS is the narrative of an enterprising young man, who preferred a life of productive industry to the precarious chances of mercantile employment in the city of New York, and new land in St. Domingo to any land within his purchasing capacity in our Western States. He relates with how little capital and labor, with what prompt, profuse, and readily marketable returns, and under what favorable conditions of situation and climate, he made his essay at husbandry between the tropics. The story is told with ease and vivacity; the incidental sketches of the author's neighbors, associates, and helpers are vivid, with no small measure of dramatic interest; and there is also a good deal of scenery-painting by a hand too well skilled to be new at the work. The book is full of life, and is not unlikely to turn some little of the better portion of the emigrating tide toward the sunny land which it represents as so very charming.

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33. — *The Soul of Things; or, Psychometric Researches and Discoveries*. By WILLIAM and ELIZABETH M. F. DENTON. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1863. 12mo. pp. 370.

THE theory of this book is, that every material substance retains impressions of all persons, beings, and objects that have ever been in juxtaposition with it or sustained any relation to it; that this record of its entire history, including human character and experiences, remains forever legible; and that the power of reading such records — if not latent in all — exists in some human organisms. This power is termed psychometry. A familiar instance is the determination of a person's character and history from holding in the hand a specimen of his writing. There are so many facts of this class alleged on authority worthy of respect, as to demand philosophical investigation. The volume now in our hands contains a most formidable array of such facts; but in order to judge of their credibility we need to know something of the authors.

Their testimony is evidently given in good faith; but its value rests, even more than on their veracity, on their competency as witnesses. There is an appetency for the marvellous, which unwittingly creates what it craves for and feeds upon; and we confess that strong suspicions of such an appetency have been suggested by the wonderful narratives of personal experience which are here recorded. At the same time, we cannot escape the conviction that there is a large class of actual phenomena underlying the pretensions of mesmerism, pseudo-spiritualism, and psychometry, mingled indeed with much more than their own bulk and weight of delusion and imposture, yet demanding to be sifted out, classified, and traced to their proximate causes, and to physical and psychical laws, under which they undoubtedly will one day find their true place, as no longer occult and marvellous, but as parts of the established course and order of nature.

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34. — *Inside Out: a Curious Book.* By a Singular Man. New York: Miller, Matthews, and Clasback. 1862. 12mo. pp. 364.

THIS is a novel, full of strange incident, with a large admixture of artistical description, scenery-painting, and æsthetic, philosophical, and moral speculation and reflection. The style is overwrought, verbose, and euphuistic. The thought is much better than the expression, and is often original, striking, and weighty. It is a book that will severely try the patience of the reader, but he will not find his labor wholly unrewarded.

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35. — *Our Old Home: a Series of English Sketches.* By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1863. 16mo. pp. 398.

WE have enough objective knowledge of the Old World, those of us who have not travelled in it, and the narrative of any new sight-seer who is nothing more is as vapid as the gossip of the street-corner. The interest which we now feel in a book about England, or France, or the Pyramids, is in precise proportion to the worth of the book as an autobiography, and to the worth of the life that it records. In this respect a narrative of experiences in a foreign land is more precious than it ever was before; for our enhanced familiarity with the background of the sketch enables us to enter with added zest into the self-consciousness of the writer.

By the standard of judgment which we have thus indicated Mr.

Hawthorne's "English Sketches" are unsurpassed, if not unequalled, in merit. We can hardly conceive of a book of nearly four hundred pages containing so little and so much, — so little of any mark or interest about men and places and things in England, and so much about himself in those aspects in which the personality of a man of genius is always gladdening, instructive, and inspiring. We do not believe that with the outward eye he saw a great deal. There are two or three bits of exquisite sky and landscape painting; but the few attempts at elaborate architectural description are professedly unfinished, and might as well have been unbegun. But there are inimitably happy outlines of scenes and spots, odd buildings and strange nooks, which had some specific relation of harmony or incongruity with the author's mind, — outlines not drawn from notes or from reminiscences painfully recalled, but phototyped from the very retina of the inward eye, and filled in with the very hues and shadings supplied at the moment by the author's taste, wit, sympathy, or disgust. As to the characters brought upon the stage, we see them, too, not in their own persons, but in the images reflected from the mirror curved and mottled with the intense idiosyncrasies of the writer, — now convex, now concave, — here distorting, there beautifying, — on which each figure was caught, and thence thrown upon the printed sheet. The two properties of the work which seem to us the most striking are its humor and its kindliness. The humor is unforced, we think generally unconscious. Things present themselves grotesquely to Mr. Hawthorne. He takes hold of them by some other than the usual handle, and offers to our view just the parts and aspects of them which it is conventionally fit to keep out of sight. It is a humor always delicate, frequently even serious, and never more manifest than when the writer is most in earnest. His kindliness, too, if not unconscious, is expressed unintentionally. There is, indeed, no little pretence of an opposite sort, an affectation (shall we call it?) of roughness and unsociableness; but it is very feebly maintained, — the ill-fitted mask keeps dropping from the face, in which we see the tokens of a tenderness of human fellow-feeling, such as it is equally impossible to counterfeit and to disguise.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

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Discourse occasioned by the Death of Convers Francis, D. D. Delivered before the First Congregational Society, Watertown, April 19, 1863. By Rev. John Weiss. Cambridge. 1863.

Conditions of Peace : a Discourse delivered in the West Church, in Memory of David Kimball Hobart, June 14, 1863. By C. A. Bartol. Boston : Walker, Wise, & Co. 1863.

Our Life-School as Theologians : a Discourse before the Alumni of the Theological School, Harvard University, July 14, 1863. By Samuel Osgood, Minister of the Church of the Messiah, New York. Boston : Walker, Wise, & Co. 1863.

A Discourse on the Twentieth Anniversary of his Ordination, delivered in the Church of the Second Parish, Saco, April 12, 1863. By John T. Gilman Nichols. Saco. 1863.

Emancipation in Missouri. A Discourse delivered in the Church of the Messiah, St. Louis, July 5, 1863, by Rev. W. G. Eliot, D. D. St. Louis. 1863.

The Work of Preaching Christ. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Ohio, at the Forty-Sixth Annual Convention, in St. Paul's Church, Akron, on the 3d of June, 1863. By Charles Pettit McIlvaine, D. D., D. C. L., Bishop of the Diocese. New York : Anson D. F. Randolph. 1863.

Farewell Sermon, and Oration and Poem. Class of 1863. The Opportunities of Life. A Sermon preached to the Graduating Class, in Appleton Chapel, Cambridge, June 14, 1863. By Thomas Hill, D. D., President of Harvard University. Class-Day Exercises, June 19, 1863. Oration. By Benjamin Thompson Frothingham. Poem. By Edward Darley Boit. Cambridge. 1863.

Oration delivered before the City Authorities of Boston, on the Fourth of July, 1863, by Oliver Wendell Holmes. Boston. 1863.

The Sources of a Physician's Power. An Address delivered at the Commencement of the Albany Medical College, May 28th, 1863, by Rufus W. Clark, D. D. Albany. 1863.

An Address before the American Peace Society, at its Anniversary in Boston, May 25, 1863, by Hon. Amasa Walker. Boston. 1863.

The Scholar's Vocation in the New Republic. An Address delivered before the Union Literary Society of Antioch College, June 30, 1863. By A. D. Mayo, Minister of Church of the Redeemer, Cincinnati, Ohio. Cincinnati : Robert Clarke & Co. 1863.

The Problem of Salvation. By Rev. Edward A. Walker, New Haven, Conn. From the New-Englander for July, 1863.

Christianity and Emancipation ; or, The Teachings and the Influence of



the Bible against Slavery. By Joseph P. Thompson, Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph. 1863.

Ellsworth's Primary Black-Board Chart of Letters. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863.

Cruelty to Animals. Report of Proceedings at an International Congress, held at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of August, 1862, to "Discuss the General Subject of Cruelty to Animals, and especially Vivisection, and other Operations upon Living Animals for the Purpose of Instruction in Surgery." London. 1863.

Representative Government and Electoral Reform. A Review of Recent Publications on that Subject. Boston. 1863.

A Letter to William Howard Russell, LL. D., on Passages in his "Diary North and South." By Andrew Dickson White, Professor of History and English Literature, University of Michigan. Ann Arbor. 1863.

Thoughts for the Times. By Joel Prentiss Bishop. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1863.

Reply of Lieutenant-Colonel Pilsen to Emil Schalk's Criticisms on the Campaign in the Mountain Department under Major-General J. C. Frémont. New York. 1863.

A Claim for Scientific Property, by Henry James Clark, Adjunct Professor of Zoölogy in the Lawrence Scientific School. Cambridge. 1863.

The True Place of Man in Zoölogy. By C. Dewey, D. D., LL. D. Rochester, N. Y. From the Princeton Review for January, 1863.

On the Velocity of Light and the Sun's Distance. By Professor Joseph Lovering, of Harvard College. From the American Journal of Science, &c., Vol. XXXVII., Sept., 1863.

Hymns for Mothers. Compiled by Mrs. H. E. Brown. Boston: American Tract Society. 1863.

Christian Loyalty. A Discourse, delivered in St. George's Church, New York, April 30th, 1863, the Day of National Fast. By Stephen H. Tyng, D. D., Rector of St. George's Church. Boston: American Tract Society. 1863.

Soldiers and their Mothers. By Rev. J. O. Means. Boston: American Tract Society. 1863.

Thirty Handbills. Words for Men-at-Arms. Boston: American Tract Society. 1863.

Library of Select Novels. No. 232. A Point of Honor. A Novel. By the Author of "The Morals of May Fair," "Creeds," "The World's Verdict," &c., &c., &c. (pp. 120.) — No. 233. Live it down. A Story of the Light Lands. By J. C. Jeaffreson, Author of "Isabel, the Young Wife and the Old Love," "Olive Blake's Good Work," &c. (pp. 248.) New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863.

Chambers's Encyclopædia. A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People. On the Basis of the latest Edition of the German Conversations Lexicon. Illustrated by Wood Engravings and Maps. Parts 64, 65. Vol. V. pp. 577 — 704. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Harper's Pictorial History of the Great Rebellion. No. 5. pp. 97 — 120. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Vermont Quarterly Gazetteer. A Historical Magazine, embracing a Digest of the History of each Town, Civil, Educational, Religious, Geological, and Literary. Edited by Abby Maria Hemmenway, Compiler of "The Poets and Poetry of Vermont." No. VI. August, 1863. pp. 521-616. Ludlow: A. M. Hemmenway.

Forty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Tract Society, presented at Boston, May 27, 1863. Boston: American Tract Society. 1863. pp. 140.

Report of the Directors of the Michigan Central Railroad Company, to the Stockholders: together with the Reports of the Treasurer, Superintendent, Auditor, and Trustees of Sinking Funds. June, 1863. Boston, 1863.

Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, presented at their Annual Meeting, May 27, 1863. Boston. 1863.

An Abstract of the First Annual Report of the Directors of the General Theological Library, presented at the Annual Meeting of the Corporation in Boston, April 20th, 1863, together with One of the Standing Committee, presented at the First Meeting of the Shareholders to organize the Institution, April 25th, 1862. Boston. 1863.

Report of the Western Sanitary Commission for the Year ending June 1st, 1863. St. Louis. 1863.

Forty-Fourth Annual Report and Documents of the New York Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, to the Legislature of the State of New York, for the Year 1862. Albany. 1863.

First Annual Report of the Educational Commission for Freedmen. May, 1863. Boston. 1863.

Vassar Female College. Report on Organization. New York. 1863.

Vassar Female College. The President's Visit to Europe. New York. 1863.

Report of the Forty-Ninth Annual Examination of the Albany Female Academy, presented at their Anniversary, Tuesday, June 16, 1863. Albany: J. Munsell. 1863.

Circular and Catalogue of the Albany Female Academy. Albany: J. Munsell. 1863.

Catalogue and Circular of the State Normal School at Framingham, Mass., for the Term ending July 7th, 1863. Boston. 1863.

A Catalogue of the Officers and Members of the Harvard Natural History Society. Cambridge. 1863.

American Oriental Society. Proceedings at Boston and Cambridge, May 20th and 21st, 1863. New Haven. 1863.

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, at the Semiannual Meeting, in Boston, April 29, 1863.

Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale College deceased during the Academical Year ending in July, 1863, including the Record of a few who died the Year previous, hitherto unreported. [Presented at the Meeting of the Alumni, July 29, 1863. No. 4 of the Printed Series, and No. 22 of the whole Record.] New Haven. 1863.

Catalogue of Postage-Stamps, American and Foreign, and United States Revenue Stamps. Cambridge: Sever & Francis. 1863. 16mo. pp. 78.

Address delivered before the Alumni of Harvard College, July 16, 1863. By James Walker, D. D. Cambridge: Sever & Francis. 1863.

Enlargement. A Baccalaureate Sermon, delivered at Williamstown, Mass., August 2, 1863. By Mark Hopkins, D. D., President of Williams College. Boston. 1863.

Down in a Mine; or, Buried Alive. By the Author of "The Story of a Pocket Bible." Boston: American Tract Society. 1863. 16mo. pp. 188.

The Circus. A Story for Boys. By Mrs. A. S. Anthony. Boston: American Tract Society. 1863. 16mo. pp. 112.

Plants; illustrating in their Structure the Wisdom and Goodness of God. With Numerous Illustrations. Boston: American Tract Society. 1863. 16mo. pp. 160.

The Temperance Tales. With a Preparatory Sketch of their Origin and History. By Lucius M. Sargent. A New Edition. Vol. I. My Mother's Gold Ring. (pp. 23.) — Wild Dick and Good Little Robin. (pp. 39.) — I am Afraid there is a God. (pp. 45.) — A Sectarian Thing. (pp. 45.) — Groggy Harbor. (pp. 76.) — Right Opposite. (pp. 61.) Boston: American Tract Society. 1863.

A Manual of Devotions for Domestic and Private Use. By George Upfold, D. D., Bishop of Indiana. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. 12mo. pp. 244.

The Holy Word in its own Defence: addressed to Bishop Colenso and all other earnest Seekers after Truth. By Rev. Abiel Silver, of New York, Author of "Lectures on the Symbolic Character of the Sacred Scriptures." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. 12mo. pp. 305.

A Critical History of Free Thought in Reference to the Christian Religion. Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year MDCCCLXII., on the Foundation of the Late Rev. John Bampton, M. A., Canon of Salisbury. By Adam Storey Farrar, M. A., Michel Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. 12mo. pp. 487.

The Foundations of History, a Series of First Things. By Samuel B. Schieffelin. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph. 1863. 16mo. pp. 264.

The Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount of St. Albans, and Lord High Chancellor of England. Collected and Edited by James Spedding, M. A. of Trinity College, Cambridge; Robert Leslie Ellis, M. A., Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; and Douglas Denon Heath, Barrister-at-Law, Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Volume VII. Boston: Taggard & Thompson. 1863. Small 8vo. pp. 435.

Friends in Council: a Series of Readings, and Discourse thereon. Reprinted from the last London Edition. In two volumes. New York: James Miller. 1863. 12mo. pp. 301, 279.

The War in the United States. Report to the Swiss Military Department, preceded by a Discourse to the Federal Military Society assembled at Berne, August 18, 1862. By Ferdinand Lecompte, Lieutenant-Colonel, Swiss Confederation, Author of "Relation Historique et Critique d'Italie en 1859," "L'Italie en 1860," and "Le Général Jomini, sa Vie et ses Ecrits." Trans-

lated from the French. New York: D. Van Nostrand. 1863. 12mo. pp. 148.

Crests from the Ocean-World; or, Experiences in a Voyage to Europe, principally in France, Belgium, and England, comprising Sketches in the Miniature Worlds, Paris, Brussels, and London; together with Incidents by the Way, Noted Scenery, National Character and Costumes, Delineations of Social Life, Views of the principal Public Monuments, Churches, Palaces, Gardens, Galleries of Paintings, Museums, Libraries, Literary and Benevolent Institutions, Public Lectures, etc. And with Three new Features, viz. French Life on Shipboard, Revolution of February in Paris, and a Professional View of Public and Private Schools. By a Traveller and Teacher. Boston: Whittemore, Niles, & Hall. 1862. 12mo. pp. 408.

What to Eat, and How to Cook it; containing over One Thousand Receipts, systematically and practically arranged, to enable the Housekeeper to prepare the most difficult or simple Dishes in the best Manner. By Pierre Blot, Late Editor of the "Almanach Gastronomique," of Paris, and other Gastronomical Works. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. 12mo. pp. 259.

The Natural Laws of Husbandry. By Justus von Liebig. Edited by John Blyth, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in Queen's College, Cork. New York: D. Appleton. 1863. 12mo. pp. 387.

Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, showing the Progress of the Survey during the Year 1861. Washington. 1862. 4to. pp. 270: Sketches 31.

Lessons on Objects, Graduated Series; designed for Children between the Ages of Six and Fourteen Years: comprising, also, Information on Common Objects. Arranged by E. A. Sheldon, Superintendent of Public Schools, Oswego, N. Y., Author of Elementary Instruction, Reading Book and Charts, etc., etc. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863. 12mo. pp. 407.

Science for the School and Family. Part I. Natural Philosophy. By Worthington Hooker, M. D., Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in Yale College, Author of "Human Physiology," "Child's Book of Nature," "Natural History," &c. Illustrated by nearly 300 Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863. 12mo. pp. 346.

The Historical Shakespearian Reader, comprising the "Histories," or "Chronicle Plays," of Shakespeare; carefully expurgated and revised, with Introductory and Explanatory Notes. Expresssly adapted for the Use of Schools, Colleges, and the Family Reading Circle. By John W. S. Hows, Author of the "Shakespearian Reader," etc., etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. 12mo. pp. 503.

The Elements of Arithmetic; designed for Children. By Elias Loomis, LL. D., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in Yale College, and Author of "A Course of Mathematics," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863. 16mo. pp. 166.

Harpers' School and Family Series. Willson's Primary Speller. A Simple and Progressive Course of Lessons in Spelling, with Reading and Dictation Exercises, and the Elements of Oral and Written Compositions. By Mar-Willson. 16mo. pp. 80.

The Boston Business and Copartnership Directory: containing the Names and Location of all Firms and Individuals doing Business in Boston, including the Full Name of each Partner in the Firms; all in Alphabetical Order, under appropriate Headings, which are also arranged Alphabetically. With a complete Alphabetical Index, referring to every Name and Place of Business mentioned in the Book. Also, a fine Map of Boston and Vicinity, a Register of Municipal, State, and United States Officials holding Office in Boston, a Summary of Historical Events, a Pleasure Directory, Post-Office Guide, &c. Boston: Dean Dudley. 1863. 16mo. pp. 356.

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